For the International Conference on Social Sciences Hawaii:

Title: A Transformative/Integral Model for Education: Envisioning What Could Be

Session Goals:

Participants will see new possibilities of integral education and transformative learning through 9 programmatic approaches. 1) Sri Atmananda Memorial School (Sri Atmananda); 2) Oakgrove School, (Krishnamurti); 3) School of the Woods, (Montessori); 4) Moorestown Quaker School, (Fox) 6) Auroville Schools (Sri Aurobindo); 7) International Centre of Education (Sri Aurobindo); 8) CMS (Gandhi); and 9) Waldorf School, (Steiner) will be presented in a creative PowerPoint presentation that distinguishes the specific interpretations of integral/transformative education from each program.

Participants will be introduced to each program and have an opportunity to ask questions and dialogue about them with other people in the session. Time will be given to have people reflect on the value of utilizing some of the transformational and integral distinctions of these programs in their own programs, teaching, research, etc.

Intended Learning Experiences:

Participants will learn some specific integral and transformational aspects from each of these programs. Following a short ‘engaging’ PowerPoint presentation, participants will engage in a café dialogue (4 people per table) to share their insights and experiences from their engagement with the presentation, and reflect together about how what they are learning might contribute to their own transformative thinking and practices. The ‘café’ conversations will be shared with everyone to illustrate the collective wisdom of the participants.

Focus of the Activity:

Appreciating the best of what is transformational in these integral educational programs and understanding how these programs can contribute to anyone interested in integral philosophy or education, and transformative learning. Engaging in a dialogue the purpose of which is to further clarify the distinct
aspects of these programs and to invite participants to question, wonder, and exchange ideas about their own transformative practices and how their practices can be supported by the epistemological and ontological foundations of these integral approaches.
Abstract

title: From Seoul to Syracuse: The Educational Project of Transnational Korean Families

Since the middle of the 1990s, the Korean “transnational family,” a multinational household (Cho, 2004:146), also known as a goose family, or gi-ruh-gi, consists of a father who remains in Korea as financial support, while the mother and elementary, middle, or high school-aged children stay in the U.S. to further the children’s education. Transnational children’s education often happens in combination with split households, which is consequently a demographically very important phenomenon in Korea.

My aim in this study to investigate how each family member in a transnational household experiences the conflict between multinational cultural norms, and how each family contributes to the production of new, emerging norms. For example, while the children in such households spend considerable time in American public schools, their mothers are more engaged in the Korean immigrant community. Consequently, what it means to be Korean becomes highly contested among the family members residing in the U.S. Meanwhile, the father, who has remained in Korea, continues to exert his own cultural influence over this household unit. What are the struggles that each family member must face as he or she strives simultaneously to embrace or adjust to new cultural codes, while maintaining continued allegiance to traditions such as those commonly referred to as East-Asian family values, or Confucian patriarchal familism?
In order to investigate the research questions, I will collect data from twenty families divided between Syracuse and Seoul, during the period of July 2006 to June 2007. Korean transnational families, especially geese families, are the population being researched. This research will be conducted with qualitative research methods using participant observation, in-depth and open-ended interviews, and life history and narrative descriptions. This project is to explore people’s cultural values, attitudes, habits, behavior, perceptions, ways of interacting, and communication context. It will require deep interviews and close participant observation with a small number of families. I will focus on twenty sets of mothers (or fathers) and children in Syracuse, and the corresponding parents in Seoul, through the snowball sampling method. I will structure the samples mainly by the age, the sex and the number of the children. I will also use secondary data from the family’s cyber-meetings (family homepages), cyber-cafés and blogs, in which the participants are geese-fathers, or geese-families.

Transnationalism is, as indicated by N.G. Schiller, et al (1992:1-2), “multiple relationships” and the development of identities belonging to two or more societies simultaneously. Recent studies by J. Waters (2002) ‘Astronaut Family,’ Huang’s & Yeoh’s (2005) analysis of ‘Study Mother’ from the People’s Republic of China, and D. Ley’s description of transmigrants’ cyclical life between Hong Kong and Canada, point to the growing importance of “dual” belonging, sojourning and “to becoming” (S. Hall, 1994) process. As I do this research, I will try to remain faithful to the complexity of individual act doers’ efforts to negotiate or reconcile fissures, conflicts, or insecurities that they experience in their everyday lives. With broader eyes, I will investigate whether such transnational families play a key role in the change of Korean family values within the globalized context, and influence the Korean immigrant society in the U.S.
Title Page

Towards New Horizons for Studying Local Disparities in Demosphere in Rural Areas

Abdel-Samad M ALI* Hiroyuki OHNO Yohei SATO
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Towards New Horizons for Studying Local Disparities in Demosphere in Rural Areas

Abdel-Samad M ALI*    Hiroyuki OHNO    Yohei SATO

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ABSTRACT

The study based on outrageous assertion that change in demosphere like each interrelated aspect of demographic dynamics has a spatio-temporal component which, when understood, adds to our knowledge of how and why these transitions occur. A technique based on recent technologies of remote sensing and geographic information systems has been adopted to improve understanding of population density in rural Egypt. This is critical if appropriate and effective population planning policies are to be designed to improve the welfare of the population. Assiut governorate, one of the neediest places for development in Egypt according to human development report 2002, has been selected as the geographic field of study.

Local differentiations in population density among villages are distinctively noticed. Temporally, the degree of variation in demosphere has been downed to one forth of its value, whereas the total population number has been approximately doubled in rural Assiut governorate during twenty years between 1976 and 1996. This result means that spatial distribution of population has moved toward more uniformity and equality simultaneously with the growing in population size.

It is concluded; however, that demosphere in rural governorate of Assiut is attributed to a blend of interrelated variables of social structure and environment. Agricultural exploitation was a crucial land cover pattern influenced demosphere on the investigated region. This is rich agricultural land with centuries of rural tradition that almost certainly contributes to the maintenance of low levels of education, low levels of female labor force participation, higher than average of fertility, and high levels of population density.

In addition, the pattern of agricultural land cover may interpret a part of disparities in demosphere throughout rural areas. Moreover, linking the classified land cover image with demosphere map reveals that the clustering pattern of demosphere could also be partly interpreted as being influenced by edge effects. Accordingly, it is recommended that it is not possible to think about demosphere without at least implicitly assuming their spatial character.

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INTRODUCTION

What measures, direct and indirect, will be effective, acceptable, and practical to precisely report population dynamics is a frequent question and major concern and challenge to researchers in several academic disciplines and to workers in a variety of applied fields. This question was raised with the international recognition and consideration of population issues. At its first section, Social and Economic Dimensions, Agenda 21 has reported that demographic trends and factors and sustainable development have a synergistic relationship. Accordingly, special interest should go to developing and disseminating knowledge concerning the links between demographic trends and factors and sustainable development.

It is argued that demographic transition provides organizing framework for most demographic research that is conducted as a sub-discipline of nearly every one of the social and health sciences fields (Weeks 2004). However, traditional demographic transition theory assumed its place of dominance during the first half of this century, and since then social scientists have preferred structural explanations of demographic phenomena (Tolnay 1995). In essence, a strong emphasis has been led on those macro-structural characteristics of society like urbanization, industrialization, and education. For long time ago, rural sociological research has focused particularly on the analysis of survey data drawn from interviews conducted at the household level; hence, theory has focused heavily on individual-level influences on social behavior. There is now broad evidence that the traditional models of the demographic transition were overly simplistic and incomplete but the picture appears to be more complex in several ways. However, many studies neglect the fact that for adequate guidance of concrete actions pertaining population issues, the answer must be attempted within the confines of particular society or culture for which these actions are intended. Many leading sociologists, demographers, and family planning advocates labeled such studies as methodologically poor and considered their results unreliable.

On the contrary of structural explanations, the diffusionist perspective on variation and change in demographic dynamics has gained momentum. In this sense, it is supposed that many kinds of social change have been explained by diffusion (Rogers 1983). Pollak and Watkins (1993) assumed that diffusionist perspective identifies two primary types of diffusion that can lead to the adoption of behaviors to limit family size, therefore, demosphere within a society. First, information about birth control techniques can spread to previously uninformed social groups, giving them the means of preventing unwanted births. Second, an ideational shift can occur: groups for whom family limitation within marriage was previously considered unacceptable may embrace the practice after they encounter ideas or beliefs that conflict with prevailing ones.

However, recent decades have witnessed increased adoption of diffusion perspective and spatial analysis techniques due to updated version of human ecology amidst many other driving forces. Spatial analysis in the social sciences tests theories that where you are makes a difference in social attitudes and behavior, and that observed differences in the social world are not distributed in a spatially random pattern. The confluence of powerful geographic information system technologies advances in the design of spatial statistics,
and the increasing availability of geo-referenced databases has vastly improved the ability of rural sociologists to think and analyze spatially. As a result, there is a reawakening of interest in models of human behavior that place individuals in the environmental context of space and time. To this end, it is argued that the classical, non-spatial data analysis should actually be seen as a special case of spatial data analysis (Cloke and Little 1997).

In seeking answer to the question mentioned earlier, however, this work asserts some sophisticated methodological approaches recently introduced by both social and natural scientists in a way to constructing basic research needed to fill the wide gap in present knowledge concerning the relations between demographic behavior and relevant factors (social, psychological, cultural, economic, and environmental) affecting this behavior. We believe that an improved understanding of the demographic transitions in developing countries is critical if culturally appropriate and effective reproductive health and family planning policies are to be designed and implemented to improve the quality of life of the population. In demographic research like ours, we can think of the neighborhood characteristics as representing aspects of the context in which demographic decisions are made and demographic behavior is manifested. Spatial analysis then looks for place-specific factors that influence the behavior of otherwise similar people. The connections relate to the kinds of networking and interaction that lead both to diffusion (the spread of ideas) and dispersal (the geographic redistribution of people). Spatial analysis then searches for the timing and direction of the connections, and seeks to understand their causes and consequences. In essence, this research is taking place to address the interchangeable relationship between population dynamics and environment yielding different patterns of population density (demosphere) in rural areas of Upper Egypt.

BACKGROUND AND SETTINGS

The unprecedented expansion of Egypt’s population, from approximately 26 million in 1960 to more than 70 million today, has been blamed for social problems such as lagging economic growth, growing inequalities in income and other resources, and environmental degradation. Nevertheless, the average total fertility rate of Egypt has decreased from approximately six children per woman circa 1960 to approximately four today (Cairo Demographic Center 2003), suggesting that a self-regulating mechanism may be equilibrating the human population with existing resources.

However, the study of population density and distribution reveals many of their geographic, economic and demographic facts. In 1975, the National Document of Population Policy (NDPP) in Egypt was modified to include the three dimensions of population that are rapid population growth, unbalanced distribution of population, and low population characteristics. National Population Council (NPC) of Egypt was established in 1996 to assure the interactive relationship among those aspects. Accordingly, an improved understanding of population density in Egypt is critical if culturally appropriate and effective population planning policies are to be designed to improve the welfare of the population.
In studying the diffusionist perspective on population density, we focus on Assiut Governorate in census years 1976 and 1996. Assiut Governorate is located approximately 375 kilometers south of Cairo. It is one of the poorest governorates of the country. According to Human Development Report 2002, it has occupied the lowest rank of GDP among Egypt governorates along with low human index number HDI of 0.616 in 2001. The particular application we explore in this paper is rural part of Assiut, Upper Egypt. Most villagers are subsistence farmers, growing crops like cotton, maize, wheat, vegetables, and fruit crops.

However, we choose Assiut as a study site less for its specific demographic characteristics than for the fact that it has been relatively well studied in non-spatial analyses and thus there are comparative studies by which to judge the spatial analysis produced by our own work. In addition, Assiut has some advantages for spatial analysis including its essentially flat landscape in Nile Valley region, which means that elevation is not an issue that needs to be dealt with in our analysis.

In terms of population density, Assiut was ordered as the second governorate within the middle part of Upper Egypt but in all Nile Valley governorates up to the second decade of last century, then Assiut has occupied the third rank amidst Upper Egypt Governorates. Figure 1 displays the population density of inhabited area of Assiut governorate for more than one century ago. It is clear from the figure that the average of population density in Assiut governorate was
373 inhabitants per square kilometer at the end of 19th century grown up to 1804 inhabitant per square kilometer one century later. The index numbers of population density shown in figure 2 reveal that population density was firstly doubled after almost one half century. The second multiplication then happened after almost one quarter of century. One quarter of century later- at the end of last century, the population density multiplied almost five times rather than the end of 19th century.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

First of all, it is to be mentioned that population density, the expression of demosphere, is defined as the number of people per square kilometer, calculated by dividing the total population by land area. Data of total population originate from census, micro-level sub-unit village. However, the area of each village is problematic. There is almost no document or record reporting the area of each village at the scale of analysis of this study. Accordingly, topographic paper maps were scanned and exported to and digitized within ArcView 3.2 GIS software to yield base map, which has been registered to UTM-36N Reference System within which the study area is located. We, then, follow Standard Deviation as a classification scheme with Break Classes at 1 Standard Deviation to categorize population density to two main groups; low densely populated villages with value of population density below the Mean, and high densely populated villages with value of population density above the Mean. Using raster grid data, we then introduce the spatial component. The most widely used global measure of spatial autocorrelation is Moran’s I (Cliff and Ord 1981). In this sense, it is to be noted that population density have been investigated in 1976- the period of high fertility levels and near to transition to lower fertility, and 1996- the time of being in real lower fertility levels relatively. It is also to refer that 1996 is the last updated census available for authors at the time of conducting this research.

On the other hand, remotely sensed data have been imported into Idrisi Kilimanjaro geographic information systems (GIS) and different manipulations and spatial analyses algorithms have been approached. The inclusion of GIS and remote sensing regimes in our research may allow us to create variables that would otherwise be literally unimaginable to rural sociologists in developing countries. Jensen (1996) recommends a series of digital image processing steps for landuse change analysis using remotely sensed data. For our study, the following steps were identified as appropriate: geometric registration, radiometric normalization, image classification and storing, and the application of change detection algorithm. Moreover, a classification scheme has to be established before the image classification operation. We adopted a modified Andersen Land Use/Land Cover Classification System (USGS 1992). Given this study’s focus, the modified categories of the classification system are: Urban or built-up land; Agricultural land; Water; Salt-Affected Soils; Desert and Mountainous regions. We then follow supervised classification regime to report landuse patterns. We have processed two types of Landsat MSS and Landsat TM to categorize landuse/cover patterns during the two dates 1976, 02, 20 and 1998, 10, 29, respectively. Those are the available images for authors relatively match census data of 1976 and 1996 respectively.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Spatial and Temporal Variations in the Level of Population Density

Egypt is really population entity rather than anything else. It is to assure that Egypt’s personality cannot be outlined or understood out of the population frame. However, to assess population density in Egypt, a methodological problem usually appears regarding the accurate estimation of the occupied area (Hamdan 1994). We will not declare a secret when telling that if one goes through recorded data of occupied area in Egypt, one will find so many different values or raw data for the same spatial unit at all national, regional, and local scales. Such a problem is mainly attributed to the significant ignorance and arbitrary recording system followed in Egypt as in so many developing countries for long time ago. On the other hand, even if a recording system was found, it would not be on micro-level of local village units or sub-units. Such problematic methodology may be accurately solved by approaching the methodology adopted in this study based on the technologies of Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Systems.

However, we believe that any human phenomenon must have social and environmental linkages; therefore, a comprehensive picture that helps us understand such phenomena should be formulated from both social and environmental spheres. Building upon such principle, some algorithms have been used to analyze and link census data with those retrieved from satellite imageries to recognize the driving forces of demosphere in the study area. At first, we approached the global spatial statistic, Moran’s $I$, to test the null hypothesis that population density in rural Assiut was spatially independent. The value of Moran’s $I$ for population density was 0.71 and 0.81 in 1976 and 1996 respectively, indicating a statistically significant level of spatial autocorrelation, thus leading us to reject the null hypothesis that population density is spatially independent in rural Assiut.

However, figure 3 shows the spatial clustering of high and low population density in 1976, where

Figure 3. Population Density in Assiut Rural Areas in 1976

Inhabitants/Km²
- 3 - 322
- 323 - 649
- 650 - 975
- Mean = 976
- 976 - 1302
- 1303 - 1628
- 1629 - 1954
- 1955 - 2051
- Urban Areas
villages of high-density clusters were those with value of population density above the Mean, and villages of low-density clusters were those with value of population density below the Mean. In 1976 the clusters of high population density were concentrated in three locations; southeast, middle, and northeast of the governorate. The pattern of clustering may be interpreted with the help of monitoring landuse/cover patterns displayed in figure 4. Five categories of land cover are distinctively classified. Those are agricultural land shown in green color, water bodies appear in blue color, salt-affected soils shown in white tone, built-up areas in reddish-to-brown appearance, and desert and mountainous land shown in yellow tone. Our knowledge of the study area coupled with the linking of the classified land cover image to demosphere map reveals that the pattern of clustering shown in figure 3 could be partly interpreted as being influenced by edge effects. In essence, the clusters of high-density in the southeast as well as in the middle are edged with mountainous zones, whereas the River Nile is the edge of the cluster of high-density in the northeast.

On the other hand, we may argue that the clustering pattern of high-density is also being affected by the intensity of agricultural land cover. Assertion to our argument is shown in figure 5, which presents for the most common measurement of vegetation-Normalized Difference

Figure 5 Normalized Difference Vegetation Index NDVI, MSS Image, 1976, 02, 20
Vegetation Index NDVI. To determine the density of green on a patch of land, we must observe the distinct colors (wavelengths) of visible and near-infrared sunlight reflected by the plants. It is clearly appeared that the clusters of high population density are found in a healthy agriculture regions (yellow to green in the image of NDVI), whereas the sparse vegetation is the distinctive feature within which the clusters of low population density are located. Accordingly, we may argue that though we often take the plants and trees around us for granted, the level of population density but almost every aspect of our lives perhaps depend upon them. This may be attributed to the fact that plants and agricultural land cover feed us, cloth us, absorb carbon dioxide, provide us with oxygen, and give us building materials and medications. When drastic changes occur to the vegetation around us, our health, economy, and environment are all affected. Social justification is that healthy vegetation is rich agricultural land with centuries of rural tradition that almost certainly contributes to the maintenance of low levels of education, low levels of female labor force participation, higher than average of fertility, and high levels of population density.

In-depth investigation for the type of agricultural cover reveals that cotton is the dominant crop spread throughout the rural part of Assiut governorate. Cotton is categorized as a crop highly eager to labor forces. The low level of technology required for cotton agriculture alongside the lower wages makes children have high marginal feasibility for working in cotton. Therefore, the dominant pattern of agricultural cover, Cotton in our case, is perhaps considered as one of the main driving forces stand behind such a crushing population density in rural areas of Assiut governorate.

In addition, it is reported that the benefit of cotton is relatively higher than other crops or other industries at the investigated areas enabling farmers to have more children. In other words, we may assume that cotton is a source for both demand and supply for children simultaneously. Accordingly, it seems that the relation between land cover especially cotton agricultural land cover type and population density is reciprocal relationship.

![Image: Population Density in Assiut Rural Areas in 1996](image_url)
In 1996 the clustering of high density population shown in figure 6 had moved toward the middle of the governorate although still partly concentrated in the southeast.

The analysis of landuse/cover image shown in figure 7 along with NDVI analysis shown in figure 8 asserts the significant effect of land cover pattern on the human phenomena. In essence, the transformations in landuse have been moved very similar to the transformations in population density through 1970s up to the end of 1990s. Vegetation index NDVI proves that the agricultural cover became healthier in the middle of the governorate by 2000. A distinctive difference between landuse patterns in 1976 and 1998 is related to the distribution and area of salt affected soils. Results shown in figure 7 reveal that salt-affected soils have decreased especially at the middle portion of Assiut governorate. This may be attributed to the improvement of farmers’ behavior towards the using and managing of irrigation water system due to increasing of awareness and educational level in rural areas in the last years. The establishment of new projects of sub-surface drainage in many areas may also play a good role in reclaiming the salt-affected soils. Such result introduces an outrageous assertion that a strong linkage is found between natural phenomena and human ones, hence, confirms the necessity of mutual collaboration between social and natural scientists yielding more understanding and comprehensive picture for the human complicated phenomena.

**Fig.7 LUC Patterns of Oct. 1998 Based on MAXLIKE Supervised Classification**

**Uniformity of Demosphere**

As shown in figures 3 and 6, some local differentiations in population density among villages are distinctively noticed. It should be firstly noted that some local and regional disparities in population density may be only attributed to the numeric illusion. Methodologically, the uniformity of demosphere can be measured by what so called the Coefficient of Uniformity. Temporally, the results report that the coefficient of uniformity was dropped from 0.04% in 1976 to 0.01% in 1996 tending into more homogeneity in population density. In other words, the variations in local population
density have been decreased over the time, certainly alongside the population explosion occurred in Egypt as a whole through 1960s to the middle of 1980s.

In more accurate numeric expression, the degree of variation in population density has been downed to one forth of its value, whereas the total population number has been approximately doubled in rural Assiut governorate during twenty years between 1976 and 1996. This result means that spatial distribution of population has moved toward more uniformity and equality simultaneously with the growing in population size. Therefore, a steady relationship is found between the level of population density and the degree of uniformity.

This picture of demosphere, thus, follows Ratzel’s law of population density. According to such law, it is assumed that when population density exceeds definite level of saturation, it floods thickly all over the regions and blocks the original variations in population density among them so that the shape of demosphere looks like a layer of oil covers the whole surface. With no doubt, population density in the investigated region, as in the majority of Egypt, has reached such saturation level but really exceeded it many years ago.

Another interpretation to such transition into more homogeneity in demosphere is that Assiut governorate is very limited in area and very tight in boundaries surrounded by long line of mountains. Accordingly, population grows while area is stable. The output, of course, will be more density and more uniformity.

Findings of study presents for another factor of population density coming from the significant effect of spatial proximity. The geographic distribution of population density in 1976 displayed in figures 3 proves that high densely villages are always surrounded by each other. Twenty years later, the situation in 1996 shown in figure 6 is almost similar to that one in 1976 in terms of spatial proximity effect. This temporal results assure the diffusionist perspective that if area A is proximate to areas with relatively low population density, and area B is surrounded by areas with high population density, it is predicted for
area A to have lower population density than Area B. Accordingly, we argue that it is not possible to think about population density without at least implicitly assuming their spatial character.

In addition to the mentioned justifications of variation in the uniformity of demosphere, it is noticed from figures 4 and 7 that during 1970s a considerable area of desert and bare land was found rather than 1990s. This makes population density in 1970s looks less homogenous than 1990s. Such notice means that the more transformation to strong vegetation index (area more covered by agriculture), the more transformation to uniform demosphere. Building upon such result, we may argue that the change in landuse/cover (LUCC) has an effect not only on the level of population density, but also on the uniformity of it as well.

**CONCLUDED REMARKS**

Recently, the emphasis on traditional explanations of variation and change in population density has been challenged. Social scientists have shown increasing interest in the role of diffusion perspective in portraying such social phenomena that surely have geographic consequences. Building upon that fact, we have adopted a technique based on recent technologies of Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Systems. Such technologies presents good sphere for data integration, which is lacked in so many previous social studies. We became able to correctly define an occupied area which was a problematic issue especially at micro-level village units. The inclusion of GIS and remote sensing regimes in our research may allow us to create variables that would otherwise be literally unimaginable to rural sociologists in developing countries. However, many capabilities of GIS in storing, displaying, analyzing of geo-referenced data have been exploited for the manipulation of data sets mainly come from census and satellite imageries.

It is concluded that demosphere in rural Assiut is spatially dependent. The pattern of demosphere clustering could be partly interpreted as being affected by edge effects. Monitoring landuse/cover using remote sensing and GIS technologies leads us arguing that the intensity of agricultural land cover may also affect the clustering pattern of demosphere. In other words, the clusters of high population density are found in healthy agriculture regions, and vice versa. Moreover, the study reveals that the transformations in landuse have been moved very similar to transformations in demosphere level through 1970s-1990s.

Regarding the uniformity of demosphere, it looks following Ratzel’s law of population density. However, a steady relationship is found between the level of population density and the degree of uniformity in the investigated study area. Findings assure also the diffusionist perspective in terms of homogeneity of demosphere. Accordingly, we argue that it is not possible to think about population density without at least implicitly assuming their spatial character.

To be sure, certain caveats must be considered. First, the methodology approached here may be not quantitatively enough. Therefore, we cannot draw inferences about the exact
quantitative role of spatial diffusion in promoting the redistribution of population density. Second, it might be argued that the significant effect of diffusion identified in the study is really due to the influence of some other variable. While we certainly cannot rule out this possibility, we are unable to nominate reasonable candidates for this mystery variable. Despite these caveats, the findings confirm the necessity for land reclamation as a promised policy to be followed by the government. Such policy may be able to rarefaction of the demosphere, therefore, participation in solving one of the three complicated aspects of population issue as reported by National Document of Population. It is to finally assert that change in population density like each interrelated aspect of demographic change has a spatio-temporal component which, when understood, adds to our knowledge of how and why these transitions occur. Thus, the findings suggest a need for synthetic models of population density variation that include both diffusion and demand factors. Such models could be accomplished by mutual collaboration between social and natural scientists yielding more understanding and comprehensive picture for the human complicated phenomena.

REFERENCES

Title: Teaching Professional Dress: Dressing 4 Success

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Abstract

Purpose: To demonstrate the do’s and don’ts of dressing for success: classroom presentations, getting a job, and getting promoted.

Students spend enormous amounts of time and money learning content that will be useful to them when they enter the workforce, but little if any time and money is spent on how to obtain the appropriate dress for success that will project the desired first impression. Hanna (2002) stresses the importance of first impressions and suggests students need help in making sure that these are positive. In a survey (Yankelovich Partners, 2002), 64% of Americans polled said that a woman’s appearance on the job affects whether she will be considered for a raise or promotion. What can instructors do to help students make a positive first impression and to keep dazzling their employers? The author has developed curricula that can be added to any course in any field of study in the Social Sciences to help students with this essential task.

Highlights of a 36-slide PowerPoint presentation will be displayed on the poster. Copies of the PowerPoint presentation will be made into handouts and will be made available. The Poster will illustrate the do’s and don’ts of dressing for success as well as how to shop for clothes and get the most for one's money. Garment construction, textiles, and how to make the most of one's physical assets are all illustrated on the poster. Ideas for dressing for classroom presentations as well as job interviews and career wardrobes will be included.

Methods and Descriptions of the Activity:

After struggling for many years with students showing up for professional presentations in inappropriate clothing, the author decided to create curricula that would make a difference in how students dressed, not only for professional presentations, but also for job interviews and on-the-job work days. Most students have misconceptions of how to dress appropriately. They assume that dressing for a presentation or work is a modified version of dressing-up to go out for an evening or perhaps to go to a church event. Student’s concept as to what professional dress is does not fit reality. The author has seen demonstrated time and time again that students show up for presentations wearing blue jeans, see-through blouses, bellies showing, hats, and tennis shoes. Often, students mimic what they see “professionals” wearing on television shows—mini skirts and low cut blouses, baggy pants or low-cut, tight pants!

Changing that image in the student’s mind is the challenge. The author has discovered that showing what is not appropriate as well as what is appropriate works well.

Many resources are cited on what is considered appropriate for dressing for success. Hanna (2002) emphasizes the importance of cleanliness and neatness as well as the manner of dress that is expected for each workplace. For example, Hanna states that some universities allow jeans for professional dress, while others expect suits. Moss and Yale (“Dealing with
employers,” 2000) suggest that one does not need to sell himself or herself to a prospective employer, but instead should present oneself as who he or she is and what he or she knows. Every person has a style of his or her own, but within that style there is expected conformity to dress codes. Another part of a person’s “look” has nothing to do with clothes, but attitude and self-confidence (Sukiennik, Bendat, & Raufman, 2001).

Sabath (2002) states that a person’s choice in clothes is important because it is part of one’s “packaging. Sabath is a business protocol and etiquette expert who offers 14 tips on how to dress for success. A suit is often cited as the best choice of interview dress for men and women, and several guidelines are provided in “Dressing for the interview” (2001-2002). For many students, budget is a concern. Christine Lazzarinini, an image consultant, advises that each person should first establish a clothing budget and 50% of the budget should be allocated for accessories (“Dressing for the interview.” 2001-2002). An accessory may be a nice jacket that makes an already existing dress or pants look different.

Bonell (1999) offers advice on everything from how to make the most (or least) of one’s figure to how to look promotable. She even discusses such things as how to look older when you are young and younger when you are not. The most comprehensive guide to successful dressing comes in the form of a book (The complete idiot’s guide to successful dressing) comprised of 15 chapters dealing with consumer issues as well as dressing to impress (Repinski, 1999).

Results/Conclusions/Applications:

The class in which this curricula was tested was an exit-to-the-major class in Family Studies. As part of this class, students were required to give a professional presentation and a mock job interview. Statistics were kept over the last four years pertaining to appropriate and inappropriate dress. Prior to this curricula being introduced, approximately 60% of the students dressed inappropriately for presentations and 40% dressed inappropriately for job interviews. This past year the results demonstrate a positive impact from the introduction of the “Dress for Success” curricula, 98% dressed appropriately for presentations and 95% dressed appropriately for job interview.

Many colleagues have shared similar frustrations in having students show up in inappropriate dress when they give presentations. This curricula can be adapted for any field of study. Each career field has dress standards: the curricula can be adapted to meet these.

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Sex Education and College Students: What They Want to Know;
Introduction of The Best Sex Book Ever

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Abstract

The purpose of this poster presentation is to demonstrate the benefits of using a new student-centered text book on Human Sexuality. The book incorporates critical thinking questions and Internet activities in a new and different way with each chapter. Current factual information is given in each chapter and students determine what aspect to further explore for each chapter. Examples of activities and the success and challenges of the book will be illustrated on the poster board. Handouts of summary information will be provided.

Why yet another book on the subject of human sexuality? As a professor, have you ever been frustrated by the wealth of new and exciting text books on human sexuality but just never found the book that was perfect for your class? Have you been tempted to write your own book, but just never found the time to complete it? Year after year, the author has found herself in this situation, and 20 years later has finally bitten the bullet and taken on the challenge of creating a book that can be used in a 10-week quarter system or a 16-week semester system.

Teaching and learning continue to change. This text focuses on student-centered learning and the instructor serves as the expert, facilitator, and delegator of that learning. Over the years, the author has compiled student questions and responses to class discussions. This anonymous material serves as the framework for this book and provides provocative reading throughout the chapters.

Students are intelligent, inquisitive, and independent thinkers. This book provides students with the opportunity to experience those qualities in themselves and to play a role in the charting of their study of human sexuality and make the topics apply to their own lives. The goal is to provide a common ground of information for each topic and then to have students expand their learning in directions of their own choice for each topic. Internet sites and additional resources are provided for each chapter. The accompanying Study Guide also has many ways to explore each topic through critical thinking questions, sample tests, and Internet activities.

Sexuality is a positive force in one's life. Unfortunately for some, it has a negative side. People may get sexually transmitted diseases, have an unwanted pregnancy, or even be sexually abused. The purpose of this book is to help increase awareness of factors
involved in sexual behavior so readers can make more conscious, responsible decisions that reflect their own values and what they want for themselves. Through careful planning, one can take charge of one's life and have sexuality be a positive force in their life.

The author has used this book successfully for two quarters and has found student learning, as measured by exam scores, to have increased and quality of written papers have improved. The breadth and depth of student understanding of sexual issues has broadened. In addition, students have created very innovative and expressive projects for their anatomy assignments. The interactive nature of the text and students being able to choose their own explorations for their research projects has resulted in better quality papers and projects. The text seems to appeal to the students' interests as it is based on questions they have asked the author in her over twenty years of teaching human sexuality.

The current book, The Best Sex Book Ever, is a pre-market edition of eight chapters. The completed book with eleven chapters will be published this summer and will be available for use Fall, 2006. The publisher is Pacific Crest, 906 Lacey Avenue, Suite 211, Lisle, IL 60532. Information about the publication can be addressed to Karl Krumsieg at Pacific Crest. The phone number is (630) 737-1067. The Web address is www.pcrest.com
Title of the submission - Intimate Relationships of Feminist Women Therapists

Topic area - Cross-disciplinary (Women’s studies and Psychology)

Presentation format - Poster Session

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ABSTRACT

Perspectives of women as clients or therapists are largely absent from research. Although there is a growing body of feminist-informed family therapy literature in last 2 decades, little is understood about the experiences (personal and professional) of feminist family therapist women. It is well documented in feminist literature that women incur costs in emotional, financial, and physical arenas in traditional marriages. Marital research from last decade suggests that perceived balance (equity) and marital satisfactions are highly correlated (Gottman & Notarius, 2002), and that women’s’ paid work and the satisfaction and self-worth they attain from their work is critical for their marital success. Till date, no research study has directly addressed whether feminist women therapists find support and affirmation of their feminist goals in their marriages (or relationships) or not. It is yet to be researched how feminist women, marriage and family therapists (MFTs) in particular, attempt to apply feminist ideals and utilize their MFT training/experience in their own intimate relationships. The objective of this research is to develop a model of romantic relationships/ marriages of heterosexual MFT women who self-identify as feminists and how their identities as feminists and MFTs impact their intimate relationships. Female therapists who self-identify as feminists and are in committed intimate heterosexual relationships will be interviewed and asked to describe the influence of their feminism and clinical training/experience on their personal lives. Guidelines associated with use of grounded theory, outlined by Strauss & Corbin (1998), will be followed for interviewing and analyses of data.

Feminist family therapy is a growing sub-field within MFT and women MFTs form an important body of clinicians who train, teach or practice therapy. Understanding the experiences of feminist MFTs is necessary to create a climate of “self-reflection” in the field of Marriage and Family Therapy. Little research exists in family therapy on women, their experiences, and their perspectives – as therapists, clients, in supervisory and training relationships. Specifically, little is understood or researched concerning ways in which feminist women attempt to live out their feminist beliefs in their marriages and whether there are costs associated with that work. Implications of this research can inform research scholars and practitioners about well-being of feminist MFT women, successes they have and challenges they face, as they juggle to honor their identities as feminists and therapists. Findings can shed light on specific areas that can be highlighted in imparting gender-training to therapists. The findings can also help us understand whether (and how) training on gender issues has an impact on therapists’ personal lives.

This study will attempt to further the research undertaken by Blaisure (1992) on feminist marriages, and the quantitative study on ‘enhancers’ and ‘stressors’ in the marriages of a group of therapists by Wetchler & Piercy (1986). The primary question addressed by this study is “How do feminist women MFTs practice and apply their feminism and their clinical knowledge/skills/training to their own intimate/romantic relationships?”
INTRODUCTION

Therapists spend their professional lives studying clients' development in an attempt to understand them better. It seems appropriate for them to attend to their own development. Therapists are often known to enter the field hoping to enhance and obtain better understanding of their own family lives, and although a great many of us are attracted to the profession of Marriage and Family Therapy (MFT) because we wish to grow personally (Markowitz, 1999), the topic of self-of-the-therapist is mostly ignored in graduate programs and is almost nonexistent in research studies on experienced therapists (Simon, 1992). The field of MFT has been slow to do an ‘introspective study’ that examines the lives and quality of marital/family life of the therapists themselves. Historical data on marriage and family therapists’ own marital lives is scarce. Almost two decades ago, in a quantitative study, Wetchler and Piercy (1986) studied the ‘enhancers’ and ‘stressors’ in the marriages of a group of MFTs. This study is an exploratory examination of the perceptions that feminist MFT women have of their intimate/romantic heterosexual relationships (or marriages). The primary question addressed by this study will be, “How do feminist women MFTs practice and apply their feminism and their clinical knowledge/skills/training to their own intimate/romantic relationships?”

I propose to do this research with feminist and qualitative research tradition at its heart. Therefore, I provide a brief autobiographical context for the chosen topic of study and the research methods proposed. I identify myself as a feminist, and a postmodernist, and have received doctoral training in marriage and family therapy. I chose this topic of inquiry for my dissertation research primarily because of my own personal and professional experiences and how they have influenced one another in a recursive manner. What I was trained to do in my clinical work often leaked back into my personal life (in my relationships with friendships, family and lovers), and whether I like it or not, it got fed back into my work with clients. I found that my experiences as a clinician, as a researcher and therapist-trainee often conflicted with my experiences as a woman in family/love relationships. Dorothy Smith (1987) wrote of the “fault line” between women sociologists’ experience as sociologists and as women. I experience that “fault line” in my own romantic relationship, for example, where although there is ample satisfaction in most areas of the relationship, I often feel like my feminist ideals are trivialized. I feel misunderstood and unheared and consequently experience a big disconnect in my identity, on one hand as a strong feminist who voices her opinions without fear in some settings, and on the other hand as a woman who experiences a different reality in a more intimate personal context - a woman who often feels powerless in making herself feel understood by her partner. I have heard resonating stories from my women friends who are feminists and who attempt to live their feminist ideals in their own relationships. It is no new knowledge that women’s sense of self is understood to be primarily built around relatedness and emotional connection in their professional and domestic live (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000). This led me to want to learn more about the underlying processes going on in women’s experiences. I began reading about
feminism, marriage, gender and depression, women’s discontent with intimacy in their heterosexual relationships; and got more interested in the experiences of feminist women, MFT women in particular. I found that there is only limited research or literature that existed that accurately captured and represented the experiences of feminist women’s intimate relationships, and much less on feminist MFT women. I have set out therefore to design and carry out this research project.

As a researcher, I situate myself on hinges of many identity-grounds, the primary ones being that of a woman, a ‘brown-skinned woman’, a feminist, a heterosexual feminist, a post-modern theorist and therapist, an international therapist born and raised in India, an Asian country. I do therapy from a primarily post-modern collaborative, feminist stance. I enjoy greatly working with mothers, single women, couples, individuals dealing with substance abuse issues, and issues of individuals whose experiences are marginalized. I strongly believe that ‘personal is political’. In terms of my development as a feminist family therapist, I gained exposure to post-positivist paradigms during my masters and doctoral degree training. This research is an extension of my continued quest regarding learning and documenting life experiences of individuals, and women in particular.

Rationale for Current Research Project

Due to the entry of increasingly large number of women into the workforce, today, the dual-career marriage has become the dominant family form. Even though most wives are now active participants in the workforce, the vast majority of marriage contracts are still based on traditional belief systems. The feminist agenda of gender equality challenges these traditions and acts as a potential source of conflict for many women who attempt to negotiate identity in these areas. Women marriage and family therapists (MFTs) typically are a group of women who have some level of graduate training. As a part of their training, they receive varying level of exposure (possibly ranging from minimal to high, depending on the training programs and their personal inclination and experiences) to issues of gender imbalances and power dynamics. This implies that, as a group, they are more likely (than their non-clinically trained peers) to observe and take note of those imbalances in their own family and marital relationships. Currently, women who seek equality diligently and do not recoil from expecting reciprocal caring from men experience realistic negative consequences such as emotional isolation and divorce (Blaisure & Allen, 1992). One can also conclude that, due to their training and clinical experience, they may be more prone to questioning the viability of those relationships if they assess that their needs are not adequately met or addressed. Are their expectations of equality and egalitarianism met in these women’s romantic relationships, and if not, how do they make meaning of this dissonance between their personal philosophy and their relationship dynamics?, Does a feminist’s voice have a home in her own marriage or romantic
relationship, and if not, what processes underlie her negotiation of such dissonance? These very questions lie at the heart of my research project.

Though most people still do get married, marriage as an institution is undergoing evolutionary changes (Baber & Allen, 1992). Marital equality is seen as an important value that both traditional and non-traditional couples pursue. However, actual practice of equality in marriages is more ‘in theory’ than in practice. Researchers have pointed out the ‘myth’ of equality. There is conflicting data on whether relationships between men and women are becoming more or less egalitarian. For instance, according to Gillem, Sehgal, & Forcet, (2000), between 1977 and 1995, there was an increasing trend toward both men and women developing more egalitarian attitudes toward women. Whether these egalitarian attitudes really get translated into actual practice is, however, a more complex question. For instance, couples tend to revert to more traditionally gendered modes of interacting when under stress (Woollett & Marshall, 2001) or following the arrival of children (Gottman & Natarius, 2002). It is however, indubitable, that gender differences do exist and impact family relationships significantly and are practiced in marriages between men and women, regardless of whether those relationships are based on traditional or more egalitarian models. In the face of ever increasing demands on couples to strive for equality in their marriages, social scientists have an important task of carrying out feminist analysis of these couples’ lives and how these couples negotiate their marriages and roles within them. As such, it is the responsibility of social scientists to bring to scrutiny their own marital lives as well.

Marital research done in the last decade points to the conclusion that perceived balance (or equity) and marital satisfaction have more than an incidental relationship (Gottman & Notarius, 2002; Larson, Hammond, & Harper, 1998). Also, research has supported the argument that women’s paid work, and the satisfaction and self-worth they attain from their work is understood as being critical for the success of their marriages as well (Baruch et al., 1983; Vanoy-Hiller & Phillipber, 1989). For feminist women MFTs, for example, the goal of attainment of higher self-worth and satisfaction can be achieved by their male partners’ acknowledgement of their feminist goals and respect for their professional status. Till date, no research study has directly addressed whether feminist women MFTs find support and affirmation of their feminist goals in their marriages (or relationships) or not.

Feminist family therapy is growing as a sub-field within MFT and women MFTs form an important body of clinicians who train, teach or practice therapy. Understanding the experiences of feminist MFTs is necessary for creating a climate of “self-reflection” in the field of Marriage and Family Therapy. Particularly within the field, Avis and Turner (1996) reported that they were struck by how little research exists in family therapy on women, their experiences, and their perspectives – as therapists, clients, in supervisory and training relationships. The need to create space for women’s voices remains important and overdue. Specifically, little is understood and researched concerning ways in which
feminist women are attempting to live out their feminist beliefs in their own intimate relationships and marriages and whether there are costs they pay associated with that work. Likewise, there is little in therapy literature on personal lives of MFTs, and substantially less on feminist MFTs and their life choices and experiences. This study will attempt to further the research undertaken by Blaisure (1992) on feminist marriages, and explore the experience of marriages and intimate relationships for feminist MFTs. This study will have a threefold objective – understanding the impact of (a) MFT training/skills on personal and professional lives of women, (b) feminist beliefs on personal and professional lives of women, and (c) being a feminist MFT on personal and professional lives of women.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Here, I present brief review of the frameworks that inform my conceptualization of the current research topic and help me situate this study within a broader context of the field of marriage and family therapy. I have utilized the feminist and postmodern perspective to examine work-career balance for therapists (and MFTs), gender differences in therapists’ perceptions, heterosexual relationships of women, MFTs (and feminist women), and the status and influence of feminism (feminist family therapy) within the specific field of MFT. Following that, I review literature from past research in related areas that I deemed were worthy of brief description in the context of the current research topic. I conclude this section with listing some implications of this proposed research study.

Family Systems Theory

General Systems theory provides the basic impetus to study such concepts as relationships, recursive influence, marriages, processes, communication and such within dyadic relationships or families. An important aspect of systems theory that informs my research is that of the interconnectedness and interdependence of parts of a system, and therefore considering various parts as well as the whole. Other concepts that help me form assumptions that guide my work are the focus on processes or context instead of on individual events, focus on here-and-now interactions instead of searching for causal links, and focus on relationships and patterns that individual members form among each other (Becvar & Becvar, 2000). According to systemic thinking there are reciprocal and circular influences among different parts of a system. Marriage and family therapy (MFT) is not as much a field as it is essentially a way of thinking that emphasizes the interrelatedness of the individual, the family and the social context. This recursive influence makes it essential for therapists to understand the experiences and processes in their personal and professional lives. Authors in the field have focused increasingly in this last decade on the effects of larger systems, such as gender, school systems, social networks, etc on families. According to the systems view of marriage, no couple initiates a relationship as a blank state; each individual enters with a set of
beliefs and expectations for marriage that are shaped by experiences in one’s family of origin and previous couple/marital relationships, and all of these are together embedded in one’s cultural community and the systems that lie beyond their immediate everyday interactions such as political arena, educational institutions, influences of popular media, and their socio-economic status, etc.

**Feminist Perspective**

Feminism is a liberationist project that emerged most recently from the civil rights movement for American Blacks in the 1950s and 1960s. The seeds of the feminist movement were planted during the latter portion of the 18th century. The first organized movement seems to be dated from the first women’s right convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, often referred to as the birthplace of the feminist movement. In both the World Wars, manpower shortages brought the women into traditionally male occupations that ranged from munitions manufacturing and mechanical work to a female baseball league. By demonstrating that women could do “men’s work”, and highlighting society’s dependence on their labor, attention was called to encourage women from striving toward equality (Brownmiller, 1999).

Feminism does not mandate a specific methodology, however it provides a lens from which to analyze and view power dynamics in contexts. It is not a set of techniques or conclusions, but rather a lens through which one views and understands realities. Katherine Allen (2001, p.794) defines feminism as a way of being in the world (ontology), a way of investigating and analyzing the world (methodology, and a theory or model of how we know what we know about the world (epistemology). It is “a process that begins with the recognition of the inferior status of women, proceeds to an analysis of the specific forms and causes of that inequality, makes recommendations for strategies of change, and eventually leads to a recognition and validation of women’s realities, women’s interpretations, and women’s contributions” (Wheeler, 1985, p.). Feminist theory has been applied to understand women’s lives, their roles in marriages and families, their friendships, violence in domestic arenas, and several other areas that are of importance to women.

**Postmodernism**

In the field of family therapy, greater attention has been paid to postmodern thinking through social constructionists and narrative therapists. Postmodernism questions authority and challenges the status quo, and rejects the notion of absolute universal truths. It instead proposes tentative and local knowledge and subjectivity of experiences, “contextual and relational understandings” (p. 2, Flaskas, 2002). In North America, postmodernism as an intellectual enterprise drew inspiration primarily from the work of French postmodernist theorists, some of the influential ones being Foucault, Lacan, and Jacques Derrida. Deconstruction and construction are fundamental concepts of postmodernism and offer useful tools for
feminists who are aiming to obtain a deeper and broader understanding of women’s experiences and lives. The deconstruction process can highlight the plurality of women’s beliefs and experiences in arenas like sexuality, loving, and caring and offer rich and complex pictures of these aspects of women’s lives and challenge the notions that unitary and homogenous knowledge about women’s experiences and power-relations exists (Baber & Allen, 1992). According to Baber and Allen (1992), “A postmodern feminist analysis of women’s experiences in families demands a critical reconsideration of marriage as a context for women’s social health and well-being. Traditional marriage has served the interests of women, but often not well, and there have been significant costs – some hidden, some obvious and deeply felt. What is the current status of marriage in women’s lives? How viable is marriage as a life choice for women? What types of marriages have women and their partners constructed? How are women changing their marriages to enhance their lives and maximize the likelihood of achieving greater intimacy and mutuality?” (p. 25)

**Conflict between Work and Family: Challenge for MFTs**

As more and more couples become involved in our multi-tasking culture, couple and family therapists may be increasingly called upon to provide clinical intervention and psychological support to couples and families experiencing work and family inter-role conflict (Haddock, Zimmerman, Ziemba, & Current, 2001). A random sample of 82 American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (AAMFT) Clinical Members indicated that approximately 30% of their cases with couples and families involved conflicts between work and family roles (Haddock & Bowling, 2001). Despite the high percentage of clinical cases concerning conflict between work and family roles, nearly one-half of the aforementioned 82 MFTs reported limited understanding of the dynamics of conflicts between work and family roles. The percentages of cases involving work and family conflict is likely to rise due to the growing numbers of dual-earner families (Haddock et al.), making this an issue of growing importance to mental health professionals providing services and support to couples and families.

**Importance of Work-Family Balance for Therapists and Self-of-the-Therapist**

Marriage and Family Therapists (MFTs) engaging in clinical practice face several challenges as they strive to provide competent services, maintain work-family balance, and survive financially. There is some research in psychotherapy that clearly suggests that faculty and students report balancing their personal and work lives as problematic (Matheson, 2002; Moyer, Salovey, & Casey-Cannon, 1999; Polson & Piercy, 1993). The stressors of clinical or psychotherapeutic have been addressed in some research. During graduate training in MFT (and other psychotherapy fields) individuals are often forced to confront problems in their own marriages and/or family-of-origin during the course of their training.
(Guldner, 1978). There is definite interaction between how stress of clinical practice and training impacts the marital/family life of clinicians and how stress from their family in turn influences their clinical work.

The ‘self-of-the-therapist’ is increasingly becoming a topic of interest in the recent MFT literature. Several MFT program curricula, though not directly, incorporate self-of-the-therapist issues as routine matters of discussion in their coursework and supervision with therapists-in-training. Personal growth is possibly understood as an implicit goal of graduate training programs in MFT, even though it is not listed explicitly as a goal of the training. The demands and challenges associated with the personal and intimate nature of psychotherapeutic work, that often involves intense and emotional therapeutic relationships with clients, are very unique. Of particular interest and concern is the impact of these stressors of emotional work on the personal well-being, and the level and quality of marital/family involvement and satisfaction with spouses (or spouse-equivalents) for marriage and family therapists.

It is obvious that psychotherapists (MFTs, psychologists, counselors, etc.) learn a great deal in their skills-training educational degree programs about effectively communicating, relating, listening, conflict-resolution, and factors that enhance marital quality (through both clinical training and experience). Learning systems concepts and beginning to apply them to one’s personal and family life can be simultaneously growth-producing and challenging. Insight into human behavior often leads to increased self-awareness, which can facilitate personal growth and maturation (Farber, 1983; Guy, 1987). It only makes sense that when one learns to help others with their marital problems, that knowledge gets added to one’s personal knowledge-base about relationships as well. Logically then, it derives, that marriage and family therapists should ideally be very well equipped to utilize those skills in their own marriages and romantic relationships. However, to date, it is yet to be empirically tested in the field of MFT (or even psychology) whether clinical knowledge translated into actual application in one’s own romantic relationship or marriage. It is a complex research question, since it involves multiple factors. The therapists’ own marriage, for instance, involve forming a relationship with (and relating / communicating to) a partner who has his/her own set of beliefs, attitudes, history, behaviors which may/may not complement the therapists’ own training / practice / experience (in working with clients who are essentially strangers). Also, other factors that can compound this are - whether the therapist obtained clinical training/skills before or after his/her marriage, whether the therapist is married to a therapist, etc. Additionally, the therapist in his/her personal life has to negotiate with many other sub-systems (such as FOO issues, in-laws, children, etc) that are not a part of the client-therapist subsystem. One can conclude, therefore, that level of competence and success as a clinician may not directly guarantee translation of those clinical skills and competence into one’s own marriage, even though there is some overlap between the two sub-systems. A good therapist may not be a good spouse or a good therapist may not be in a good marriage. Satisfaction and success with one’s ability as an MFT (which involves dealing with clients who are strangers and one sees only few times a month) doesn’t necessarily indicate that one’s level of
satisfaction with one’s own marriage (where one impacts and gets impacted in turn by one’s spouse in much frequent and deeper ways) will be high.

Although there is abundant scholarly research and literature dedicated to the field of psychotherapy, little research has focused on the effects of therapists’ practice on their personal lives (Murstein & Mink, 2004). Hardly any research studies exist that focus exclusively on MFT women professionals. In a study by Sori, Wetchler, Ray, and Niedner (1996) examining the stressors and enhancers associated with being in MFT graduate programs for students and their families, data was analyzed to determine if the sex of the trainee or spouse was a factor in the stressor or enhancers scores reported. Their results indicated that female spouses reported a significantly higher total enhancer score than did male spouses, or conversely that male spouses reported lower total enhancer scores than did female spouses. Female spouses were also less significantly stressed than male spouses. They explained that these differences may be related to traditional gender roles. Traditionally, women have been socialized to be in more subordinate roles in their marriages, and traditional roles for women don’t support their independence and pursuit of (professional) goals outside their marriages and families. Also, men are not socialized to place their wives’ developing professional interests and needs before their own. This might explain why male spouses were more significantly stressed than female spouses and reported overall lower enhancer than did female spouses. No research study has directly addressed female MFT trainees or clinicians marital/family life even though the little research done has indicated that their husbands find it more stressful and less enhancing than male therapists’ spouses. This current study is an attempt to understand womens’ unique experiences in the context of MFT clinical practice.

**Feminism and Marriage**

In the traditional marriages, men and women balanced work-family interaction by gender segregated roles that were clearly defined. In recent times, compelling economic and ideological reasons and changes in the social roles that men and women have played, have propelled women into the work place. However, this has been accompanied by the distinctly slower entry of men into domestic and nurturing roles. This imbalance has led to social scientists trying to reformulating the meaning of marriages for traditional and contemporary couples. As couples attempt to create a marriage, they often have to resolve multiple issues which were in the past, indirectly outlined by the socio-cultural norms and economic situation. In the current times, however, they receive contradictory messages about their ability to construct a marriage where egalitarianism is socially valued as an ideal they can pursue. Couples must construct their relationships in an environment where equality seems to be a desirable goal whereas they still have traditional gender role expectations and unequal power and resources which make the actual achievement of that goal nearly impossible or difficult at best (Knudson-Martin & Mahoney, 1998).
Feminist commentaries of marriages offer critiques regarding the disadvantages that women experience within marriages. Feminist scholars attempt to understand women’s experiences and perspectives and challenge existing paradigms and assumptions. They demonstrate the problematic nature of marital/family life for women (Glenn, 1987). Barnett and associates (Barnett, Brennan, Raudenbush, & Marshall, 1994; Barnett & Shen, 1997) suggested that career and household demands often contribute to decreased marital satisfaction levels and increased psychological distress for women. Women continue to be the marital partners responsible for a family’s emotional intimacy, for monitoring the relationship and resolving conflict from a subordinate position, for being as independent as possible without threatening their husbands’ statuses (Fishman, 1983; Thompson & Walter, 1989). Marriage overall fail to provide women an upgrade for their mental/emotional well-being, though physically and financially they often provide rewarding experiences for women.

Feminists believe that personal is political. It goes to conclude from this statement that those who subscribe to the feminist thought actively live feminism in their personal lives as well, try to reconcile the traditional norms with newer and contemporary ideas of marriages, and to bring equality, fairness and egalitarianism in their marriages as a part of their commitment to their feminism. This task can be quite difficult, however. Hagan (1991) described the struggles of feminist women who live with men as trying to grow orchids in the Arctic. Feminist women who are married report of struggles and difficulties within their marriages (McBride, 1976). Married feminists often feel that there exists a contradiction between their feminist beliefs and their desire to achieve intimacy with men. Although alternatives to compulsory marriage are available, there continues to exist the pull of marriage, in its less institutionalized version, and a definite salience of the idea of a lifelong commitment to a significant other (Baber & Allen, 1992). Regardless of their age, race, and social class, the desire to marry seems to exist for most women (Tucker, 2000). Stacey (1986) observed that feminism has not yet explained or appreciated the complexity and continued vitality of heterosexuality, even for those women who are feminists. Thompson (1989) examined the dialectic between the critique of marriage as exchange and the simultaneous desire for a lifelong bond with an intimate other. In this current research project, I am attempting to deconstruct the notion of heterosexuality for feminist MFTs, and to identify the multiple meanings it has for these women and reveal if and how they reconstruct relationships with their male partners to be affirming and satisfying expressions of intimacy.

Women, Feminism and the field of MFT

Women professional are clustered in fields like social sciences, nursing, education, and humanities (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; Stephan & Kassis, 1997). In the last few decades, there has been a growing recognition of feminist agenda in literature and research in the social sciences. Feminists
in the MFT field agree that women are disadvantaged by the structure of the heterosexual marriage, though little has been done to address the disadvantage or specify how to redress gender inequities in marriages or other committed relationships (Rampage, 2002). In terms of research studies addressing women feminist family therapists, there is only one study that I found. In a feminist, phenomenological research with women, Whipple (1996), developed a four-stage identity development model for feminist family therapists and suggested that the following stages were involved: “becoming a feminist, awareness of sexism in the family therapy field, integrating feminist values into family therapy theory and practice, and consolidating a sense of identity as a feminist family therapist, including being able to articulate specific themes and techniques congruent with that sense of identity” (p.390). However, she did not address any issues relative to the personal lives of the feminist therapists she interviewed.

Within the field of MFT, feminist therapists have challenged the incorporation of normative expectations regarding sexist and gendered stereotypes concepts about family roles and functioning that dominated traditional systems theory (Goodrich, Rampage, Ellman & Halsead, 1988; Walter, Carter, Papp, & Silverstein, 1988). Influential works of Virginia Satir, Kenneth Gergen, Sheila McNamee, Judith Myers Avis, Lynn Hoffman, Jean Turner and others have provided the necessary impetus to awaken feminist concerns within the field in the last few decades. Goodrich and associates (1988) described feminist family therapy as “a political and philosophical viewpoint that produces a therapeutic modality by informing the questions the therapist asks and understanding the therapist develops” (p. 21).

According to Leslie and Clossick (1992), feminist-informed family therapy is not a distinctive model of therapy or set of techniques, but rather a philosophical and political perspective. Like systems theory, feminist theory is an alternate way of observing and understanding family interactions and relationships. Practicing from a gender-informed perspective essentially means paying close attention to the power differentials between clients and to their outcomes, and making efforts to facilitate shared power and equality in relationships. For example, feminist therapy might focus on facilitating fair division of labor and the placement of equal value on each partner’s life goals and work, as well as on encouraging couples to share decision making, and emotional responsibility for the well-being of the relationship (Haddock, Zimmerman & MacPhee, 2000).

In terms of actual application of feminist ideology into clinical practice, Haddock et al. (2000) stated that students face the most difficulty with enacting rather than assimilating feminist theory, and many training programs do not offer sufficient assistance. This difficulty was also highlighted by Leslie and Clossick (1996) who demonstrated that even those therapists who are fairly knowledgeable about feminist theory and are committed to its application to therapy often find it difficult to translate their theoretical understanding into the practice of therapy. It seems logical that, if they find it difficult to apply their feminist training/knowledge into their clinical work, that they might find it difficult to translate their personal feminist philosophy into their own intimate relationships as well. There is no systematic research
that has explored whether this is the case or not. This is problematic as the MFT profession is primarily female. According to Kaveny (2002), based on available data from program reports, it was estimated that in 1999, approximately 74% of graduate students and slightly over half (53%) of MFT faculty in COAMFTE accredited programs were female. As women make up such a large percentage of the faculty and students in MFT, they deserve to have their experiences be recognized and supported to the same extent their male counterparts. Based on available literature on women in academia, it is clear that women face notable institutional and societal hurdles. This can create a hostile environment where not only are women’s experiences ignored, they are undermined by omission. Only by actively understanding the experiences of women students and faculty members can we attempt to change the status quo.

Goal of Marital Equality and Research

In the following paragraphs, I list some research studies that are relevant to my topic of research. These are research studies on intimate relationships (primarily marital unions) that examine one or more aspects of egalitarian marriages or marriages of feminists. There have been several books written on such topics as peer or egalitarian marriages (Schwartz, 1995), or dual-career or two-income marriages (Barnett & Rivers, 1996; Silberstein, 1992), marital equity (Steil, 1997). Literature has also focused on specific demands on women who have careers (Kaltreider, 1997). In “peer marriages”, Schwartz (1994) discusses six main matters of concern that were involved for those who sought reciprocity in emotional work and participation in house/child-care work: treason against tradition, career costs, identity costs, sexual dynamism, exclusion of others, calibrating the right mix of equity and equality.

Long-term marriages that are known to be healthy for women are based on best-friend models and are characterized by caring and cooperation (Baruch, Barnet, and Rivers, 1983). In a study of 489 married couples, Vanoy-Hiller and Philliber (1989) found that the most important aspects in successful marriages, particularly those where the wives were working and high-achievers, were the husband’s sensitivity, supportiveness and sense of self-worth. An important manner in which marriages can upgrade women’s sense of worth seems to be through women having work and family as two distinct sources of pleasure. Gottman & Notarius (2002) reported that “balance in husband-wife power was related to marital quality” (p.174); “egalitarian couples had the highest…marital satisfaction (p.174); “Across couple types, marital satisfaction was associated with interactions confirming equality between partners” (p.176). Rampage (2002) drew the conclusion from these findings that “marriages in which the principle of equality between partners animates their everyday transactions are more satisfying…than relationships in which partners struggle for power, or in which too much control is vested in one person” (p.265). Furthermore, she commented that as long as practices of marriage fail to support the goal of maximizing both spouses’ satisfaction through cooperation and collaboration, the rates of divorce are bound to rise. I
have briefly listed relevant research done in the past that address feminism and marriages. Knudson-Martin & Mahoney (1998) studied marital processes that foster ‘equal marriages’, defined as those in which each partner held equal status, accommodation in the relationship was mutual, attention to the other in the relationship was mutual, and there was mutual well-being of the partners. Highlighting on what they called the ‘myth of marital equality’, they discovered that despite couples’ descriptions of themselves as egalitarian, gender inequity existed and there were subtle power processes that were both invisible and latent. Blaisure’s (1992) interviewed twenty married female and male feminists using qualitative research (couples where both spouses agree on goals of equality), and asked them about their ideology of marital equality and actual practice of marital equality. She also asked the couples to describe the influence of feminism on their marriages. The study confirmed that there was a distinction between the ideology and practice of equality within heterosexual marriages of feminists. However, it was unclear about whether they used grounded theory research procedures, and the researcher interviewed couples. In my study that I propose, I intend to interview feminist women who are marriage and family therapists. Vaughn (1997) did a qualitative study on marriages of feminists (women) and their conflict resolutions and used questionnaire data of 120 women. According to her, the feminist women in her study seemed to be able to achieve some equality with respect to careers, finances, major decision making but not with regard to household duties and child care. She reported that the women who were more satisfied with their marriages were the ones where, regardless of whether the husbands were feminists or not, their husbands supported their wives’ feminist beliefs and were not overly domineering. Matson (1986) used a grounded theory approach and interviewed seventeen couples to study the effects of feminism on intimate male-female relationships. According to her, “for women who choose to meet their needs for intimacy by bonding with men, there are intrinsic conflicts. The men with whom they bond, by virtue of being male, represent the oppressor. The issue for such a feminist is how to maintain an intimate relationship with a man, symbol of societal sexism and still maintain her integrity as a feminist” (p. 5). In her study, she explored the processes by which feminist women act on their ideology in their intimate relationships with men, the impact that feminist ideology had on such relationships and how couples resolved any difficulties that emerged.

I have utilized the literature and findings from above-mentioned studies to formulate the interview questions, the broad and topical questions for my research study. These studies have utilized both quantitative and qualitative methods; however only one of them has used grounded theory methods. None of the above-mentioned research and literature has focused on the relationships or marriages of feminist family therapists, women therapists in particular.

PROPOSED METHODOLOGY
The overarching theoretical framework for this study is a postmodern and feminist perspective. I propose to use a qualitative method of study for the topic at hand because qualitative research intends to discover and understand an issue or phenomenon. Interviews and other qualitative forms of inquiry encourage participants to reflect on and recover information and knowledge about themselves (Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). A qualitative research design is particularly relevant to the study of marriage because it invites participants to describe and explain their lives in their own words and to assess for themselves, to what extent they experience marriage as beneficial and detrimental (Fishman, 1983; Thompson, 1982). Qualitative research methods for this study will focus on the systemic nature of different aspects of women’s identities. For this research project, I propose to use a grounded theory approach. The purpose of grounded theory is to uncover the basic social processes that underlie behavior (McLeod, 2001). Grounded theory was deemed as suitable for this inquiry since the purpose of grounded theory is to explain a particular social situation through understanding the basic underlying processes operating, the final aim being to generate theory (Bake, Wuest, & Stern, 1992). In this current project, my aim is to explain the processes related to the experiences of Feminist MFT women in their romantic heterosexual relationships and marriages. In grounded theory one generates of discovers a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation. The situation is one where individuals interact, take actions, or engage in a process in response to a phenomenon (Creswell, 1998). The aim of the current research project is to understand and explore the romantic relationship experiences of feminist MFTs, and to generate a theoretical model for the ways in which these women integrate their feminism and their MFT training and experience into their own romantic relationships and how they cope with struggles, if any, associated with integrating these aspects of their identities.

**Participant Selection and Characteristics**

Participants will be selected using convenience sampling and screened for participation. The number of participants will be chosen using theoretical sampling, which means that the researcher will choose participants based on their ability to contribute to an evolving theory, which begins with obtaining a homogenous sample (in this case, MFT feminist women who can comment on their experiences of being in romantic heterosexual relationships). Participants will be MFT women (individuals who have received graduate MFT training and are actively employing their MFT training in their professional lives either through training/teaching/clinical practice or research), who self-identify as feminist, who have at least 5 years of clinical experience as an MFT Post-Masters), who have either been married for > or = 5 years (or have been in committed romantic heterosexual relationships for that period). I am choosing to interview heterosexual women, since research has shown that “those in heterosexual relationships are more vulnerable to being less able (or unable) to make changes in power structure, role relationship, and relationship rules” (Green, Bettinger, & Zacks, 1996, p. 195). Lesbian and gay couples are known to
exhibit much greater equality, gender-role flexibility and cohesion than heterosexual couples (Green et al.). Also, it was another requirement that the women in those relationships must have cohabited with their male partners for at least the past 2 years. Only women over 27 years of age will be interviewed. 27 was chosen as an arbitrary age (beyond 25 years) the rationale being that development of feminism and the ability to articulate the impact of feminism on intimate relationship is possibly a process that develops with maturity. No suggestion is being made here that women under 27 are immature, however. No upper age limit is designated for the participants.

Procedure

Data will be collected through interviews (semi-structured open-ended). Participation from potential interviewees will be enlisted by contacting MFTs in a mid-size Southwestern town who might know MFT women (in the teaching profession, or doing clinical practice) and believe might identify themselves as feminists. They will be contacted by telephone and requests will be made about participating in this study by briefly telling them the purpose of the study, why they were chosen as potential participant, and what their participation will entail (in terms of time commitment). If they agree to be interviewed, a time/date and place according to their convenience will be set up.

Interview Protocol and Research Questions

Participants will be provided a ‘Consent Form’ that will address the following: The primary purpose of the research project, procedure to be used, their right to withdraw at any time without any penalty, detailed procedures about how their confidentiality will be protected, stating any possible risks (and benefits) anticipated with participating in the project. Confidentiality of the participants will be protected through the use of code numbers in place of names on transcripts, audiotapes, and memos. After their consent is obtained in the form of a signature, interviews will be conducted. Since there is minimal research on experiences of women who are feminist family therapists, this project is exploratory in nature. Face-to-face interviews will be preferred, and in cases where that is not possible, telephone interviews will be conducted and will last approximately 60 minutes to 90 minutes. Interviews will be conducted by the researcher using the tentative interview guide (List of target interview questions and topic areas they address are listed as follows). Interviews will be tape-recorded and later transcribed verbatim on a MS Word document.

Topical Interview Questions Regarding Feminism

1. What does feminism mean to you?
2. When did your feminism development? [Did your training as an MFT have anything to do with your introduction to feminism?; if one came prior to the other; How do you experience your life differently (if so) since you became aware of your feminism?]
3. Role of feminism in ‘who you are as a person’, what decisions of your life has your feminism impacted (marriage, when, family, children, friends, work??)

4. What would you say about issues of power and gender in your romantic relationship / marriage? (how does gender organize your life in the relationship with partner?; What would you say about whether you have an equitable relationship with your partner/ spouse keeping in line with your feminist ideals?

5. How do your feminist beliefs impact your clinical work?

*Topical Interview Questions Regarding MFT training/clinical experience*

6. Talk about yourself as an MFT [training received, reasons for joining the field, application of MFT training (Teach? Train? Supervise? Therapy?), primary theories you use in your work, typical clientele, level of competence with your work, and satisfaction with your clinical work].

7. How has being an MFT changed your life, if at all?

*Topical Interview Questions Regarding Marriage/Romantic relationship*

8. Your Marriage/Relationship? Traditional/egalitarian? (financial division, amount and kind of emotional work put in by you and your spouse, communication, intimacy, sex, child-care, decision-making, conflict-resolution, are you able to talk about your feminist ideas with him, does he support your expression of feminism, what are some aspects of your marriage you wish were different?)

9. How do you manage work/family? (Difficulties, strengths?)

10. Level of satisfaction with Romantic relationship/marriage? (Aspects you are satisfied with? Aspects you are unsatisfied with? What are areas of conflict in your relationship? How do you resolve those?)

*Questions about Interconnection Between Personal, Professional, and Ideological*

11. How do you view the relationship/connection between your feminism and your romantic relationship/marriage? [Impact of being a feminist on your relationship/marriage: how has your feminism helped your relationship/marriage?, How has it hurt your relationship/marriage?]

12. Connection between your profession MFT and your feminism?

13. Connection between your profession MFT and your marriage/relationship? [Impact of being an MFT on romantic relationship/marriage: did you become feminist before/after you got involved with your current partner?; how has your training as an MFT and experience working with clients helped, hurt your relationship/marriage?]

14. How does your spouse (equivalent) feel about your feminism? About your being an MFT? How does that affect your marriage/relationship?

15. How would your family/friends describe your relationship/marriage (their comments)
16. How do these two interact? - Your being a feminist and a marriage and family therapist? How does that together impact your relationship with your spouse/partner?
17. Compared to other women MFTs who are feminists, how do you think your relationship/marriage compares to theirs?
18. Would your marriage look any different if you weren’t an MFT and a feminist? How?

Proposed Data Analysis

Each data analysis step in grounded theory is aimed to raise the level of abstraction and conceptual level of the data. Constant comparative method, a continuous process of categorization, sorting and resorting, and coding and recoding the data for emergent categories of meaning, will be done. Constant comparative method of analysis is referred to as the “staple feature of grounded theory methodology” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 78). Data will basically be analyzed using open (line-by-line coding to develop categories of information), axial (interconnecting the categories with subcategories) and selective coding (building a story that connects the categories) as proposed by Strauss & Corbin (1998) and Echevarria-Doan & Tubbs (2005). I will utilize the software ATLAS in order to do some of the data-analysis mentioned henceforth. The first level of analysis will involve a line-by-line “opening up the data” (called open coding), where phenomena will be identified and the data will be labeled to conceptually describe what is happening. Each conceptually distinct phenomenon identified will be given a unique numerical label or codes. The second stage of analysis (axial coding) will involve grouping phenomena together into a higher-level cluster by identifying categories among them and labeling them at a more conceptually abstract level. The final level of analysis (selective coding) will involve making interconnections between categories and relate them on a conceptual scheme and rename them if necessary. I will also maintain an informal reflexive journal wherein I will record my thoughts, feelings and observations after each interview will be conducted, and at each level of data analysis.

Issues of Reliability and Validity

Within conventional positivist research, reliability refers to the accuracy of the data, consistency of the methods, and the ability to replicate research results. Within the qualitative research tradition, the term reliability does not apply, since the participants’ accounts are never unreliable. The issue of trustworthiness as such does not exist. Use of research team members to interpret and double-check the coding schemes is a way to enhance reliability in qualitative research. A commonly used means of establishing reliability is the use of multiple coders and the closely related technique of peer examiners (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993), which reduces potential bias in the analysis and reporting phase by using multiple perspectives to validate results (Kvale, 1996).
In terms of validity in traditional quantitative research, it addresses the appropriateness of the research method to the research question. Validity also addresses the interpretations of the data. In order to increase validity in qualitative research, summaries of the reconstructions of the data (interpretations) can be given to a subsample of the respondents--selected based on typical case selection criteria (Yin, 1989)--who can serve as member checkers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 1989). A Participant verification and feedback, the most commonly used procedures, typically involve presenting the preliminary results to the original informants to determine if the results corroborate and describe their reported experience and to receive feedback on researcher interpretation (Leininger, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

*Proposed Timeline for the Research*

I have submitted this research proposal to my dissertation committee and am hoping to have it approved within the next 2 weeks. Right after, I will submit my research for approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB). I plan to spend middle part of March and April to select participants and collect data, and I anticipate that will have collected the data by the end of April and will utilize the month of May and June to do data analysis and write my dissertation. In any case, I am certain that I will have preliminary findings and discussion ready to present by the time of the conference, although I may still do more intensive data analyses in the weeks following to write up my dissertation and then graduate in July, 2006.

*IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS AND OUTCOMES*

Recognition of the significance for using women’s experiences as resources for social research has implications for social structures of education, journals, funding agencies, and ultimately for social life (Harding, 1987). The experiences of feminist family therapists have not been explored in literature or research. Implications of this research can inform research scholars and practitioners about the well-being of feminist MFT women, successes they have and challenges they face, as they juggle to honor their identities as feminists and marriage and family therapists (both in their personal and professional lives). It is known that career, home, love and personal beliefs do not exist in isolated spheres for women and therefore findings from this study can be used to understand and highlight the interconnections between career, feminist ideology and intimate relationships for MFT women. Furthermore, this study can add to the knowledge base about relationships and marriages in general, and quality of marriages and relationships of MFT women and whether there are consequences they face as a result of upholding feminist ideals. Toward this end, the purpose of this study is to explore how feminist women in the MFT field experience their intimate heterosexual relationships, including marriages – institutions that can oppress women and also offers them confirmation, value and fulfillment.

Women participants of my study represent a minority group within social sciences – women,
MFTs, and feminists. Given the fact that there is a substantial number of women in MFT who ally to feminism, and the minimal scholarly attention given to women’s subjective experiences in general, understanding and bringing their experiences to the forefront is a goal worth pursuing. There is clearly an important need to explore the relationship experiences of these women, who stand in minority and challenge the cultural sexist norms of our society, and to understand whether they have to pay costs in attempting to do so. Also, there is clearly a need to understand the impact of clinical MFT training on the personal lives of therapists in more detail than has been studied in the past. In teaching students about systems thinking, about gender issues, and training them to identify gender inequities and address them in therapy, are we enhancing the experience of marriages and intimate relationships for our student-trainees or making them more vulnerable to the demands on their ‘home-front’?

The findings of this study can also be applied to dual-career couples who we see in therapy, and are even more likely to see in the coming years, where work-family balance is often an issue for those couples. This research focuses on the public (professional) paid work role, theoretical and ideological beliefs, and private relational role of women in the field of marriage and family therapy and thereby highlights the tie between personal (relational), ideological and professional which is clearly reciprocal and inseparable (Kaslow & Schulman, 1987). Since this is a study about women practitioners of feminist family therapy, therefore, in addition to the contributions to the general knowledge of women, it can also add to feminist family therapy theory and research.

Specifically, for the field of MFT, the findings from this research study can have implications for how we design training programs for the incoming therapist-trainees in our field. Findings can be utilized to develop increased sensitivity within the context of teaching, training and supervision, to trainees’ personal lives, particularly to the lives of women trainees. Findings can also shed light on more specific areas which can be highlighted in imparting gender-training to the trainee-therapists. The study can also illuminate the successes and difficulties feminist therapist women experience in applying feminism to their own intimate relationships (or marriages), and successes on difficulties they experience in applying their MFT clinical knowledge/experience to their own relationships. The findings can also help us understand whether (and how) training on gender issues in MFT has an impact on therapists’ personal lives. The knowledge can help trainers develop better training programs that will more adequately address needs of the student-trainees. Hopefully, conversations about the connection between the professional and the personal will become commonplace in the field of MFT.
Important References


a. title of the submission: Informal Home Based Working Women in Turkey

b. topic area of the submission (chooses from above list): Sociology

c. presentation format (choose from above list): Paper Sessions

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Informal Home Based Working Women in Turkey
Reyhan Atasü Topçuoğlu

Abstract

In the process of globalization and post-Fordist production relations, and of the expansion of the gap between the labour supply and the employment opportunities created by the formal sector, traditional employment in factories has been diminishing, and unemployed and unemployable masses and employment in the informal sector has been growing. In this process some old working types has been reorganized and has been expanding. One of these works is home-based work which means all kinds of income generating work including, peace work. Home-based workers generally take raw materials or intermediary goods supplied by a subcontractor, and turn these materials into final products. Such kind of production is wide informal production type which is found by firms as an elucidation in order to decrease their costs of production and to increase their competitiveness in the market. Home based work, both as an important aspect of the informal sector, and as a women labour intensive sector (90% of its workers are women) has been an interesting topic both for economists and sociologists.

Economists generally, consider the issue from a market-oriented point and try to explore and explain the structure and dynamics of the sector. Sociologists and social scientists that are specialized in women studies look at the issue from a point, which try to investigate and describe the production relations and the effects of home based work on women. This study will use both of the points in order to have a macro and evocative picture of home based work. This study is based on in-depth interviews with twenty home-based workingwomen in Turkey. By using women’s experiences it will try to shed some light on the nature of home-based work.

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SUBMISSION TITLE
Teaching to the Test & Grading on a Curve: Alternatives

SUBMISSION TYPE
Reports related to teaching

TOPIC AREA
Education & Social Work

PRESENTATION FORMAT
Workshop

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Abstract

As educators, two of the most common and difficult questions students can ask us are: "What’s on the test?” and “What grade is my exam score of 60%?” This workshop examines two fundamental educational issues that can impact both experienced and novice educators: teaching to the test and grading on a curve. As much as we might want to avoid it, after teaching material we must test and grade student performance. The first issue, teaching to the test, is often interpreted to mean that students' know beforehand what will be tested resulting in memorization but with little understanding. However, making what will be tested a mystery or secret does not solve this problem. For students to go beyond simply ‘memorizing facts’ we must go beyond simply ‘teaching facts.’ This workshop shows participants how to create vertically aligned testing materials using Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (e.g., knowledge, comprehension, application, synthesis, analysis, evaluation). When course material is vertically aligned we can tell students what material will be tested without promoting simple memorization (Aviles, 2001; Bloom, 1956; Cohen & Hyman, 1991; Wiggins & McTighe, 2005).

The second issue concerns a grading choice all educators must make. Educators have two grading choices when the highest-class exam score is (for example) 60% of 100%. A normal distribution can be applied (norm-referenced measurement) which will make the highest exam score an ‘A’ regardless of the numerical score. This is commonly referred to as ‘curing the grades.” Alternatively, traditional grading cutoffs can be applied (criterion-referenced measurement) and if the highest class-exam score is 60%, the entire class fails (Aviles, 2001; Gronlund, 1981; Martuza, 1977; Walvoord & Anderson, 1998). This is a difficult grading decision for educators: maintain educational standards and fail everyone in a class or, apply a normal distribution and make 60% equivalent to a grade of ‘A’. Workshop participants will explore the pros, cons and implications of both norm-referenced and criterion-referenced grading in the higher education classroom.
PURPOSE

Clarifying the relationship between what is taught and what is tested, and assigning grades are practical issues from the wider context of higher education that, therefore, impact the social work classroom. What relationship should exist between what we teach and test in the social work classroom? Or, as students ask, "What's on the test?" Additionally, should I ‘curve the grades’ if my students all fail an exam or alternatively, all pass an exam? As a new social work educator 19 years ago I hoped I was not “teaching to the test” although I was unclear what the phrase meant. I also was unclear whether I should ‘curve’ my grades. This workshop reviews both issues.

TEACHING TO THE TEST

Clearly, there must be some relationship between our learning expectations and the material we teach and test on our exams. The phrase “teaching to the test” produces images of educators dropping hints or telling students what material will be tested on exams (Bushweller, 1997; Kaufhold, 1998). A key assumption of these images is that, if students know what material will be tested, they will memorize material, so exams become memorization exercises where high scores may not reflect greater understanding. Students should not know in advance, and instructors should not explicitly teach the material intended for testing. If students know exactly what material will be tested, they can simply turn the material into easier to recall forms like school children who turn the musical notes ‘EGBDF’ into a sentence to aid memorization. My students created such aids for American Social Work history
and research methods (MRCOS: Mary Richmond Charity Organization Society; JAHH: Jane Addams Hull House; SROC: Spearman's Rho Ordinal Correlation).

Successfully memorizing the associations does not insure understanding. Telling students what will be tested, giving out answers to test questions, or dropping hints about what material will be tested (e.g., "You will see this material again.") all may encourage memorization without understanding.

Many social work educators have shared with me their strategies to avoid teaching to the test. One strategy is to make what is taught and tested a mystery so students will not know precisely what material will be tested. The instructor may refuse to say what material will be tested or simply tell students to study everything. For example, I experienced this in graduate school in a course that required a 700-page textbook. As the exam neared we asked what was important to study and were told, “Memorize everything.” I had a similar experience writing an instructor manual for a social work text. The publisher requested exam questions and also quiz and study questions for exam preparation. However, I was told not to write quiz or study questions too similar to the exam questions. It was an interesting request, to prepare students for an exam by not asking questions too similar to those questions on the exam, while still asking about material that will be on the exam. How would I ask when the Elizabethan Poor Law was written without alerting students that it will be tested?

Another strategy is to test material from the text but not the lectures. Teaching to the test is avoided because material taught is not tested. Students describe this when they say an instructor lectured extensively but tested on the
textbook. Another strategy is to increase the quantity of material taught and to test only a portion of it. Material intended for testing is thus “hidden” within material not intended for testing. Students must either learn the greater volume of material or correctly guess what material will be tested (e.g., Will the test cover the textbook, lectures, or both?).

A problem with testing a portion or sample of material taught is that we cannot verify untested material was actually learned. For example, one instructor who taught material about Freud and Erickson avoided teaching to the test by testing different course sections on different theorists. Therefore, the morning class could not tell the afternoon class that "Freud was on the test" because "Freud" was not tested in the afternoon class. If untested material is truly essential, how do we verify students learned it? Additionally, I do not want my students spending study time on material not intended for testing since academic performance may be positively related to time spent studying (Bloom, 1968, 1976, 1984; Carroll, 1963).

Finally, exam scores may decrease as the amount of material to be studied increases since students cannot memorize an unlimited amount of material. Low exam scores are less problematic when grading is done with norm referenced measurement (i.e., curving the grades) because a letter grade of “A” occurs regardless of the numerical exam scores. Thus, when 60% of 100% correct is the highest exam score it is assigned a letter grade of “A.” However, norm-referenced letter grades may not accurately indicate how much (or little) was actually learned.
Being mysterious, hiding or refusing to reveal material intended for testing, or increasing the amount of material taught and curving the grades all may yield similar results as teaching to the test. Said differently, if knowing what material will be tested encourages memorization, does not knowing what material will be tested promote greater understanding or critical thinking?

**Curriculum Alignment**

Curriculum alignment refers to the similarity of content taught and tested and offers social work educators a more precise way to conceptualize the teaching and testing relationship (Guskey, 1985; Cohen & Hyman, 1991; Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). Curriculum alignment involves matching course materials by instructional content (horizontal alignment) and knowledge level (vertical alignment). A key assumption of curriculum alignment is that learning expectations must be explicit and clearly communicated to students.

Horizontal curriculum alignment refers to the progression of course material from lesson planning through to teaching and testing. Horizontally aligned material is both taught and tested as opposed to testing a portion of material taught. This helps to prevent spending instructional time on material not tested, and prevent testing of material not taught. Teaching content not intended for testing is undesirable because it takes instructional time away from essential content and raises questions about how "essential" untested material actually is. Social work educators must decide what course material is essential and nonessential, perhaps categorizing it as “need to know” or “nice to know” (Gentile, 1990). “Need to know” material should be taught and “nice to know” material may be
Vertical curriculum alignment refers to Bloom's (1956) taxonomy of educational objectives (e.g., knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation). The knowledge levels are hierarchical and discrete, meaning students must understand knowledge to lower levels before understanding it to higher levels, and discrete because mastery of lower knowledge levels does not insure mastery of higher levels (Bloom, 1956). Figure one includes verbs associated with common student expectations for the six knowledge levels.

**Fig 1. Bloom’s Taxonomy: Knowledge Levels and 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, 1956; Green, 1970, 1975.

Knowledge is the first and simplest taxonomy level and may include facts to be learned. Therefore, “teaching to the test” refers to the knowledge level Bloom’s taxonomy since knowledge can be present without understanding. Avoiding the knowledge level is impossible because knowledge is required for the upper levels of the taxonomy. However, the knowledge level should not be taught exclusively. The levels beyond knowledge are aspects of critical
thinking and require more than simple memorization (Bloom, 1956; Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). Comprehension involves translation, interpretation, and extrapolation. Application involves carry-over or transfer of learning to situations new to students. Application is an important knowledge level for social work education since students must eventually apply their learning to client problems. Analysis requires examination of parts or elements of what was learned, analyzing the relationship between wholes and parts (e.g., conclusions and evidence), organizing knowledge based on some principle, and making inferences based on data.

Synthesis involves the production of new or unique things and is an ideal knowledge level for practice-level social work courses where students produce professional documents like intervention plans, and display communication skills in unique combinations. Evaluation requires judgments based on external criteria or internal evidence. Internal evidence can utilize a student’s personal perspectives or value system. External criteria exists for evaluating research projects, communication skills, ethical decisions and our own ethical conduct as social workers (Council on Social Work Education, 1987; Hepworth, Rooney & Larsen, 2005; Loewenberg, Dolgoff & Harrington, 2004; Williams, Unrau & Grinnell, 2005).

Vertically aligned material is taught and tested to the same taxonomy level. Instruction must support whether exams will test recognition of the name "Mary Richmond" (e.g., knowledge) or require students to critique her contribution to social work (e.g., evaluation). Poor alignment occurs if for
example, students are taught the elements of an intervention plan (e.g., knowledge) but are expected to produce one on testing (e.g., synthesis).

A table of specifications can help facilitate horizontal and vertical curriculum alignment (Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971; Gentile, 1990; Gronlund, 1981; Guskey, 1985). The table is a chart that can include essential terms or concepts for a learning unit, include how many test items target a concept, or include the test items. The table of specifications facilitates horizontal curriculum alignment by allowing social work educators to "see" if any exam items did not connect with essential content or if any essential content was not tested (Aviles, 1996; Guskey, 1985; Squires, 1984, 1986; Torshen, 1977). The table also facilitates vertical curriculum alignment when knowledge levels are included. Figure two includes a portion of a table of specifications for a learning unit about poverty. The table of specifications in figure three is similar but includes knowledge levels.
Fig 2. Table of Specifications for a Learning Unit on Poverty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit topics: History of poverty; social welfare programs; measuring poverty</th>
<th>Exam Items</th>
<th>Terms, Facts needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Elizabethan poor law</td>
<td>N=1 2%</td>
<td>1601, 1st English nationwide poor law, forerunner of modern welfare system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social security act</td>
<td>N=1 2%</td>
<td>1935, 1st American social welfare policy, written during economic depression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. War on poverty</td>
<td>N=4 8%</td>
<td>1964, revision of social security act, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Poverty line-absolute</td>
<td>N=5 10%</td>
<td>USA Poverty line ($15,600), multiplication factor (3.0), food budget (1.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Poverty population: race, age, gender, location, underclass, urban/rural</td>
<td>N=19 38%</td>
<td>Size/composition of poverty population using numbers, percents, proportions: for all demographic categories</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL EXAM ITEMS N=50 100%

\[a \text{ N= Number of exam items on that topic} \]
\[b \%= \text{Percent of exam items on that topic} \]

Fig 3. Sample Table of Specifications with Knowledge Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit topic: Measuring poverty Terms, Facts needed</th>
<th>Knowledge Level</th>
<th>Students must</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Poverty line- absolute: USA Poverty line ($15,600), multiplication factor (3.0), food budget (1.19). In-kind benefits</td>
<td>Knowledge N=1 (5%)</td>
<td>Recognize amounts for poverty line, multiplication factor, food budget. Define in-kind benefits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge Levels:</td>
<td>Comprehension N=1 (5%)</td>
<td>Discriminate between poverty rates and numbers of people in poverty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Comprehension N=1 (5%)</td>
<td>Explain relationship between poverty line and poverty rate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehension</td>
<td>Analysis N=1 (5%)</td>
<td>Predict change in size of poverty population if food budget is increased or decreased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application</td>
<td>Analysis N=1 (5%)</td>
<td>Predict changes in size of poverty population if in-kind benefits are counted as income.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL EXAM ITEMS N=50 (100%)
Curriculum Alignment versus Teaching to the Test

There is nothing wrong with teaching and testing facts if we realize facts will not insure understanding to the upper knowledge levels of Bloom’s taxonomy. Defining our learning expectations with the upper levels of Bloom’s taxonomy can help social work educators avoid encouraging memorization without understanding. For example, knowing the Elizabethan Poor Law was written in 1601 is acceptable if we realize it does not prepare students to, for example, contrast the Poor Law with current social welfare programs or infer the political ideology behind the Poor Law. We must create instructional materials and testing that reflects upper levels of knowledge.

For example, a comprehension test item could require matching the Elizabethan Poor Law with categories of service delivery (e.g., institutional versus residual) (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1958). For application, students could apply the intent of the Elizabethan Poor Law to existing social programs and describe changes in service delivery. For analysis, students could contrast the Elizabethan Poor Law with current social programs to distinguish similarities and differences. For synthesis, essay questions could require students to create a modern social program based on the Elizabethan Poor Law. For evaluation, the Elizabethan Poor Law could be critiqued or rewritten using the NASW code of ethics.

Even with curriculum alignment, teaching to the test and memorization without understanding (i.e., comprehension, application, synthesis, analysis or evaluation) can occur if performance occurs without understanding (Guskey,
Social work educators unintentionally can reduce upper level test items to the knowledge level if tasks expected on testing are completed in class and students memorize the tasks. For example, classifying poverty theories by political ideologies (i.e., analysis) is reduced to the knowledge level if students recall this task from class (Macht & Quam, 1986). This problem is avoided by sorting some, but not all, of the theories in class and testing unsorted theories. Foresight is required to create instructional materials that support, but are not exactly the same, as material tested.

Despite our efforts, students can turn upper knowledge level material into lower level material. One semester my research students seemed able to create novel examples of independent variables in class (e.g., application) but almost everyone answered a corresponding exam question incorrectly! 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 a research study title as the independent variable, although the title began with the sample! For correction, students rearranged titles of research studies to demonstrate that while independent variables do occur prior to measurement of the dependent variable in time order, they do not always “go first” in the title.

Students can transfer and apply their learning to new situations (and new research study titles) if taught and tested with a corresponding array of different exemplars (Guskey, 1985; Cohen & Hyman, 1991). Therefore, I tell students what material they must know, provide written study guides that outline material intended for testing, and test that material. This is not teaching to the test if
testing involves upper knowledge levels and utilizes examples different from those taught. Written study guides also help students to focus their study time on essential material and prevents questions about what material will be tested since they already know. The study guides also include words corresponding to the taxonomy levels expected on testing (figure one).

Utilizing curriculum alignment requires materials to be created with intention, and testing created prior to instruction (or a learning unit). Teaching to upper knowledge levels takes more time than teaching simple knowledge. To increase my classroom time efficiency I only spend instructional time on material intended for testing, and spend less instructional time on knowledge level material in the textbook because students can, after all, memorize that material.

**Conclusions**

Clearly, avoiding teaching to the test is desirable but there must be some relationship between what we teach and test in the social work classroom. The relationship can be a mystery that makes students hunt for essential material, or be a secret only permitting us to hint at what will be tested. However, if we expect our students to go beyond ‘memorizing facts’ perhaps we must go beyond ‘teaching facts’ and create learning expectations and instructional materials that support the upper knowledge levels of Bloom’s taxonomy. Perhaps the teaching and testing relationship should be similar to field instruction where learning contracts with clearly written student expectations do not result in teaching to the “learning contract.”
Creating a table of specifications and aligning my curriculum materials was tedious and time consuming but it helped me clarify what essential content to teach and test, clarify the knowledge levels I expected from teaching and on testing, and to create materials that supported my expectations.

**GRADING ON A CURVE**

"Professor, I scored the highest in the class with 60% of 100%. What grade is that?" Grading on "a curve" has long been an accepted practice in higher education. However, amidst talk of increasing academic standards and measuring student outcomes, it is time to challenge the practice of grading on the curve and have social work educators think more deliberately about grading. Unlike other traditional academic disciplines, social work education utilizes academic courses that address theory, and practice-based courses that address the application of social work skills. Although grading on a curve is possible in practice-based courses, grading exams is more of a concern for social work educators teaching academic level courses. Social work educators who teach the academic courses must decide whether they will, or will not, grade achievement on “a curve.”

Nineteen years ago I had questions and doubts like other new social work educators about grading my first exam. "How do I tell the difference between a grade of A and a grade of B? How many students will (and should) excel or fail? What do my grades say about me as a new instructor?" I also received advice (and warnings) from senior faculty about what grades say about an educator. For example, a senior instructor toured me around our building in my first semester in
order to view midterm exam grades posted outside the classrooms. He explained that instructors with many A grades were "easy instructors with low standards" (a bad thing) and instructors who assigned many failing grades were "good instructors with high standards" (a good thing). I recall making a mental note: all students flunk = excellent instructor. Although instructors are free to decide how to grade, grades can be interpreted differently by colleagues when exam score distributions do (or do not) deviate from normal.

Measuring student achievement and assigning grades is normally done with either norm-referenced or criterion-referenced measurement and social work educators must choose between them. For simplicity, the grading examples will assume that exam scores are generated from a 100-question objective format exam where each question is worth one point. The exam generates a score that is reported as percent correct of 100% (e.g., 85% correct of 100%), or reported as a raw score of the number of questions correct of 100 questions (e.g., 85 answered correctly of 100 questions).

**Norm-referenced Measurement**

The purpose of grading with norm-referenced measurement is to separate students based on achievement level by comparing their achievement to the achievement of other students (Gentile, 1990). Norm-referenced measurement is ordinarily called grading on the "curve" because a normal distribution of scores, or bell curve, results despite the range of exam scores (Figure 4). Norm-referenced measurement is useful when students must be ranked for something with a limited number of spaces like college admissions or scholarships.
Social work educators who grade with norm-referenced measurement simply calculate a class mean exam score and assign letter grades based on the standard deviations. Campus test scoring services routinely provide instructors with these descriptive statistics. Figure 4 highlights the relationship between numerical exam scores and norm-referenced letter grades (Note: the curves are drawn for illustration and are not perfect). Fifty percent of any class scores above and below whatever the median exam score is and students score one or two standard deviations above and below whatever the mean exam score is. Normally the highest exam score receives a grade of A and the lowest score a grade of F regardless of the actual exam score. For example, if the highest class exam score is 60% of 100%, the score is two standard deviations above the mean score and is assigned a letter grade of A. Alternatively, if 90% of 100% is the lowest score, it is two standard deviations below the mean score of 95% and 90% is a grade of F. It is common to post exam scores, ordered from highest to lowest, outside classrooms, with lines drawn at the cutoff scores for each letter.
grade. There are no rules for assigning letter grades and a social work educator can simply decide that two standard deviations above the mean score is a grade of B instead of an A.

My students sometimes say they have had instructors in other academic departments who announce in the first class meeting that there will be X amount of A grades in the class. These instructors have probably decided that the two percent of exam scores that fall two standard deviations above the mean will get a grade of A (despite the actual exam score). Assuming a class size of 100 students, an instructor knows on the first class day (and actually, for the rest of their academic careers) that 2% of the class, or two students, will get a grade of A. Norm-referenced grading is also easily applied to written projects. The best X papers (based on class size) get a grade of A and the worst X papers get an F.

**Criterion-referenced Measurement**

Criterion-referenced measurement compares student achievement to an instructor chosen standard instead of to the achievement of other students. If an instructor decides an exam score of 90% of 100% is the criterion or standard for a letter grade of A, all students scoring 90% or better get an A. If the highest-class exam score is 80%, no one gets an A (Figure 5). Social work educators who grade with criterion-referenced measurement use cutoffs for letter grades based on instructor chosen standards (commonly percents) instead of with standard deviations. Traditionally, the following cutoffs often correspond to letter grades: A = 90% -100%, B = 80%-89%, etc. An instructor can choose a different percentage, perhaps making 95% the standard for a grade of A. Criterion-
referenced measurement may produce "abnormal or skewed" score distributions because all students can statistically meet (or not meet) the criterion (Gronlund, 1981; Martuzza, 1977; Walvoord & Anderson, 1998)).

Fig. 5. Criterion-referenced letter grades from percent correct of 100%

The teaching method called mastery learning utilizes criterion-referenced grading and proponents predict it will produce achievement gains of two standard deviations (Bloom, 1977). The claims are statistically possible with criterion-referenced measurement. This means 90% of students can score in the range statistically reserved for the top 10%. Said differently, an entire class earns an A when the lowest class exam score is 90%. In contrast, with norm-referenced measurement, 90% converts to a grade of F because it is the lowest class score. With criterion-referenced grading, an entire class gets a D if the highest exam score is 60%.

Figure 6 compares letter grades generated from both norm- and criterion-referenced measurement. Assuming 60% is the highest class exam score, it is a letter grade of A with norm-referenced measurement and a grade of D with criterion-referenced measurement.
Fig. 6. Norm-referenced and criterion-referenced letter grades

Said simply, norm-referenced measurement helps social work educators determine which students achieve the highest when compared to other students. Criterion-referenced measurement helps social work educators determine whether students achieve the levels we expect from them.

**One Social Work Educator’s Choice**

As an undergraduate social work educator, I prefer criterion-referenced grading for several reasons. I have serious reservations about saying all the material I teach is important and then potentially giving an A grade to students who only score 60% of 100% on a test of that "important material" (assuming 60% = highest class score). How do I know what 40% of the "important material" students lacked and what 60% they had? Professors who teach the second part of multi-part courses often know, especially when students say, “No, professor, we did not get that far in Human Behavior 1” or, “we never learned that.”

I am also concerned that grading on a curve may mask my teaching deficiencies since normal score distributions result regardless of what happens in the classroom. Grading on a curve therefore makes it difficult to measure the...
improvement of teaching skill (e.g., No matter what I do, each semester 50% of my students score below the median and only 2% get an A!). If grading on a curve can mask what happens in a classroom, criterion-referenced grading does the reverse by forcing a social work educator to ask "what happened" when the highest class score is 60%. I warn my social work practice students to avoid the "rookie" mistake of interpreting client success as a positive statement about the SOCIAL WORKER and client failure as a statement about the CLIENT'S unwillingness to engage in intervention. The same caution applies to new (and perhaps experienced) social work educators who use criterion-referenced grading and have student achievement below expectations. In this case, we must ask whether our expectations were too high or student effort was too low.

I have never compared an exam score of one student (say, 76%) to another student (say, 82%) and made some instructional decision based on the comparison. However, I regularly compare a student's score (say, 89%) to what I expect him or her to score on an exam and use traditional percent cutoffs to assign a letter grade (89% = B). I am less concerned about where student X falls compared to student Z and more concerned about where both fall compared to my learning expectations. I also am concerned that norm-referenced grading may not prepare my students for graduate schools where they must perform against standards and not against other students.

Is either grading method more consistent with the social work value base? Although the social work code of ethics does not specifically address educational issues, it does state that social workers should be trained to deliver high quality
service, with maximum possible skill (Council on Social Work Education, 1987). These ethical standards are consistent with criterion-referenced grading and also with the world of work where graduates must perform at a professional level instead of simply being the best social worker on staff.

Criterion-referenced measurement may be less competitive than norm referenced measurement since students compete against a standard and not against other students, and we would not be statistically required to fail the lowest of high achieving students (e.g., lowest class score = 90% of 100%, grade = F). In contrast, perspective may be lost if norm referenced grading is utilized in practice-based courses because students are compared to each other instead of to professional standards of achievement. In this case an instructor could think that student X is the best in the class and one of the worst he or she has seen. Criterion-referenced measurement also appears consistent with the current trend toward measuring outcomes since it emphasizes student outcomes over student comparisons. In certain situations comparing students with norm-referenced measurement makes sense, e.g., for admissions to departments or schools with limited space, or for giving awards. However, it makes little sense for practice-based courses or the academic courses that support the practice-based courses.

**Student Reactions**

Students appear aware of norm- and criterion-referenced measurement but they do not use these terms. I use the following sports analogy when my class asks if I "curve." "First place in an Olympic race wins the gold medal even if the race time was the slowest in Olympic history. That’s grading on a curve."
Criterion-referenced grading means you must set a new Olympic record for the
gold medal and not just beat the other racers." Students often call this "straight
cutoffs," probably meaning that 90% of 100% correct is a grade of A, 80-89% =
B, etc. Students often have one of two reactions to criterion-referenced grading.
Some appear relieved they will not be competing against classmates for a limited
number of grades. Other students appear unable to gauge their achievement
without comparing it to their classmates. For example, after scoring high on an
exam some of my students say they believed they learned much of the material,
but were disappointed because many other students also earned an A grade ("I
guess I did not learn as much as I thought."). At the other extreme, one student
apparently forgot that I do not "curve" and exclaimed after finding he scored the
highest on a test my entire class failed: "I'm number one!"

Final Thoughts

I have seen social work educators advocate, often strenuously, for either
grading method. For example, norm-referenced and criterion-referenced
"graders" can both claim that the other produces devalued grades but for
different reasons. Criterion-referenced graders can say grades produced from
norm-referenced measurement are devalued because they occur regardless of
the exam scores. Earning the highest class grade may be a lesser achievement if
the score is 40% of 100%. I would not want my oral surgeon scoring the highest
in his/her graduating class with scores of 40% of 100% (Hopefully he/she passed
the novocaine class!). Similarly, if I needed help from a social worker, I would be
less concerned about class rank and more concerned about his or her ability to help me.

Proponents of either grading method can criticize the grades produced from the other. For example, proponents of norm-referenced measurement can say grades produced from criterion-referenced measurement are devalued because more A grades can occur than allowed by a normal score distribution. A grade of A is more valuable when fewer occur and grades, therefore, become a commodity, rising and falling in worth based on scarcity. However, does scarcity equate with achievement? Said differently, are fewer A grades and more failing grades always the result of high standards? As I learned on my "rookie tour of the building" mentioned earlier, some educators may believe so. It was perhaps in this spirit that while serving on a committee charged with finding ways to increase campus academic standards, an instructor offered us a simple three word plan to achieve this goal: fail more students. Proponents of criterion-referenced measurement would note that determining if increased failure is the result of higher standards or the result of low quality instruction is difficult.

Still, proponents of either grading method can walk the halls to see grade spreads posted outside classrooms. Norm-referenced graders who find a class with many A grades can say, "This instructor has low standards and easy tests!" Criterion-referenced graders upon finding a class where an A grade is an exam score of 60% can say, "This instructor has high standards, but doesn't require students to meet them!"
In reality, it is not possible to examine grade spreads and know anything about the instructional methods, testing, or grading that generated them. Colleagues can still say (and have said to me) someone is an easy instructor with low standards because many students (more than two percent) earned grades of A. However, in 19 years of teaching no one has ever (and I mean never) asked me for the difficulty index statistic for any of my exams. No one has ever asked if my exam tested the lower levels of Bloom’s (1956) taxonomy of educational objectives (knowledge, comprehension) or tested the higher levels that constitute critical thinking (application, synthesis, analysis, evaluation). No one has ever asked if my tests employ near transfer of knowledge (at worst, repeating what was taught in class) or far transfer (applying principles to unique situations students may encounter in the field). No one has ever asked if I used my own exams or exams created by colleagues, graduate students, or textbook publishers. New social work educators should be aware that others might examine your grade spreads and “see” low or high standards and hard or easy exams.

I hope this workshop helps new social work educators decide what grading method to employ, instead of using whatever the “grading method du jour” is in your department, or worse, grading as you were graded as a student. Who knows how our own teachers chose the grading methods they employed? Let’s end with a question: I score the highest in the class with 60% of 100%. What grade is that?
REFERENCES


Title of the Submission: (Submission ID # is 145)
Home-schooling Children’s Social-Emotional Learning: A Case Study

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Home-schooling Children’s Social-Emotional Learning

A Case Study

Huihong Bao

Abstract

Home schooling is a unique way of educating children and has been on a rise in most Western countries. In the United States of America the number of home schooling children has risen to 1 million already and home-schoolers now represent at least 2.2 percent of the nation's school-age children. Previous studies on home schooling have mainly focused on parents’ attitudes towards home schooling. Some studies have addressed the reasons why parents keep their children for home schooling and some on such children’s academic performance development. However, there is little research done on home schoolers’ social emotional learning. My hypothesis is that home schooling children’s social-emotional learning must be unique or done in a unique way since the interaction of such children is totally different from that of traditional schooling children. In other words, home schoolers lack of the peer-to-peer and student-to-teacher interactions that are commonly seen in public school life. This pilot case study focuses on a 9-year-old home schooled child’s social emotional skills’ development in American setting through observing this child’s social emotional learning (SEL) activities and through interviewing the child, and the mother, the home schooling teacher. The findings disclose some techniques that home schooling parents use for their home schoolers’ SEL development and uncover some SEL patterns that home schooled children demonstrate in their lives. This case study
invites some challenges to public schools in developing cross-age interaction opportunities for their students’ SEL skills’ development.

Key words: home schooling social emotional learning

Introduction

Although people’s perspectives towards home schooling are various, there are an increasing number of children receiving home schooling throughout the United States (Mayberry, Knowles, Ray, and Marlow 1995; Osborn 2000, Ray 2000). In the United States of America the number of home schooling children has been estimated to be 1.6 million and may grow nearly seven percent annually, and thus reaching three million by the year 2010 (Lines, 1996; Ray 1999). Previous studies on home schooling have mainly focused on the attitudes of parents and college administrators towards home schooling (Jones & Gloeckner, 2004), on addressing the reasons why parents keep their children for home schooling (Scanlon & Buckingham, 2004), and some on home schoolers’ school academic performance development (Ray, 2004). Little research has been done on home schoolers’ social emotional learning (SEL) in the United States.

My hypothesis is that home schooling children’s social-emotional learning (SEL) must be very unique or done in a unique way since the interaction of such children is totally different from that of regular schooling children. In other words, home schoolers lack of the peer-to-peer and the student-to-teacher interaction that are commonly seen in traditional public and private school life.

This pilot case study focuses on a 9-year-old home schooled child’s social
emotional skills’ development and other aspects of life in American setting through observing this child’s social emotional learning (SEL) activities, through interviewing this child and his mother, the home schooling teacher about the child’s life, and through a survey conducted on the mother about her child’s SEL scores. The findings are unique in some aspects of this home schooled child’s learning and in other aspects are consistent with previous researches on home schooling.

Goals

The goals of this case study are:

1. To explore as many aspects of home schooling children’s life as possible;
2. To Inquire more about home schooling children’s academic performance;
3. To disclose home schooling children’s social emotional learning and find their SEL patterns;
4. To know the whips and woes of the parents of home schooling children and let their voices be heard;
5. To let home school known, supported and helped by the society.

Literature Review

Home schooling is a particular way of educating children. It’s more and more popular in western countries though it’s not known and done in developing countries such as China. Home schooling is a loosely-connected, grassroots movement (Mason, 2004).
More and more U. S. families have chosen home school to educate their children (Mayberry et al 1995, Osborn 2000, Ray 2000). It’s estimated that home school K-12 population in U. S. A. may be as high as 1.6 million students nationwide and may grow nearly seven percent yearly and might reach three million by the year 2010 (Lines 1996, Ray 1999). Since 1999, the number of K-12 students taught at home has risen 29 percent to nearly 1.1 million children, reports the Education Department's National Center for Education Statistics. Home-schoolers now represent 2.2 percent of the nation's school-age children.

Home school has become quite a challenge for U.S. state policy officials, school boards, and college admission officers. Home school invites debate to compulsory regulation of public schools while college admission officers feel at a loss with how to address a growing population of the newly-graduated, home school students knocking at their doors (Jones & Gloeckner, 2004).

The reasons for parents keeping their children for home schooling are various. Arai (2000) in his research summarized four reasons why parents keep their children for home school. First, parents want to keep family unity or strengthening the bonds. Second, parents want to practice an alternative lifestyle, particularly by resisting the modernizing and urbanizing influences of contemporary societies (Mayberry & Knowles, 1989; Van Galen, 1988). Third, parents have unpleasant memories of schools. Fourth, parents want to assert their responsibility for their children's education (Marshall & Valle, 1996). A study made by an anonymous researcher found that about a third of parents who teach their children at home do so because they want
to impart religious instruction, while another third cite concerns about safety and bad influences at schools. And about one in six home-school parents instruct their children themselves in order to exceed the academic standards of their schools.

Blok (2004) in his research on home schooling children in Netherlands concludes that home-schooled children perform better on average in the cognitive domain such as language, mathematics, natural sciences, and social studies, but differ little from their peers at school in terms of socio-emotional development.

Ray (2004b) put forward 14 descriptions of home schooling children, which provides a thorough glimpse of the current home schooling population. Both home school parents are involved, with mother usually as the main academic teacher and the father as the substitute teacher; The learning program is flexible and highly individualized, the intensity of which is almost equivalent to or similar to that of the IEP (Individualized Education Plan) in public schools; Some parents purchase complete curriculum package while others conduct home schooling with only a small degree of preplanned structure; Home schooling children study a wide range of conventional subjects, with an emphasis on reading, writing, math, and science; Home schooling children have little interaction with state schools or their services but a minority participate in public school interscholastic activities such as sports and music ensembles, and some occasionally take a course in local school; Many home schooling children have a flexible schedule so that they will have time to participate in voluntary community work, political internships, travel, missionary excursions, animal husbandry, gardening, and national competition, which help build up their life
experiences and life skills; Most children have been home schooled for at least four to five years and most parents plan to home educate their children through high school years till they enter colleges and/or universities; They have larger than average families, which provides some unique social interaction; Male and female students are equally represented, which balances the gender issues on home schooling; A married couple head at least 95 percent of home schooling families; About half of such parents have earned a bachelor’s or higher degree but many have only a high school education; Eighteen percent of such families has an annual income under $25,000, forty four percent has $49,000 to $74,000, twenty five percent has $50,000 to 74,000, and thirteen percent has more than $75,000; More than seventy five percent of such families regularly attend religious services, with the majority being of Christian faith and placing a strong emphasis on orthodox and conservative biblical doctrine while an increasing number of agnostics, atheists, Buddhist, Jews, Mormons, Muslims, and New Agers are home schooling their children; Around eighty five percent of home schooling families are white / non-Hispanic while a rapid growth of minorities are also practicing home schooling education.

**Methods & Data Collection**

Data is collected through both qualitative and quantitative research means. Qualitative data includes observational field notes, transcripts from the interviews with the mother and the child, and some of the child’s academic work collected. Quantitative data comes from the survey assessment on this child’s social emotional
learning: Self-awareness, Self-management, Social Awareness, Responsible decision making, Relationship Management, and Self Expressiveness (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning, 2002; Payton et al., 2000). Specifically speaking, my data come from the following aspects:

1. Field notes from natural observations (without any intervention) on the 9 year old home schooled child;
2. Transcripts from casual dialogue with the home schooled child.
3. Transcripts from interviewing (with open-ended questions) the mother (home school teacher) on many aspects of the home schooled child’s life;
4. A short survey conducted on the mother about the development of the child’s self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, responsible decision making, relationship management and self expressiveness.

**Theoretical Framework**

Social and emotional learning is the ability to understand, manage and express the social emotional aspects of one's life in ways that enable the successful management of life tasks such as learning, forming relationships, solving everyday problems, and adapting to the complex demands of growth and development. Social and emotional learning is the process through which children and adults develop the skills, attitudes, and values necessary to acquire social and emotional competence (Woods, 2004).

As it is well-known, a person’s social emotional interaction skills are very
essential to the success of his/her career and life. Denham and Weissberg (2004) suggest that Children who understand emotions are more prosocially responsive to their peers, and rated as more socially skilled by teachers, and more likable by their peers. Having positive social emotional learning skills promote one’s social interaction with the people around him/her. In reality, the persons with better social emotional skills have greater chances to be successful in their careers than those who are better in cognitive domain but poor in social emotional learning. Social emotional learning skills promote a man towards success. The better social emotional skills one has, the more chances of success he will possess. Accumulating evidence suggests that SEL also contributes to overall success in interacting with one’s peers. Better social skills promote success.

Social-emotional learning skills are as important as academic performance skills in the development of a person. Normally skills of social and emotional learning will be demonstrated through the following six aspects: self-awareness, self-management, emotional expressiveness, social awareness, responsible decision making, and relationship management.

As Denham and Weissberg (2004) summarize, there is a growing body of knowledge regarding the contributions of adults to young children’s SEL. Secure attachment and positive behavior management via guidance are two important foundations for SEL that derive from relationship with caring adults.

Data Analysis
Themes and patterns emerged on this home schooled 9-year-old boy’s learning:

1. Loose structure and great flexibility (“The learning doesn’t have a lot of structure” (the mother) and depends on the whole family’s life pace).

2. Regular weekly meetings with other home schoolers
   - On Monday mornings all home school children meet for art, music and math activities at the community school with trained teachers.
   - On every other Wednesday mornings about 20 or 30 home schoolers come to work together on a kid newspaper in the large meeting room at a local library. They are responsible for the kids’ newspaper in every aspect such as writing, graphic designs, and layout. The age ranges from 4 to 14.
   - On Tuesday mornings home schoolers come to the local library for borrowing books and meeting friends (Socialization).

3. Home school parents take turns organizing different activities about 2 or 3 times a week. They call it “learning exchange cooperative education” or “teaching coops”.

4. On Saturdays the child plays soccer, goes to museum, goes to historical Deerfield or goes hiking with the whole family.

5. Mainly playing with other home schoolers but less interaction with cousins (they are much younger and live far away) and no interaction with neighbor’s kids (the family moves frequently in the local area).

6. Sharing exciting news with his best friends---other home schoolers in the community school when they meet on Mondays. The child has three good
friends who play together on a regular basis. If something really exciting happens, he will call his best friend right on the spot to share the news.

7. Favorite hobby: drawing comics or anything with comics (Mother searching for a comics teacher in the area but money is an issue)

8. Slowly building a relationship with his younger sibling (a brother eight years younger)

9. Mother’s perspectives on home schooling:

   - The family is pretty open to everything and might send him to a public school someday

   - The reason for keeping the child home schooling is that the child was born in mid-September and he had to be five by September 1st in order to go to kindergarten. In December when he was 5 years old they found the child reading by himself. So they feel comfortable keeping him home schooling.

   - Usually the child manages to solve his own problems (Good at problem solving and needs little direction).

   - Learning comes quicker at one’s own pace and on one-on-one interaction, not to follow a group in which a child might not be ready or get bored easily.

   - Contrary to what other non-home schooling parents assume about home schooling kids’ socialization, home school not only socializes kids in their own age group but also provides a lot of interactional opportunities with kids at other age groups. Cross-age interaction is common for home
schooling children.

- Parents apply, show curriculum, and conduct a mid-year report to the related administrative officers and they usually conduct a student interview, and do regular evaluation and assessment on the home school child’s academic progress. So far the 9-year-old (equivalent to 3 rd grade) child’s reading level is at 10th grade and comprehension is at 8th grade. Math has not been tested recently but should be above his age-appropriate grade level.

- Mother’s frustration----sometimes hesitates in keeping the child home school because of too much work stress and difficulties getting the child in a sports team and has to fight with “red tape” for that.

- The child’s SEL assessment result: self-awareness (4 scores out of 5); self-management (3 scores out of 5); social awareness (3 scores out of 5); responsible decision making (4 scores out of 5); relationship management (5 scores out of 5), and self expressiveness (5 scores out of 5).
Findings

1. Unlike other parents of home schooled children, the child’s parents are open to everything and might send him to a school someday. The reason why they choose home school for their child is that the child’s birthday doesn’t match up the school system’s requirement when he was five. He needed to wait for another year to go to kindergarten as he was born in mid September.

2. The home schooled child’s academic performance is far ahead of his peers, which supports the findings of the researches on home schooled children’s academic performance. The child’s (age-appropriate level should be 3rd grade since he is only nine) reading level is at 10th grade and comprehension is at 8th grade. Math was not tested.

3. The home school child’s SEL development is at least as well as, or even better than his peers in traditional schools. Obviously home schooling children have more secure attachment with their mothers, the main home school providers, which might account for better SEL development. As far as the six aspects of SEL are concerned, the child portrayed an average or above average development in self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, responsible decision making, relationship management, self expressiveness. (During the researcher’s observation of the child playing with his best friend in a local library, the friend felt uneasy seeing a stranger watch them. The child immediately explained to his friend, “She is an old friend of my mom’s and she just wants to watch me for a while”, which helped his friend become easy and comfortable.).
4. Social interactions of the home schooled child occur in the community schools with other home schoolers, through working collaboratively on the kids’ newspaper in a local library, and inviting good friends to come over to play. Uniquely the interaction is done across ages, i.e. he has a lot of chances of interacting with much younger and older home schoolers in the community school and in the workshops organized by parents alternatively. Like other kids, it took him a while to build a relationship with his much younger sibling (with 8 years apart).

5. The home school child has better self-discipline and can concentrate on reading for hours by himself with good comprehension. He learned to read by himself at age five and he needs little directions from parents in reading.

6. Home schooling nurtures leadership of its students through self-run kids’ newspaper, in which cooperative learning across ages occurs naturally.

7. Home school parents have a strong desire to let local government or decision makers hear their voices in having difficulties and fighting through red tapes signing up sports games for their home schooling children.

**Discussion**

The success both in academic performance and SEL of the 9-year-old home schooled child in this case study invites a discussion topic on “How on earth does learning occur and how can learning be most effective to a child?” We all agree with the interaction theory that learning occurs in the process of interacting with people.
Through peer interaction, student-to-teacher interaction, and student-to-adult interaction, for instance, a child learns what needs to be learned. However, we can’t deny the perspective that the mother of the home schooled child put forward there, i.e. “Learning comes a lot more quicker when it’s at your own pace and when it’s sort of one-on-one instead of trying to follow along with a group when maybe you are not ready for it or maybe you are far ahead of the group. Well, you can be a little more focus when there are just one or two kids to work with.” (the mother) Which way is better or more effective to teach a child to his/her best potential, more social interaction or more individualized pace?

**Implications**

Although there is a rapid growth in the number of people who choose home schooling for their children in U. S. A. today, people have different attitudes and ideologies towards home schooling. However, as it’s revealed in this case study, the cross-age social interaction among home schoolers themselves through trained teachers’ classes in community schools, through voluntary parents’ theme-centered workshops and through kids’ responsible projects such as kids’ newspaper, etc., plays a vital role in developing home schoolers’ social emotional learning. This across-age interaction of home schooling children has put forward challenge to public school students who are usually interacting with their peers of the same age, not across age. It has set up a good example for public school teachers and administrators to create cross-age interactional opportunities in their students’ academic learning and social
emotional learning.

Furthermore, the one-on-one academic learning process at one’s own pace makes learning a lot more quicker and effective, which urges public schools to implement as much individualized instruction as possible so that each child can be taught at his/her best potential, but not wasting his/her own time keeping the pace of the whole class and getting bored or being dragged forward painfully without digesting what has been learned. This challenges public school teachers in their curriculum design.

References


Entre la Pena y la Gloria (Between Sorrow and Glory):
Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for
Practice and Policy

Topic Area: Social Work

Presentation Format: Submitted for a Works in Progress Panel Session

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Abstract

Of

Entre la Pena y la Gloria (Between Sorrow and Glory):
Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for 
Practice and Policy

Mexican immigrant farmworkers work the agricultural fields of California to bring food to America’s dinner tables. They have left homes and loved ones, pushed over the border by economic factors in Mexico. They work under harsh conditions and sometimes amidst an unwelcoming community. This study explores the economic and biopsychosocial factors that influence the migration decision. While economic dimensions may present an expected value to the decision to migrate, there are many non-economic dimensions that affect the value of migrating to a new country. Thirty-eight in-depth interviews were conducted with Mexican immigrant farmworkers and related questionnaires completed in an effort to gain greater understanding of the experiences of migration and the impact of such experiences on the lives of the participants. Results from preliminary analysis of the interviews and questionnaires will be shared in an effort to gain greater understanding of the decision to migrate. Discussion regarding the findings and their meaning as well as the implications of findings for social work practice and international social policy will be generated.
1. Title of submission: What Comes to Mind in Nostalgic Reminiscence?

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Nostalgic Reminiscence

Krystine I. Batcho

Abstract of Research Paper

What comes to mind when we feel nostalgic and reminisce about the past? If the marketing psychology of advertising that plays on nostalgic sentiment is accurate, people can be nostalgic about any number of ordinary objects common in earlier times. The retro look in packaging suggests that consumers will feel good about buying a product in a container that resembles the one they used when they were children. In fact, some manufacturers have reissued products of the past. For example, Atari marketed a slightly modified version of its video game player that had been popular in the 1980s, labeling it “Flashback 2.” Ford reintroduced the Mustang, an extremely popular model during the late 1960s and early 1970s. When people feel nostalgic, do they muse about such things as cars, games, and salt or soda containers?

There is a substantial body of research supporting the notion that people are more likely to retrieve emotionally laden autobiographical memories than neutral ones in a variety of recall settings (Christianson & Safer, 1994; Pillemer, Picariello, Law & Reichman, 1994). Although complex, substantial support exists for an impact of mood congruence on recall. In laboratory studies, people were more likely to retrieve memories with affective valence congruent with the mood at the time of recall (Barry, Naus & Rehm, 2004; Blaney, 1986). On the other hand, some evidence suggests that in some natural settings people may be more likely to retrieve memories with incongruent mood (Parrott & Sabini, 1990). Whether congruent or incongruent, what affect would characterize events recalled when people are nostalgic?
Not all emotional memories are necessarily nostalgic. Given that the object of nostalgic feeling is something no longer present, memory is inherent in the nostalgic experience. However, reminiscence can be understood as the act of remembering the past and nostalgia as the bittersweet affect that accompanies particular memories (Castelnuovo-Tedesco, 1980). Theorists have proposed that nostalgic remembrance can serve a number of psychological functions, including assessing personal change over time, coping with the loss of childhood, and adapting during life stage transitions (Cavanaugh, 1989; Davis, 1979; L. Kaplan, 1984). Nostalgia has also been proposed as a mechanism for maintaining or restoring a sense of self-identity and connectedness to others during times of cognitive decline or cultural change (Brown & Humphreys, 2002; Hertz, 1990; Mills & Coleman, 1994; Volkan, 1999; Wilson, 1999).

However, it is unclear what attributes distinguish a reminiscence as nostalgic. Some theorists have emphasized pleasant affect in nostalgic remembering (Davis, 1979; H. Kaplan, 1987), whereas others define nostalgia as inherently unpleasant (Nawas & Platt, 1965; Peters, 1985). Most theorists, however, agree that the distinctive emotional character of nostalgia is bittersweet—a mix of sadness and wistful joy (Bassin, 1993; Batcho, 1998b; Castelnuovo-Tedesco, 1980; Cavanaugh, 1989; Havlena & Holak, 1991; Hertz, 1990; Kaplan, H., 1987; Mills & Coleman, 1994; Peters, 1985; Stern, 1992; Werman, 1977). The sweetness of past joys is tempered by the bitter realization that the past is irrecoverable.

Operational definitions and methods of measurement necessary for empirical investigation depend upon an important distinction between two types of nostalgia. Holbrook and Schindler (1991, p. 330) 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).” According to Holbrook’s (1993) definition, the preference for the social and historical past can extend even beyond an individual’s own past.

In agreement with Davis’ (1979) restriction of the term to 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) noted that the two types of nostalgia focus on different objects—a distant past preferred over the present in historical nostalgia, and a personally remembered past in personal nostalgia. Holbrook has studied the role of historical nostalgia in marketing (Holbrook, 1993; Holbrook, M. B., & Schindler, R. M., 2003; 1996; 1994; 1991; Schindler, R. M. & Holbrook, M. B., 2003), and Batcho has explored the role of personal nostalgia in cognitive and affective processes such as memory and coping (1995; 1998b; 2002; 2004).

Batcho (1998b) found that participants who scored high on an 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 other people were more salient in their autobiographical memories. Batcho’s findings suggest that nostalgic individuals do not differ in their affective disposition but are people who feel intensely and for whom other people are a high priority. In 2002, Batcho compared autobiographical memories
solicited by an instruction to recall nostalgic memories with those elicited by a neutral instruction. Nostalgic memories were not rated as happier or as sadder than neutral memories, but they were rated higher in nostalgia, love, and contentment and lower in anxiety and fear.

In 2004, Batcho explored relationships between personal and historical nostalgia and psychological change following three events—the terrorist attacks on 9/11/01; the onset of the 2003 Iraq war; and the neutral event of Halloween, 2003. Personal nostalgia was associated with changes that enhance continuity across time, connectedness to others, affiliation, identity, and belonging, whereas historical nostalgia was associated with less favorable changes in opinions of human nature and sociopolitical factors.

Given the power of song lyrics to evoke emotion (Stratton & Zalanowski, 1994), Batcho (1998a) explored the relationship between personal nostalgia and perceived affect in songs. Contrary to theories relating nostalgia to depression, high nostalgia individuals did not perceive sad lyrics as sadder or happy lyrics as less happy than did low nostalgia subjects. However, the content of the lyrics had not been explicitly designed to elicit nostalgic sentiment. The happy lyrics described the beginning of a romantic relationship and the sad lyrics described the end of one.

In more recent research, lyrical content was manipulated to explore the relationship of nostalgia to emotion and social connectedness (Batcho, in press). Six sets of original song lyrics were written to recount childhood experiences with different emotional tone (happy, sad, nostalgic) and degrees of social connectedness (related or solitary). Nostalgic lyrics were characterized by bittersweet reverie, loss of the past, identity, and meaning. Participants who scored high on Batcho’s measure of personal
nostalgia preferred happy lyrics, found them more meaningful and related more closely to them. Consistent with theories relating nostalgia to social connectedness, high nostalgia respondents preferred lyrics that focused on others to those with solitary themes. Batcho’s research suggests that nostalgia may enhance a sense of self and strengthen the sense of connectedness to others. According to this perspective, individuals high in personal nostalgia would be expected to reminisce about events that help define them in terms of their relationship to others. Nostalgic individuals may recall the same types of childhood events as those remembered by less nostalgic individuals, but the more nostalgic person may focus more sharply on the roles played by others in those events. Such other-directed reminiscence would counter alienation and foster a feeling of connectedness.

The present study explores the relationships among personal nostalgia, reminiscence, and affect. A sample of 140 college students (median age = 20 years), including 45 men and 90 women, completed measures of historical and personal nostalgia, and retrieved autobiographical memories at the prompting of one of two different instructions. Half of the participants were asked explicitly to retrieve nostalgic memories, and half were given a more general instruction. Statistical analyses explore the impact of the nostalgia induction on the nature of memories retrieved and the affect expressed in the descriptions of the remembered events. Memories were rated in a blind review procedure for topical content, the presence and significance of others, and emotions relevant to major theories of nostalgia (e.g., happiness, sadness, anxiety, love). Results are discussed within differing theoretical approaches to nostalgia as a psychological construct, and historical and personal nostalgia are distinguished.
References


A. Title: UKRAINIAN-POLISH RELATIONS: THE STUDENT PERSPECTIVE

B. Topic Area: EUROPEAN AREA STUDIES (1st choice)

(If full, then possibly RUSSIAN/EAST EUROPEAN; POLITICAL SCIENCE; ETHNIC STUDIES/INTERNATIONAL STUDIES; OR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

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Ukrainian-Polish relations have historically been complex. Ethnic hostility, mutual suspicion, and conflict have been common between these two nations and peoples prior to and during the 20th century. With the demise of the Soviet Union and of communism in Eastern and Central Europe, an independent Ukraine and democratic Poland have forged new and more amicable relations. On the governmental level, ties between Poland and Ukraine have been very good and have been characterized as a “strategic partnership.” The sustainability and depth of friendly bilateral relations ultimately depends, however, on the reconciliation between nations at the societal level.

This study will focus on the societal perspective on Polish-Ukrainian relations from 1998-2003 during the Kwasniewski and Kuchma presidencies. In particular, the views of 145 Polish and 110 Ukrainian university students have been surveyed and analyzed to assess their attitudes and perspectives on recent and future Polish-Ukrainian relations. University students represent an important segment of the public as they will be the future leaders and shapers of opinion in various sectors of society. This segment of the public might also highlight the existence of generational differences among Polish and Ukrainian publics.
The student perspectives on Ukrainian-Polish relations will examine various domestic and foreign policy related issues, select historical topics, and projected views of the future. What are the most important aspects of bilateral relations and who benefits most? What factors most impede relations? What do students think about NATO and EU membership and its impact on Polish-Ukrainian relations? Does Ukraine’s close relationship with Russia impede Ukrainian-Polish ties? How do students view Poland and Ukraine’s shared history? And, which historical era has had the most negative effect on contemporary relations? Finally, what are their primary sources of information on bilateral relations?

An analysis of university student perspectives on bilateral relations should provide some insights on the status and future prospects of ethnic reconciliation between these two nations. Indeed, the empirical findings presage the strong and emotional support provided by the Polish government and society to Ukraine during the “Orange Revolution” in late 2004. Moreover, Ukrainian students and youth groups played a vital role in the Orange Revolution. Thus, the student perspectives on Ukrainian-Polish relations are both important and revealing.
Title: Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music

Topic: Education/Cultural Awareness

Format: Workshop/Poster Session

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**Do – Re – Alchemy:**  
*Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music*

**Proposal:** Everyone knows that music is the universal language. It speaks to all of us, regardless of nationality. As the famous composer Benjamin Britten once said: “It is cruel, you know, that music should be so beautiful. It has the beauty of loneliness and of pain: of strength and freedom. The beauty of disappointment and never-satisfied love. The cruel beauty of nature, and everlasting beauty of monotony.” However, music doesn’t have to be monotonous.

Typical training for a musician involves learning do-re-mi, reading notes and rhythms, and learning about the history of music. More often than not, this means long lectures on sonata form and textbooks that cure insomnia. The tradition of teaching music typically consists of: instrumental, choral, or general music. General music teachers are constantly looking for ways to teach music in exciting, stimulating ways so students retain information for years to come.

Students value video games over Vivaldi, DVD’s over Dvorak, and Mudvayne over Mussorgsky thus creating a competition between modern society and classics of days long past. Teachers must learn how to compete for their attention through dynamic lesson planning. These lessons have been successfully implemented. They are creative, catchy, and fun lessons in various musical units. From ‘Music Limbo’ to ‘Dancing Through the Decades’ to ‘Bucket Drumming’, these lessons give students the opportunity to not only learn about music, but perform it in ways that transform the traditional methods taught into new realms of discovery. In addition, the opportunity to explore other cultures comes to life in new hand-on experiences. Through ‘Bucket Drumming’ students explore the culture of Africa, Haiti, and the Caribbeans. Cultural sensitivity is demonstrated in the rhythms and meanings of the songs the students perform. Students not only learn about the music, but get to experience it firsthand.

Participants of this poster session will learn the value of ‘Musical Alchemy’ lessons that transform ordinary music classes into something extraordinary. Attendees will receive four detailed lesson plans of the activities presented. These lessons spark excitement, stimulate interest for further exploration, and encapsulate students. These lessons have been taught in a public school setting for five years and while the majority of the students can’t distinguish concerto from chanson, they can still remember that American music history can be classified as a ‘melting pot’ of cultures that is easily distinguished by rhythmic differences and instrumentation. Students can discuss how the birth of rock and roll reflected the change in society and that rock in its very nature has transformed a multitude of times. The originality and popularity of this presentation will excite participants and renew a passion for music that will ignite a burning desire to learn more about the alchemy of music.

Included in this proposal are four lesson plans for your review. In addition, the full compliment of lessons will be distributed to participants who attend the program. We are willing to present in any form needed for the conference.
The focus of this study is to develop a model of state policy leadership. By doing so, this study addresses two issues concerning policy innovation and diffusion. First, this model of innovation identifies policy leaders and followers. Second, the model also delineates policies that lead or lag in diffusion. In this context, the model answers two questions: whom are the innovative states? And, which policies lead to a diffusion of innovation? By making a distinction between these two interrelated questions, the analysis provides a framework for understanding and describing state policy leadership. Since state policy leaders are confronted with a tradeoff between being first and waiting to observe other states’ experiences, there may be a greater willingness on the part of states to adopt new policies in optimal lengths of time, rather than trying to be innovative. Instead, states must try to balance their decisions between moving too soon and too slowly. Models of optimal timing predict a decision point in intermediate time frames, sometime between the first and the last movers. The findings indicate there is moderate support for a rate of return and risk model. Based on these findings, state’s enact legislation in anticipation, if not too preempt, the future effects of other state’s incentives. Even though the details of each state’s legislation differ, most states wait average durations before innovation until it possible to observe the incentives effects associated with generic areas of economic development legislation. With all states incrementally innovating in some area of this legislation, the dominant strategy is to react with policies similar to other states during a period of innovation. On this basis, some interpret these policies represent periodic waves of innovation, since many states adopt similar legislation within relatively narrow phases of legislative intervention. Along with a bandwagon effect within time periods, individual states regulate through innovation leads and diffusion lags in an effort to control the flow of incentive effects on state economies from any particular economic development law.
Follow the Leader: A Stackelberg Model of State Policy Entrepreneurship

by

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Abstract

The focus of this study is to develop a model of state policy entrepreneurship. By doing so, this study addresses two issues concerning policy innovation and diffusion. First, this model of innovation identifies policy leaders and followers. Second, the model also delineates policies that lead or lag in diffusion. In this context, the model answers two questions: whom are the innovative states? And, which policies lead to a diffusion of innovation? By making a distinction between these two interrelated questions, the analysis provides a framework for understanding and describing state policy entrepreneurship.
Introduction

Who is innovative? And which decisions represent innovations? These twin questions have vexed an extensive interdisciplinary literature attempting to classify innovative actors and innovative decisions. Across a wide swath of this research, innovation is equated with “newness.” But within this caveat, recent decisions are considered innovations because diffusion more generally pertains to both the timing of decisions and the choices made by actors.

Empirically, innovation involves the measurement of the diffusion or the transfer rate of decisions, such as those decisions which involve processes that evolve over time or through path dependent sequences of events. In this context, the study of innovation provides a synthesis of histories of decisions and decision-making processes. Conversely, the study of diffusion rates represents a summary of the temporal and spatial components of communication flows associated with making policy decisions. In the state politics and policy literature, this consists of an estimation of the diffusion rate, where the state adoption of a policy represents an innovation, and the timing of a decision may be influenced by a variety of internal and external characteristics determining the transfer rate of policies between states.

This transfer of ideas involves a wide variety of symbolic and direct forms of communication. Some of these forms of communication may include public discussions of policies, while others may involve the transfer (and availability) of policy analysis; still, other
communications may involve long-term transfers of information through established organizations. For example, the topics for state legislative proposals are influenced by direct discussions in-session, available policy research on a topic (e.g., from a Legislative Service Bureau, the Executive Branch, staff, or interest group members research), and the transfer of information during campaigns or through national organizations (e.g., the COSG, NCSL or NGA). Recent technological developments have further expanded the capacity of state government to collect and to make information available. By having more accessible information, we should expect more rapid diffusion rates and greater emphasis on adopting new, if not always innovative, policies.

Recent studies also emphasize the role of policy entrepreneurs in the diffusion of innovation. In these studies, policy entrepreneurs operate within various networks to borrow and share ideas about reform. In this networking process, entrepreneurs identify newly enacted legislation or recent ideas about policy, and then transfer those ideas to other contexts. But the difficulties associated with attributing innovations to individual policy entrepreneurs cannot be underscored. Often, because it may not be possible to identify the originators of ideas, even though it is possible to identify policy innovations by state and by year. To encourage individual actions, some recent efforts in the fields of public administration and public management have focused on encouraging entrepreneurial innovation by recognizing innovative states and their programmatic initiatives.
Beyond the difficulties associated with identifying individual or micro level innovators, there are also problematic distinctions between whether an idea is creative, original, represents a synthesis of existing practice, an interesting sidebar or niche, or simply reflects a reinventing of conventional ideas. In this regard, one person’s creative idea may represent an obvious conclusion to others. Conversely, greater complexity may represent a creative synthesis of ideas, while the same approach may appear to others as an over specification of straightforward results. For these reasons, the study of innovation is often limited to the study of newness, rather than an assessment of the logic of an idea or the creativity behind an idea’s discovery. Furthermore, this consists of the estimation of policy diffusion rates between macro-level actors with known decision-making processes, such as an outcome of a legislative decision function.⁵

The focus of this study is to develop a model of state policy entrepreneurship.⁶ By doing so, this study addresses two issues concerning policy innovation and diffusion. First, this model of innovation identifies policy leaders and followers. Second, the model also delineates policies that lead or lag in diffusion. In this context, the model answers two questions: whom are the innovative states? And, which policies lead to a diffusion of innovation? By making a distinction between these two interrelated questions, the analysis provides a framework for understanding and describing state policy entrepreneurship.
Defining the Boundaries of State Policy Entrepreneurship

This study applies a model of state entrepreneurship to explain patterns of state decision-making in the area of economic development policy. These applications of a formal model raise the seldom asked, but often debated, question confronting innovation studies: should a model of policy innovation consider a general set of policy domains or a specific policy domain from a near-infinite set of potential topics. What policy domain should be selected as the best test of a model? Why examine state economic development policy versus some other policy area in the state politics and policy field?

In this literature, the recent emphasis has been on identifying entrepreneurial states, where an entrepreneurial state consists of both state innovation in a policy area and the adoption of innovative programs. State policy entrepreneurship includes reinventing decision-making processes through creating new organizational structures, identifying different approaches for marketing and advertising state goods and services, and providing information and referral services or technical assistance. Some of the game-theoretic aspects of the entrepreneurial state include the use of strategic planning processes, public-private partnerships, and the adoption of comprehensive plans with targeted incentives.

A second reason for selecting this policy area concerns the level of policy competition. Generally, it can be shown that state competition with incentives exists, where the level of
competition varies over location and time. Most research on state incentive programs argues that this is a more visibly competitive policy area than others. Furthermore, there is both quantitative and qualitative evidence suggesting state’s react when other state’s innovate in this specific policy domain.

Finally, while sub-national government’s may not always initiate policy on a unitary basis, legislative enactments of programs are evidence of collective judgements in this policy domain. Studies suggest that economic conditions and short-term gains encourage, if not determine, these collective policy responses to economic performance indicators. Given the public and self-interest of states to maintain, attract, and expand both employment opportunities and the value of goods and services produced within states boundaries, entrepreneurial behavior on the part of state government is not surprising.

This logic applies to other functional responsibilities of state and local government, including the provision of traditional public goods and services, regulatory policies, capacity investments, and other information and referral programs where the technical expertise and information of state government can be used to promote economic development. In the midst of an economic crisis, many governmental functions may be thought of in new or different terms, related to the nature and duration of the bad economic times. In other economic contexts, excessive growth may also produce new interventions and limitations on economic transactions. In this wide range of economic contexts, many state policies are redefined as economic
development policy, because almost all state policies entail distributional changes. Since it is neither desirable nor tractable to define each policy in terms of their economic development multiplier or distributional incidence to study policy innovation, there is always some difficulty in defining the scope and type of program confined to this policy domain.

However, the metaphor of an entrepreneurial state provides ample breadth to account for the search for innovators and innovative policies. This search includes situations where state policymaking may recast issues in economic terms, while still restricting the domain of development policy to the use of incentive programs. This study confines the empirical analysis to the adoption and diffusion of incentive programs, using a conventional sample that has been examined and replicated in other studies. However, the model of state policy leadership defined by the entrepreneurial state could be applied to many other areas of policy, including efforts to devolve organizational structures, reform administrative rules, provide entrepreneurial motives or goals for public bureaucrats and bureaucracies, or, any other attempts to spur innovation in public management and bureaucracy through policy entrepreneurship. In this context, incentive programs provide a single, but intensive, test of any model of state policy leadership.
The Data on State Development Innovations

The findings in this study are estimated from data collected by the Industrial Development and Site Selection Handbook in their annual survey of incentive laws. In this data set, there are fifty-nine state innovations described in Table 3 in the appendix. These decisions comprise a sample of the timing of two thousand nine hundred and fifty state programmatic decisions. Of these, approximately half are left or right censored, with averages durations until innovation ranging from 8 to 12 years for the full versus censored samples. The distribution of these policy innovations is summarized in Graph 1 & 2. The first graph summarizes all of the adoption decisions; the second describes only those decisions made within the time frame of the study. The panel design and related samples provides an accurate gauge for assessing state policy entrepreneurship over a crucial period of change in economic development policy.
From the 1980's to the 1990's there have been several efforts to classify innovative states and policies. These include efforts too distinguish programs by policy instrument, separate recent innovations from those policies adopted in the past, examine legislative enactments by policy impact, and finally, categorize incentives by the structure of the decision-making process used for implementing an incentive law. In these cases, the style and content of decision-making influences the costs associated with enacting and implementing various incentive laws. For example, by decentralizing or devolving decision-making, this complicates uniform implementation, but allows for both a spatial targeting of incentives and local discretion in implementation. Examples of these programs include labor retraining programs, cooperative arrangements with universities, industrial parks, and free enterprise or trade zones.

In contrast, conventional tax expenditure laws are often defined by the policy instrument made available by government. For example, a majority of the incentive laws in this data set involve either a tax or a subsidy program. These subsidy laws include the ever-popular revenue bond and loan incentive programs. These subsidies provide the necessary funding for constructing many of the notable financial aid packages for attracting business investment described through case studies. With respect to tax incentive laws, the data set contains a wide array of abatement, exemption, moratorium, or tax-reduction mechanisms. Since these policy instruments may be available in the form of general corporate tax exemptions, or specific tax exemptions on land, capital improvements, machinery, equipment, and manufacturer's inventories,
some of these tax incentive provisions reflect a new style of decision-making, emphasizing decentralization along with a geographic definition for providing these incentives.

The remaining incentive laws provide special services and regulatory incentives. The former consists of a number of programs for disseminating information about available building sites, labor markets, community development projects, infrastructure, and other public goods and services. Some of these information and referral programs provide site selection, marketing research assistance, and other technical assistance for linking businesses to communities. As a general category, special services require more active and direct intervention by government or government sponsored economic development corporations. The most important feature of these special service incentives concerns the provision of technical expertise to business by using government collected information.

The last category of incentives covers many traditional state regulations associated with business costs. Those tracked in the Conway database include whether the state has a right to work law defining the role of unions, a state minimum wage law, the existence of a fair employment practice code defining collective bargaining processes, the use of state equalization of land values promoting uniform assessment of property, and various state environmental laws. Even though some editions of the Site Selection Handbook contain additional information concerning state environmental laws, the decision was made to limit this analysis to the legislative
enactments available in the initial surveys to study innovation over the broadest scope of programs and longest time series possible.

Analysis of State Policy Entrepreneurship

An analysis of state policy entrepreneurship calls for examining three distinct hypotheses or axioms concerning a model of state policy leadership. Each involves testing for a strategic interdependence between states, a temporal precedence of state legislative enactments, and the timing of decisions.\textsuperscript{17}

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

First, bivariate correlations are estimated for all dyads to test for spatial interdependence. The variable used to measure policy output levels is the percentage of the fifty-nine incentive laws enacted. Similar results can be obtained for the number of incentives or other variants using this count data. This replicates previous efforts using of state adoption percentages to construct indices of innovative policies or to trace the adoption of new incentive laws.

The results for these spatial correlations are listed in the first column of Table 1. The prior expectations are that state’s exhibit strongly positive interstate correlations. The existence of a zero correlation (or correlation coefficient insignificantly different from zero) indicates the absence of a strategic interdependence between any two states. In these cases, which occur in
about 3% of the possible dyads, there is no evidence of a correspondence between policy output levels, suggesting that policy change in one state had a limited or negligible impact on another. However, the existence of strong positive correlations indicates a monotonic correspondence between policy output levels and changes in policy output levels over time. Since more than 97% of these spatial correlations are significantly different from zero, there is ample evidence of an interdependence between state incentive adoption percentages.

Whether these interdependencies involve simultaneous, yearly, or periodic actions and reactions depend on the magnitude of the spatial correlation: the greater the magnitude of the spatial correlation, the greater the state interdependence. Greater interdependence also implies the potential for additional strategic interaction. To reduce this to only the closest competitors, I have listed the number of states with spatial correlations greater than or equal to ninety percent for each state. For example, no state exhibited more than a ninety percent correlation with Alaska, Georgia, Hawai'i, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Washington, or Wyoming. In these states there was a greater independence or differentiation of state incentive laws from other states. These states, in other words, were less likely to lead or follow other state patterns in incentive adoption. Generally speaking, the fact that no set of spatial correlations is in-excess of ninety-percent for all forty-nine other states, or, for more than thirty of the other states, provides a good indication that substantial levels of state discretion and independence exist marginally with regard to legislation. These results also suggest most states
were more likely to follow distinct policy sequences or histories, with fewer adaptations or reactions to other state’s incentive adoptions.

Given the different paths in state policy output levels and policy histories, how much potential exists for state policy leadership? The correlation test results indicate Arizona, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia each match patterns with more than twenty other states. In this core group of states, there is additional evidence of a strategic interdependence between state incentive adoption decisions.

Second, to test for state temporal precedence, Granger tests were estimated for all combinations of states with a one year lag. Sometimes referred to as a test for causality, Granger tests are a t-statistic estimated for the coefficients in state reaction function models. The t-statistics estimated for these equations may be interpreted as testing for the significance of cross-autocorrelation between two time series. These tests discern whether lagged values of one state’s decision are prior to another state’s adoption of incentives. Another interpretation is that the Granger tests are a test for the sequential ordering of states, from which we can infer state policy leadership and interdependence between state decisions.

The results for this test are listed in Table 1 (in the second column) which contains the number of statistically significant coefficients. So, for example, the results indicate Alabama “leads” six other states. Specifically, policy entrepreneurship occurs because six other states’
incentive adoption patterns exhibit significant correlations with Alabama’s incentive laws and these other six states adopted similar incentives after Alabama. The results in this second column of Table 1 reveal how many states had the same sequence of policy decisions at later points in time. Among the most frequent policy leaders, Arizona appears to have lead decision-making patterns for twenty-two other states, Florida (twenty-five other states), Idaho (twenty-three other states), Illinois (twenty-two other states), Kentucky (twenty other states), Maine (twenty-two other states), Mississippi (twenty-one other states), Missouri (twenty-eight other states), and Nevada (twenty-two other states). These states appear to have been national policy leaders most often.

Two additional results are contained in both Tables 1 & 2. The next finding refers to the Jacque-Bera test (listed in column three of Table 1) involving a test for the normality of the incentive adoption percentages. Since the incentive laws are adopted over time, this test determines if individual state’s experienced critical events or some other process generating either a highly concentrated or diffuse pattern of decisions over time. With the exception of two states, North Carolina and New York, the distributions of legislative enactments do not appear to be significantly different from a normal distribution. This finding is particularly important, given the timing of decisions with economic conditions and a stable evolution of policy. Under these circumstances, we might expect that decisions are either concentrated in a single year or a period, rather than scattered over a lengthy sequence. For example, linear trend increases over short
durations of time between policy adoptions generate a leptokurtotic distribution. This was, however, not the case. Instead, there appears to be a relatively diffuse pattern of innovations over this twenty-seven-year period for forty-eight states.

Third, to estimate the duration state’s took to adopt programs, the average time prior to incentive adoption is computed in the fourth column of Table 1. To test for the significance of these mean “arrival” times, a t-test was computed to assess whether the average amount of time each state took to adopt incentive laws was significantly greater than zero years (or an instantaneous reaction). The t-tests were significantly different from zero for all fifty states, indicating that most states did not have most of the incentive laws at the beginning of this time series.

In comparison, Table 2 contains some additional measures of the duration until innovation. The first and third columns provide measures of the number of incentive laws adopted in the first year of the time series, while the second column contains a rank ordering of the states from most to least innovative in the initial year of this study. These rankings classify states by their policy output levels and provide a direct measure of how often each state was first (or tied for first with other states) in enacting an incentive law. These results present a direct measure of state policy entrepreneurship, since policy leaders move first to adopt policies, and their movements occur early in a policy history.
Another measure of state leadership is the mean or lower average duration of time elapsing before policy adoption. This statistic is measured in years (and summarized by state in column four of Table 2), when the average represents a summary of the timing of state innovation, with states ranked (in column five, Table 2) by the average duration or mean adoption time. States with a lower average are considered more innovative, while states with longer average durations were less likely to respond with government action. The top five states with the quickest responses were Oklahoma, North Dakota, Minnesota, Indiana, and New York. These states waited between 7.02 years and 7.34 years on the average before policy innovation. Conversely, the least interventionist states were Idaho (16.62 years), Nevada (16.25 years), Kansas (15.68 years), Georgia (15.46 years), and Montana (14.61 years). Framing this measure in terms of an optimal timing model, there appears to be a substantial range of the timing of decisions across states.

Since we often equate being first or shorter (in duration) average times with greater innovativeness, these two indices and the rankings they produce create summary measures of state policy entrepreneurship. A comparison of the rankings is presented in Graph 2, demonstrating the strong, positive, and linear relationship between these two non-parametric rankings. These findings suggest that being first and shorter average response times capture similar aspects of policy leadership.
Since state policy leaders are confronted with a tradeoff between being first and waiting to observe other states’ experiences, there may be a greater willingness on the part of states to adopt new policies in optimal lengths of time, rather than trying to be innovative. Instead, states must try to balance their decisions between moving too soon and too slowly. Models of optimal timing predict a decision point in intermediate time frames, sometime between the first and the last movers. The distribution of state mean times is presented in Graph 2, where the normal curve superimposed on the distribution of times estimates an optimal time for incentive adoption across states.
The estimated optimal time for economic development policy innovation appears to be about eleven years. The histogram reveals a modal time at eleven years and other accumulation points at nine and twelve-and-a-half years. These results indicate there is no single efficient length of time or an optimal rate of policy diffusion. The findings also suggest efficient response times range across states, that legislative enactments require much more time than instantaneous responses (or even one or two year response times), and that innovation is not efficient in the sense that the first to move and those states with faster diffusion rates have less time to make decisions and implement them before other state’s react.

These findings suggest policy leadership comes at a price, since innovative states pay the greater costs of starting programs without the benefit of other state’s experiences. At the other extreme, state’s which lag behind optimal timing run the risk of reduced gains from incentive laws. Because the gains from programs are likely to decline with both the number of other states with similar programs and the length of time an incentive has been implemented, waiting too long also has a price. States with intermediate incentive adoption times benefit from a policy leader’s sometimes costly experiences, while still obtaining a competitive advantage over states which have yet to enact legislation.

This tradeoff between the average time of response and the risk of an increased program cost or decreased benefit is estimated in Graph 4 below. In Graph 4, the risk associated with varying durations is measured by a standard deviation in years. I called this statistic a standard
duration to reflect the time units expressed on the vertical axis. The findings in Graph 4 illustrate that policy leaders have a preference for short durations to innovation with lower risk. The consistent increase in risk over mean duration is reflected in the selections made by the states with the fewest incentive laws.

The findings indicate there is moderate support for a rate of return and risk model. Based on these findings, state’s enact legislation in anticipation, if not too preempt, the future effects of other state’s incentives. Even though the details of each state’s legislation differ, most states wait average durations before innovation until it possible to observe the incentives effects associated with generic areas of economic development legislation. With all states incrementally innovating in some area of this legislation, the dominant strategy is to react with policies similar to other states during a period of innovation. On this basis, some interpret these policies represent periodic waves of innovation, since many states adopt similar legislation within relatively narrow phases of legislative intervention. Along with a bandwagon effect within time periods, individual states regulate through innovation leads and diffusion lags in an effort to control the flow of incentive effects on state economies from any particular economic development law.
The last column in Table 2 contains a summary of the relationship between these two statistics from computing a covariation index that is equal to the standard duration divided by the mean duration for incentive adoption. By expressing the standard deviation as a proportion of the mean, this covariation index is a summary statistic for assessing the level of risk associated with optimal timing of policy adoption. Covariation indices greater than one occur for the states with the fewest incentives, longest response times, and greater time dispersion in adoption decisions.
Covariation greater than fifty-percent may be inferred from non normal distributions of time, with a distribution of times more concentrated or diffuse than the normal distribution function applied in optimal timing models (such as the model of state policy decisions represented in Graphs 5 & 6) and models of innovation diffusion (Graphs 7 & 8).
The findings reveal state policy leaders had a greater number and proportion of the incentive laws; they enacted the laws earlier in the time series; and these states exhibited a shorter and more homogeneous response time. The average rates of innovation are similar across state and policy units, approximately equal to a fifty-six percent transfer rate of innovation diffusion. However, the standard deviation of the proportional duration of legislation varies considerably more across policy (29%) versus state (8%) adoption probabilities. These latter findings may be attributable to variations in optimal innovation times across states or differences in risk preferences between state policy leaders and followers.

Conclusion

In the various formulations of a Stackelberg model of innovation, there are certain unanswered questions concerning policy leadership. First, Stackelberg’s analysis does not explain why one firm becomes a product innovator and the other(s) a follower. The modern treatment of this problem focuses on market entry and exit decisions in an attempt to make leadership an endogenous variable. This contrasts with models that presume the existence of a policy leader, an incumbent, or a dominant player in a bargaining process versus models with variable entry and exit decisions. While exogenous leadership makes a great deal of sense in two-person games or
models of duopoly competition, this may seem restrictive for situations involving a large number of players and the repeated play of a game.

Within this context, there are many possibilities for establishing policy leadership. For example, policy leaders at the beginning of a time series may become followers by the later stages of the game. Or national policy leaders may exhibit interdependence with many states throughout the United States, whereas regional policy leaders maintain fewer interactions, but these interdependencies are all between their neighbor states within a region. Lastly, policy leadership involves more than a single state because of the variability of entering a policy domain through different legislation. Indeed, I suspect that policy entrepreneurship consists of a core group of states dispersed throughout the United States which innovate and react to policy changes, while other states generally follow with slower response rates and a greater dispersion of policies. In this manner, policy leaders have a less unique and enduring role, since entrepreneurship is shared and shifts among various states making policy decisions.

Second, while many studies attempt to measure state rankings, it is important to ask why policy leadership is important. If policy entrepreneurship only consists of being first or the fastest to adopt new policies, this may only reflect on the general health of federalism in the United States or the degree of competition in specific policy domains. Yet the significance of policy entrepreneurship is reflected by the fact that so many studies attempt to identify innovative states and their policies. Historically, this is done to improve government by encouraging policy
reform. In recent years, these are rewards to those for creating new approaches and solutions to existing problems confronted by public sector. Furthermore, there is (and should be) a belief in acknowledging and rewarding policy entrepreneurs for continued innovation. Beyond these material motives, innovative states exert leadership because other states may quietly look to state policy leaders to begin a legislative debate, develop model policies, experiment with pilot programs, or create models for proposing new programs. While the reputation of being a policy leader may help explain some state adoption decisions, policy leaders may also influence the timing of a follower state’s decisions because the connection between anticipated actions and predicted reactions adds to the strategic interplay between policy leaders and followers.

Third, models of policy leadership often equate the optimal timing of policy decisions with just being first. However, as noted in this study, optimal timing requires not being first. Instead waiting periods and intermediate durations are more efficient policy adoption strategies. Hence, encouraging innovation may sometimes produce inefficient allocations of time. This can occur with either too much “newness” or too rapid a diffusion rate. The former happens when too many new programs are adopted at once, while the latter occur when policy followers are too eager to adopt innovations, producing an almost instantaneous reaction to initial adoption decisions by state policy leaders. In both cases, there is an almost “faddish” quality to the policy change, where policy entrepreneurship is transformed into themes (e.g., first-wave, second-wave, third-wave policies, etc.). Clearly, some change is a good thing; slow change is probably a bad thing;
and efficient change takes somewhere around a decade, for a competitive policy domain like economic development policy where these findings indicate the laboratory of federalism is alive and well.

Fourth, the importance of a policy history is crucial for understanding the sequential nature of state policy entrepreneurship. By definition, a policy history in this model refers to the sequence of events and decisions occurring over a known time horizon. The influence of sequence alone is sometimes referred to as a path dependency, when trajectories of policy change follow certain directional, magnitudinal, and durational patterns. Each of these qualities could be explored as part of a policy history, or at the very least, by case studies attributing innovation diffusion to path dependencies. Conversely, instances of path discontinuities happen when critical events such as an economic crisis produce qualitative or structural changes to both existing policy output levels and paths of policy change. In these cases, critical events produce emergency management where both decisions and decision-making processes undergo a transformation.

Finally, models of state policy entrepreneurship raise important issues for exploring the connections between entrepreneurship between the relevant institutional actors and their innovation strategies, the payoffs associated with policy entrepreneurship, and the diffusion of outcomes. The findings in this study suggest two important distinctions between policy entrepreneurship and policy innovation. First, both can occur at either macro or micro- levels. Second, both terms connote many other meanings in ordinary discourse. For this reason, I have
made no attempt at defining a model of policy entrepreneurship for micro level public administration or management. Instead the focus of this study is on identifying some of the elements and potential consequences of state governments becoming more entrepreneurial through policy leadership. The consequences of this entrepreneurship may generate greater strategic interdependence between state policy decisions, greater salience on being the first to innovate, and shorter durations before adopting new initiatives.

References


Appendix

Table 1
Summary Tests of a Policy Leadership Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Correlation Test: number of States</th>
<th>Granger Test: number of States</th>
<th>Jacque-Bera Test: Incentive Count</th>
<th>T-Test: Average Time &gt; 0 years</th>
<th>% of Time</th>
<th>State Rank</th>
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<td>Tax Exemption on Equipment or Machinery</td>
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<td>Inventory Tax Exemption on Goods in Transit</td>
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<td>Tax Exemption on Manufacturer's Inventories</td>
<td>6.52</td>
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<td>Sales or Use Tax Exemption</td>
<td>6.64</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Tax Exemption on Raw Materials</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Tax Credits for Use of Specified State Products</td>
<td>25.52</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Tax Stabilization Agreements for Specified Industries</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8.15</td>
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<td>Tax Exemption to Encourage Research and Development</td>
<td>19.42</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Accelerated Depreciation of Industrial Equipment</td>
<td>11.46</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Right to Work Law</td>
<td>15.90</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>Minimum Wage Law</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Fair Employment Practice Code</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>83.56</td>
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<td>Uniform Property Tax Evaluation</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Air Pollution Law</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>98.59</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Water Pollution Law</td>
<td>1.36</td>
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<td>Noise Abatement Law</td>
<td>18.54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30.15</td>
</tr>
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<td>State Financed Speculative Building</td>
<td>23.14</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>City or County Financed Speculative Building</td>
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<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>Unit 3</td>
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<td>State Provides Free Land for Industry</td>
<td>27.02</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1.78</td>
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<td>City or County Provides Free Land for Industry</td>
<td>16.66</td>
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<td>State Owned Industrial Park Sites</td>
<td>21.80</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19.26</td>
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<td>City or County Owned Industrial Park Sites</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>92.67</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>State Funds for City or County Development Related to Public Works</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>71.78</td>
</tr>
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<td>46</td>
<td>State Funds for City or County Master Plans</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>62.96</td>
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<td>State Funds for City or County Recreational Development</td>
<td>5.42</td>
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<td>State Funds for Private Recreational Development</td>
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<td>State Programs to Increase Export of Products</td>
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<td>University Research and Development Facilities Available Industry</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<td>State or University Studies to Attract or Assist Industry</td>
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<td>5.5</td>
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<td>State Recruiting, Screening of Industrial Employees</td>
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<td>State Supported Training of Industrial Workers</td>
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<td>State Re-training of Industrial Employees</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>95.78</td>
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<td>State Supported Training Hard Core Unemployed</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>76.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>State Incentives to Industry to Train Hard Core Unemployed</td>
<td>12.42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>54.67</td>
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<td>State Help in Bidding on Federal Procurement Contracts</td>
<td>8.34</td>
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<td>State Science and Technology Advisory Council</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Endnotes

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Revisiting Embodiment in Social Theory: Elective Cosmetic Surgery -
‘Reflexive Self-control’ or ‘Intimate Troubles’

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Paper presented at the 5th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social
Science, Honolulu, Hawaii, May 31–June 3, 2006

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Revisiting Embodiment in Social Theory: Elective Cosmetic Surgery - ‘Reflexive Self-control’ or ‘Intimate Troubles’

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Abstract

Embodiment as an issue for social scientists was recently taken to another level of interest with the crowning in Beijing in December 2004, of “Miss Artificial Beauty”, or “ren zao mei nu”, the term used for China’s growing ranks of beauties who get their good looks by going under the knife (Straits Times, Dec 19, 2004). It appears that the symmetry between reflexivity, identity and embodiment within postmodern society has achieved its full expression. As noted by Anthony Giddens (1991: 56) ‘[T]o learn to become a competent agent able to join with others on an equal basis in the production and reproduction of social relations-is to be able to exert a continuous and successful monitoring of face and body.’ For Giddens such monitoring is an aspect of ‘reflexive self-control’ and denotes a high level of reflexivity in individual choice and freedom. However for contemporary theorists of gender (Plummer 2003: 6), while postmodern society offers an ever wider range of choice of medical technologies and drugs ‘to transform that most central organ of intimacy: the body’, elective plastic surgery, cosmetic surgery, implants, are all part of what Plummer describes as ‘intimate troubles’, as the postmodern world becomes characterized by new sexual and gender identities. The paper considers these inclinations to radically transform the body through elective cosmetic surgery. The questions I am seeking to answer in this paper include: How are social scientists dealing with these new aspects of embodiment and identity? Are these new forms of embodiment best understood as providing increasing choices and freedoms or as ‘intimate troubles’?
Revisiting Embodiment in Social Theory: Elective Cosmetic Surgery - ‘Reflexive Self-control’ or ‘Intimate Troubles’

Ann Brooks

Introduction

The relationship between embodiment and social theory shows an evolving and complex interrelationship which has engaged some of the major contemporary social theorists within sociology and related disciplines. As a result of this engagement, the ‘body’ as Shilling (2005: 6) observes remains one of the most contested concepts in the social sciences: ‘its analysis has produced an intellectual battleground over which the respective claims of post-structuralism and post-modernism, phenomenology, feminism, sociobiology, sociology and cultural studies have fought.’ The body is sometimes seen as a metaphor for the expression of particular concerns within the discipline of sociology. This paper addresses some of these concerns, but goes further in exploring the relationship between aspects of the transformation of human physiology through cosmetic surgery within the context of gendered, class-based and racial discourses. In addition the paper explores two competing frameworks of analysis for understanding the inclination to radically transform the body through elective cosmetic surgery.

Research on the use of ‘elective’ cosmetic surgery shows that recent developments in the technologizing of the body are drawn on by both men and women to transform themselves and their gender identity. Within sociology this is theorised within debates around consumption and the transformation of identity. Theorists maintain that processes such as ‘elective’ cosmetic surgery are part of a move towards a retraditionalization of gender differences as men and women draw on a range of technologies to look like ‘proto-males’ and ‘proto-females’.

The widespread use of ‘elective’ cosmetic surgery shows that it is losing its stigma and becoming more routinized. The popularizing of such techniques through television programmes such as Extreme Makeover and The Swan highlights that what counts as attractive in society is based on traditional ideas about gendered and racialised beauty.

Such programmes also suggest that surgical changes are not just a matter of surface beauty but can have a significant effect on psychological well-being and lifestyle overall. The presentation of the individual who has undergone makeovers to his/her friends (Extreme Makeover) or panel of judges (The Swan) reinforces the sense of social approval and acceptibility.

Three case studies illustrate some of these issues:

(1) Radio stations in the US recently held a contest where women competed to be awarded free breast enhancement surgeries; these women were required to write essays explaining why they deserved larger breasts (The New Paper, 4 January 2005).

In (1), the idea of making a case for being given free breast surgery indicates that cosmetic surgery is slowly losing its stigma and becoming routinized.
This sense of social approval is demonstrated rather dramatically by the fact, shown in (2), that there are beauty contests specifically for ‘artificial beauties’. Such contests are essentially celebrations of individuals who have decided to pursue their dreams of looking attractive by undergoing cosmetic surgery.

(2) China recently held its first ever beauty pageant for those who have undergone cosmetic surgery, including one male-to-female transsexual. The winner, crowned Miss Artificial Beauty, had undergone four sessions of plastic surgery, including botox injections and liposuction, while the runner had gone through ten such sessions. Asked if he would consider organizing a similar contest for men, one of the planners was quoted as saying: ‘If there is such a demand by the society, we will consider it.’ (The Straits Times, 19 December 2004)

And in (3), Berloscuni’s remarks that one has both a personal and professional obligation to present oneself appropriately (It’s a form of respect) is significant because it points to a blurring of the boundaries between work and personal life. Corporations increasingly have a vested interest in how their employees look (Shilling, 2005: 198) since this may well affect the corporate image. Consumption of gender identity must therefore be done with an eye on how it pleases the consumer qua private individual as well as how it may be viewed in the consumer’s workplace. Society not only approves, it demands it.

(3) The Italian president Sylvio Berlusconi was recently report as having undergone a hair transplant, in addition to a nip and tuck around the eyes, as well as a strict diet. According to Berlusconi, those who could afford plastic surgery “have a duty to present themselves in the best possible way” “It’s a form of respect towards those who share your family life, it’s a form of respect towards those who expect from you a certain representation on the national and international level.” (The Straits Times, 1 January, 2005, Berlusconi admits having hair transplant).

‘Elective’ Cosmetic Surgery – Cultural Hegemony or ‘Reflexive Embodiment’

Debates around cosmetic surgery can be divided into those that argue that women are ‘cultural dopes’ who are products of false consciousness in the face of cultural hegemony, and those that argue that women are exercising ‘free-will’ and expressing their agency in undergoing elective cosmetic surgery. Both perspectives have elements of truth but neither can convey the entire picture.

The cultural hegemony perspective maintains that there are hegemonic ideals of beauty established by men which women strive to achieve through elective cosmetic surgery. Implicit in this cultural hegemony model is a notion of cultural standards informed by gender, race and class. As Gagne and McGaughey (2002: 818) observe: ‘white women tend to have their breast augmented, African women tend to have their noses made narrower and Asian American women tend to have their eyes Westernized (Kaw 1998; Padmore 1998).’ Apart from these racial dimensions as Gagne and McGaughey show, class also plays a part in a number of ways. The emphasis on thinness as the norm for cultural standards of beauty is more easily accomplished by affluent women because their diet is better and they have access to expendable income for procedures such as
liposuction. As they note one of the unintended consequences of cosmetic surgery is the perpetuation and proliferation of sexism, heterosexism, racism and classism. Hence it is not surgery itself that is oppressive but the end it serves, particularly when those ends reify cultural hegemony (Gagne and McLaughney 2002: 818).

The cultural hegemony perspective shows how women are not forced to undergo cosmetic surgery but are pressurized to conform to the normalization of beauty standards by internalizing the standards of beauty as natural and normal. In other words as Gagne and McLaughney note (2002: 824): ‘cosmetic surgery [is viewed] as a logical technology implemented to achieve rewards that every woman wants … cosmetic surgery was just another part of the technologies of beauty available to women, on a continuum with makeup, hair colour, diet, exercise or the use of special bras … controlling their bodies and normalizing the embodied self within a disciplining regime that is based on compulsory heterosexuality.’

While this model explains the structural and cultural pressures determining physical dispositions, it fails to explain agency, for example both men and women use elective cosmetic surgery, yet cultural hegemony perspective explains structural ideological pressures largely in terms of a masculinist hegemonic model. Within this model it is mainly women’s embodiment which provides the focus for the debates.

The opposing view maintains that women and men make rational decisions and they decide on cosmetic surgery for a wide range of reasons. Despite the fact that both men and women use cosmetic surgery, most of the research in this area tends to have been undertaken on women (Davis, 1995; Padmore, 1998) but it is quite clear that both women and men are opting for cosmetic surgery. Davis (1995) maintains that it is part of women’s agency and their attempts to manage the beauty industry and ‘master’ its potential for their own needs. However as Gagne and McLaughney (2002) note the problem with Davis’ approach is its uncritical acceptance of hegemonic ideals and the fact that women and men are happy to subscribe to them.

Conventional analyses of elective cosmetic surgery (Balsamo, 2002; Gagne and McLaughney, 2002; Davis, 1995) show that the motivation for having cosmetic surgery is different for women and men and Balsamo shows that men and women construct different accounts of their decision to elect to have cosmetic surgery. A cosmetic surgeon tells Balsamo (2002: 691) that the reason for some men’s new concern about appearance is ‘… linked to the increasing competition for top jobs they face at the peak of their careers from women and Baby Boomers ….’ As Balsamo comments, cosmetic surgery for men is all about career enhancement and promotion. However she also notes that there are other reasons such as the fact that women and men are more interested in having the body beautiful.

Cosmetic Surgery and the Technological Gaze
The ‘normalization of beauty’ within the cultural hegemony model is further amplified by Balsamo’s analysis of the cosmetic surgeon’s ‘technological gaze’. As Balsamo (2002: 686) comments: ‘Cosmetic surgeons use technological imaging devices to reconstruct the female body as a significant ideal feminine beauty. The technological gaze refashions the material body to reconstruct it in keeping with culturally determined ideas of feminine beauty.’ The surgeon’s gaze is a ‘disciplinary gaze’ that constructs the female figure as pathological, excessive and unruly. ‘This gaze disciplines the unruly
female body by first fragmenting it into isolated parts-face, hair, legs, breasts and then redefining those parts as inherently flawed and pathological ‘(Balsamo 2002: 686).

Citing an American text used by plastic surgeons, Balsamo (2002: 688) describes the “‘Ideal Face” depicted in the book - both in the form of line drawings and in photographs-is of a white woman whose face is perfectly symmetrical in line and profile. There are clear racist overtones in the way surgeons make choices regarding cosmetic surgery as Balsamo observes there is a ‘preference for white symmetrical faces that heal (apparently) without scarring’ (2002: 689). The implications are clear, beyond the purely surgical goals ‘the ideal face ’ symbolizes an ideal standard of Caucasian beauty. The practices of cosmetic surgery are not neutral, they reinforce and extend Western patterns of beauty. For example the ‘Western’ eye shape is frequently a form of cosmetic surgery sought after by Asian women and is referred to as ‘upper lid Westernization’. Thus ‘Western’ standards of beauty provide a culturally dominant hegemonic framework within which cosmetic surgery operates and which surgeons and men and women seek ‘normalized identities’.

Thus despite the recognition of agency, in the process of reproduction, emphasis remains on hegemonic standards and values in determining the practices of embodiment. This is clearly problematic as practices surrounding embodiment and elective cosmetic surgery are now more diverse and move beyond traditional hegemonic ideals based on sexist, heterosexist and racist norms. As Crossley (2005:1) shows: ‘much work in the sociology of the body has been devoted to an analysis of body modification and maintenance, that is, to practices such as diet, exercise, bodybuilding, tattooing, piercing, dress and cosmetic surgery’(Crossley, 2004a; 2004b; DeMello, 2000; Entwistle, 2000; Featherstone, 1982, 2000; Gurney, 2000; Monaghan, 2001; Pitts 1998, 2003; Rosenblatt, 1997; Sanders, 1998; Sassatelli, 1999a, 1999b; Smith, 2001; Sweetman, 1999; Turner, 1999).

As indicated one of the key questions the paper seeks to address is how are social scientists dealing with these new aspects of embodiment and identity. As Crossley (2005: 15) notes ‘Why agents engage in this bodywork is a key question in sociology, about which most of the major perspectives in the area have something to say.’ However Crossley also recognises the limitations of these perspectives. He makes the point that we must appreciate the diversity of ‘reflexive body techniques’ and the different logics that are associated with them. ‘One size fits all’ explanations, which he notes are mainly what is given by the theorists listed above are problematic because they fail to acknowledge the diversity involved. In other words as Crossley notes, the kind of general descriptions provided by concepts such as ‘body modification’ and ‘body maintenance’ can be problematic because they imply that we are dealing with a common set of practices around common identities.

Cosmetic Surgery and Intimate Troubles
Plummer in Intimate Citizenship (2003: 5-6) shows how attempts to transform gender identity through a range of ‘technologies’ can lead to what he characterizes as ‘intimate troubles’ which can have negative connotations for relationships. These ‘include not only the frequent breakdown of traditionally conceived notions of the masculine and feminine and hence new choices about different kinds of femininities and masculinities, but also the emergence of what some see as major “gender wars” as men and women seem increasingly incapable of living with each other.’
Plummer (2003:6) describes the process of transformation as characterized by ‘intimate troubles’ as follows:

‘Intimate troubles’ and ‘choices’ over the ever wider use of medical technologies and drugs to transform that most central organ of intimacy: the body. These include implants, cosmetic surgeries, new medications like the impotency wonder drug Viagra and the miracle ‘morning-after’ abortion pill. The body—even the foetus is modified both internally and externally …

The ability to transform identity through the use of a range of technologies has led to what Plummer calls the ‘medicalizing of intimacies’ and the emergence of sexology as a medical sub-discipline. The growth of a range of drug treatments, sex therapies, the growth of cosmetic surgery and the development of new reproductive technologies means that medical science continues to transform not just bodies and identities but intimacies as well. Plummer observes that ‘we are probably living simultaneously in traditional, modern and postmodern worlds’ (2003: 8).

For many gender groups, as Plummer (2003: 54) notes, gender is now not a fixed identity and thus cannot have any citizenship rights. The transformation of identity is only partially related to embodiment, but it highlights the importance of the relationship of embodiment and agency and reinforces the position of structuration theories in seeing the embodied actor as an active agent in reproducing (and changing) society. As Plummer (2003: 59) observes in framing his new conception of multiple citizenships: ‘… the women’s movement, the lesbian and gay movement, the ethnic and post-colonial movements have raised a host of potential new identities that demand recognition and lay claim to rights and obligations.’

Conclusion
The paper addresses how sociologists and contemporary social theorists are dealing with the relationship between embodiment and identity and critiques traditional hegemonic models which frame an understanding of elective cosmetic surgery as reflecting one-dimensional hegemonic models around heterosexism, racism and classism. The paper also addresses whether transformations in embodiment can best be understood as providing an increased range of choices and freedoms or as creating ‘intimate troubles’ in late modernity.

References
Revisiting Embodiment in Social Theory


*The Straits Times*, Singapore, December 19, 2004

*The Straits Times*, Singapore, January 1, 2005
THE EFFECTS OF LIFE EVENTS ON TELEMARKETING FRAUD

VULNERABILITY AMONG OLDER ADULTS

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This study examined the demographic trends and effects of life events on telemarketing fraud vulnerability among older adults at a social service agency in Southeast Los Angeles. The sample consisted of 28 telemarketing fraud victims, age 60 or older, who completed a researcher administered survey assessing variables related to telemarketing fraud susceptibility. Findings showed that most victims were Caucasian males, between the ages of 60-70, who have some college education. The victims had been defrauded 1-2 times and had lost under $5,000 to telemarketing scams. The study also found a positive correlation between telemarketing involvement and the experience of negative life events ($p = .05$). This research may provide additional information on modes of prevention and intervention by social workers when assessing for financial abuse in the older adult population such as implementing programs that aid in socialization and diminish feelings of loneliness amongst older adults who are facing inevitable stressful life events as they age.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem statement

According to the 2000 United States Census, persons over 65 years old constitute 12.4% of the total population, with an expected growth of 20% by 2030 (U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Service, 2003). As the population of older adults increases, it is reasonable to assume that the number of financial abuse cases against the elderly will also increase if this problem is left unchecked. Unfortunately because financial abuse is difficult to quantify, many cases go unreported or unsolved (Subcommittee on Aging, 2003). The Subcommittee on Aging reports that 40% of all elder abuse involves some form of financial exploitation and that the problem ranks third behind neglect and emotional abuse. According to the Seniors Against Investment Fraud (SAIF), telemarketing fraud involving all age groups is estimated to cost consumers over forty billion dollars. Telemarketing fraud is the most costly form of fraud with 10% consisting of scams targeted directly at seniors (Aziz, 2000).

Telemarketing fraud is a type of financial crime that is often referred to as “white collar crime”. This type of crime is misunderstood by both the justice system and victims and often goes unreported. There is an emphasis on prosecuting violent crimes by the victim’s rights movement; however, there is little advocacy for non violent crimes such as financial abuse. In addition, there is also lack of research and no clear definition on understanding what constitutes financial crimes (Deem, Murray, Gaboury, & Edmunds,
All these factors contribute to the lack of prosecution and sanctions against perpetrators of financial crimes. Victims of nonviolent white collar crimes often feel guilt, shame, anger and depression. The combination of these emotions with the lack of knowledge by both victim and law enforcement create a double standard in which the victim is viewed with suspicion, skepticism and contempt (Deem et al.).

Victims of financial crimes, such as telemarketing, willingly give up their assets after careful persuasion by swindlers; therefore, they end up feeling that they were careless and at fault. The criminal justice system is slow in responding to a crime where someone was duped or outsmarted. They fail to see the tremendous violation of personal integrity and sense of trust suffered by victims. Victims do not show physical wounds after the crime is perpetuated but they suffer long standing psychological wounds which can later lead to loss of independence of the older adult victim (Deem et al., 2002).

As people age they are inevitably faced with life events that can lead to loss. It is during times of loss that people tend to experience psychological stress; it is during this time that many older adults might become more vulnerable to financial fraud (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997). As a person ages, their social power, as far as activities, decreases due to retirement, widowhood, physical ailments, and cognitive ability. As these life events unfold, the older adult experiences a diminution of social interactions, which could create inequitable exchange relationships, which could make older consumers more vulnerable to financial fraud (p. 73). In addition, AARP acknowledges that psychological loneliness is a much more important factor in making consumers vulnerable than actual physical isolation. It is obvious that as adults grow older and
experience these losses they will consequently become more vulnerable to telemarketing fraud (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997).

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to discover and describe relationships between the effects of life events for the older adult and their vulnerability to telemarketing fraud.

The findings of the study could be beneficial in shedding light on a problem that has not been substantially researched since it was first recognized in 1975 (Brozowski, 2003).

**Conceptual definitions**

This section provides conceptualization of these terms:

Financial Abuse: the illegal, improper use and mismanagement of a person’s money, property or resources (Aziz, 2000).

Fraud: a deception or scam deliberately practiced in order to secure unfair or unlawful gain to the perpetrator (Aziz, 2000)

Older adult: any person over the age of 65 years old

Life events: common life events that tend to cause stress (i.e., retirement, death of a spouse, serious illness; Brugha, & Cragg, 1990).

Telemarketing fraud: telephone contact that deceives an individual with the promise of goods or services (Johnson, 2003).

**Hypotheses**

1. Among older adults, as number of life events increase, the number of telemarketing fraud events will also increase.

2. Among older adults, the oldest older adults will experience more telemarketing fraud incidents than younger older adults.
3. Among older adults, females will experience more incidents of telemarketing fraud than males.

4. Among older adults, ethnic minorities will experience more incidents of telemarketing fraud than non-ethnic minorities.

5. Among older adults, those with less than a high school diploma will have more incidents of telemarketing fraud than those with college degrees.

6. Among older adults, single older adults will experience more incidents of telemarketing fraud than married older adults.

Relevance to Social Work and Multiculturalism

The participants in this study come from different cultural backgrounds and different areas within the South East Los Angeles and North Long Beach areas. Because social workers provide various services to this population, it is speculated that social workers are often the first people to uncover financial abuse. It is imperative that social workers be educated regarding the devastating effects of telemarketing fraud on older adults.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Telemarketing Fraud Vulnerability Among Older Adults

Telemarketing is the most costly form of fraud, with 10% consisting of scams targeted directly at seniors. In addition Americans lose $40 billion annually due to fraudulent sales or services over the phone. Fifty-six percent of telemarketing victims are 50 years or older and are targeted because they hold 70% of the nation’s household net worth (Aziz, Bolick, Kleinman & Shadel, 2000; Subcommittee on Aging, 2003). In a personal communication with Debbie Deem, March, 17, 2005, Deem explained that 80% of her case load, since she partnered with the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) in Los Angeles County, is working with seniors who have been defrauded by telemarketing scams. Deem heads the victim specialist team with the FBI and states that this is a persistent problem that needs further investigation. The American Association for Retired Persons has also identified that 80% of the 14,000 fraudulent telemarketing firms in the United States primarily target older adults (American Association of Retired Persons [AARP], 1996).

The United States is experiencing dramatic growth of its senior populace; and financial abuse of the elderly is also rising (Subcommittee on Aging, 2003). The research of elder abuse is important because elder abuse is generally difficult to quantify and therefore un-prosecutable. According to the Subcommittee on Aging, only 16% of all elder abuse cases are reported. The subcommittee also reports financial abuse as the third
most prevalent form of elder abuse accounting for 30% of reported cases (Rabiner, O’Keeffe, & Brown, 2004.)

Criminal justice officials are beginning to recognize that victims of financial crimes have the same needs as victims of violent crimes and therefore an increase in services and resources are now made available to them; however, it is still not enough. Experts state that victims of financial crimes may suffer severe psychological and financial harm which sometimes manifest themselves in physical ailments (Deem et al., 2002).

Financial Abuse including telemarketing fraud is often under reported because it is considered a non violent crime; however according to Deem et al. (2002), victims of financial crimes suffer similar emotional distress as victims of violent crimes. The impact is detrimental to their mental and physical health, which may be due to the stress or the loss of financial resources. M. Kleinman who works with the Financial Abuse Specialist Team in Los Angeles, CA. (personal communication, February, 24, 2005) says that most of these crimes, in fact, do go unreported and unprosecuted because seniors are often too ashamed to admit they have been scammed and also the law tends to lend a blind eye to this type of white collar crime.

There is also uncertainty amongst professionals when it comes to identifying telemarketing as a type of elder abuse (Brozowsky & Hall, 2003). There is no single theory or factor that accounts for all telemarketing fraud situations; making it difficult, therefore, for professionals to positively ascertain all cases of this abuse (Gordon & Brill, 2001). In addition, if the victim is unaware or refuses to report the crime, it is difficult for a professional working with the victim to realize a crime occurred.
Financial exploitation is defined as illegal or improper use of an elder’s fund, property, or assets, and is also categorized as elder abuse (Choi & Mayer, 2000). Unlike other types of abuse, financial abuse 40% is perpetrated by strangers who often disappear once the crime has been identified and substantiated. This fact makes prosecution and reporting difficult (p.11). This type of exploitation is also devastating because it robs victims of their life savings and assets leaving them in economic peril and ultimately causing them loss of independence (Choi & Meyer, 2000; Rabiner et al., 2004).

An additional factor contributing to the lack of reporting is that victims are persuaded, rather than forced, to divulge their personal information since they may feel too embarrassed to admit foolishness or gullibility resulting in a failure to report the crime (Jinkook & Geistfeld, 1999). In conjunction with the lack of reporting there is the lack of recognition that fraudulent telemarketing is a serious crime. Therefore, in addition to the tendency for elders to blame themselves for falling victim, there is also the lack of understanding of financial abuse in our society.

The FBI’s Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and the Justice Department’s National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) has for the past 20 years been gathering annual information on the prevalence and characteristics of forms of crime; however little information is known about white-collar crimes, offenders, and their victims (Van Wyk & Mason, 2001). Fraud victimization has not been the focus of data gathering and little research attention has been given to victims and their experiences. The few studies that have been undertaken have focused only on demographic characteristics and have argued that consumer fraud victimization is affected by exposure to social opportunities and social support (Van Wyk & Mason, 2001).
Legislative and Policy Trends

Every state has an APS agency designed to aid older adults in the event of abuse. APS investigates and offers referrals and services to victims of elder abuse; however due to limited knowledge, man power, and resources APS is ill trained to identify and address financial exploitation of seniors (Aziz et al., 2000; Deem, 2000; Rabiner et al., 2004).

Several Multidisciplinary teams, Elder Abuse Task Forces and Fiduciary Abuse Specialist Teams have been formed, in addition to APS, to address difficult cases of financial abuse and improve the response to incidents of elder abuse; however, the effectiveness and impact of these programs are still under evaluation (Rabiner et al., 2004).

Provisions in state APS laws mandate reporting by professionals of elder abuse; however there is not a clear procedure for the reporting of financial abuse. In addition to the law being vague on how to report financial abuse, it is also not specific on what type of professionals are mandated to report a financial crime (Rabiner et al., 2004). The few states that do have mandatory reporting laws impose fines, imprisonment, and license revocation for those who do not report. However, implementations of these sanctions are usually never used (D. Deem, personal communication, March, 17, 2005; Rabiner et al.)

Recently the federal government introduced an amendment to earlier Telemarketing Fraud Acts, to help combat the problem. The Telemarketing Fraud Prevention Act of 1998 increased federal criminal penalties for perpetrators. The Act gives government authority to seize money and property from violators to repay telemarketing fraud victims. It also increases the jail time for the violator if the victim is 55 years or older (Reinboldt & Vogel, 2001).
Social Work Interventions

The problem of financial abuse has become so critical that in January of 1993 the Los Angeles Area Agency on Aging (AAA) formed a Fiduciary Abuse Specialist Team (FAST) to combat the rising cases of financial abuse. The team was formed because adult protective services (APS) caseworkers and ombudsmen lacked the skills and training to investigate and successfully resolve financial abuse cases (Aziz, 2000). This unfortunately remains the case today as APS still reports 40% of their cases as constituting financial abuse (Aziz, 2000).

Education has proven to be the most effective and most common intervention in preventing consumer fraud. Tools such as books, brochures, videos, fraud hotlines and websites offer tips on avoiding victimization. The media has also aided in warning consumers about fraudulent business practices. Senior Centers have also sponsored presentations to increase awareness and prevention against consumer fraud. Teams such as FAST have been created in cities across the nation, all in an effort to combat telemarketing and consumer fraud. The best way a social worker can intervene is by promoting education on how to avoid, detect and report consumer fraud in the older adult population (Choi & Mayer, 2000; Wyk & Mason 2001). In order to satisfy the elder’s need for social interactions the information needs to be related through personal interaction (Lee & Geitsfeld, 1999). Education is also essential because most older adults do not consider telemarketing a criminal act and are often unable to distinguish between a fraudulent offer and a legitimate one (AARP,1996). Elders can also benefit from financial management services from community based agencies (Choi & Mayer, 2000). The federal government has set up programs like the Federal Trade Commissions’
(FTC) Do Not Call list and the FTC’s toll free hotline to report complaints or obtain information regarding avoiding scams.

Research also indicates that providing older adults with adequate social support during stressful life events provides the social interactions needed to deter victimization (Langenderfer & Shimp, 2001). Properly training law enforcement, social workers and other social service practitioners on how life events affect an older person’s social circle and therefore their susceptibility to becoming a victim of fraud will also help decrease the growing problem of telemarketing fraud and other forms of financial exploitation (Friedman, 1992 & Wasik, 2000). Social work professionals should always interview the clients and ask about their economic situation. Asking open ended questions about their suspicions and fears could help detect victimization. The professional should also help elders when filling a police report to ensure a smooth transition to law enforcement personnel. The professional will have the most knowledge of the situation and can also advocate for the senior’s legal rights and credibility, in case it is questioned (Heisler & Tewksbury, 1991).

The use of the media to disseminate the information is also helping seniors become aware of the problem. AARP has considered publishing a list of fraudulent retailers and organizations to educate the public. In addition to FAST, other special units can be created by law enforcement to combat elderly scams (Harris, 1995). Because this is a crime that results in psychological and emotional wounds, counseling and support services are needed for elderly victims (Deem, 2000).

Life events and Vulnerability
Marketing experts have also found that negative life events and everyday life stressors or hassles that come with aging can lead to consumer fraud vulnerability (Kang & Ridgeway, 1996). Elderly consumers may also be going through a life changing event, such as “empty nest stage” or ‘solitary survivor” stage in their family cycle (p.110). The stresses of these events can lead to fraud vulnerability. In addition maturational changes that lead to life events may include several losses in physical, emotional and cognitive abilities that can make an older person less able to recognize and resist a persuasive criminal (Friedman, 1992). Telemarketers target potential older adults who fit these characteristics and often call them using high pressure tactics to solicit money for their fraudulent investments, insurances, charities, travel packages and sweepstakes (Johnson, 2003).

Visceral factors are the basic drives that push a person to act on their desires like hunger, thirst, and sex. The perpetrator’s goal is to appeal to the victim’s basic human desires and manipulate them by invoking primal emotions to override normal behavioral constrains (Langenderfer & Shimp, 2001). A consumer is most susceptible to becoming a victim during a time of transition perpetrated by a loss because they are under psychological stress, fearful, grieving, or depressed. A con artist will focus in on these emotions or visceral factors and use them to influence and persuade the victim (Langenderfer & Shimp, 2001).

Research reveals that older consumers are likely to face multiple life changing events as they age that can also lead to loss of companionship and ultimately to fraud vulnerability (Lee & Geitsfeld, 1999). Because of the effects of life events and loss in relationships, older adults are more likely than younger adults to listen to fraudulent
telemarketers, therefore suggesting a higher vulnerability to telemarketing fraud (AARP, 1996).

The largest predictor of telemarketing vulnerability is age, followed by marital status such as widowed, and divorced. Persons who are experiencing loss of cognition and mobility are also at risk (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997). These results are consistent with the effects of life events on an older person’s life. The older the person the more likely they are to be widowed or in the process of losing cognition or mobility due to illness or accident.

Life event research documents that stressful life events involving loss, like the death of a loved one or retirement, are linked to depression and isolation, while threatening life events, like being a victim, lead to anxiety (Beurs, Beekman, Geerlings, Deeg, Van Dyck & Van Tilburg, 2001; Rabiner et al., 2004). The combination of life events and the resulting psychological problems create greater vulnerability for the older adult when facing a possible scam. As the older adult’s depressive and anxious feelings increase so does the likelihood that they will be exploited yet again (Rabiner et al.). The leading buffer against the detrimental effects of negative life events is having an extensive social network (Beurs, Comijs, Twisk, Sonnenberg, Beekman & Deeg, 2001; Deem, 2004).

**Age and Vulnerability**

As consumers get older they experience losses, which include companionship. The lack of social interactions leaves them vulnerable to fraudulent consumer scams (Lee & Gestfield, 1999). Clinical depression is common in late life for older adults, with 25%
of those diagnosed also suffering from anxiety. Emotional problems like these are the effects of long standing environmental stressors associated with stressful life events like the illness or death of a loved one, and major conflicts, like a court or police dispute (Beurs et al., 2001).

The National Elder Abuse Incident Study (NEAIS) reported that 48% of the reported financial abuse cases involved persons over the age of 80 years old despite the fact that the oldest-old make up only 19% of the elderly population (National Center for Elder Abuse [NCEA], 1998). This is an important fact because this population composes the frailest victims who are less inclined to report, might become incapacitated or even die during the investigation of the crime (Rabiner et al., 2004). Cognitive impairments are also most common amongst this population which often dissuades prosecutors from pursuing cases (Rabiner et al.).

Langenderfer and Shimp, (2001) also note that age related factors such as reduced cognitive ability, and social isolation may also increase fraud vulnerability. They speculate that those living alone in old age are more likely to be receptive to swindlers, because they crave the opportunity to interact with someone. Deception and misinformation is then used by telemarketers to make simple transactions difficult to evaluate by someone who has reduced cognitive impairments. Intelligence and logical decision making is associated with scam avoidance, suggesting that cognitive impairments in older adults negatively affect fraud vulnerability (Langenderfer & Shimp).

Gender and Vulnerability
Feminist have stated that patriarchy is a dominant ideology that frequently discriminates against women. Women are expected to be less assertive, predisposing them to fraud and unfair business practices (Lee & Geistfield, 1999; Reiboldt & Vogel, 2001). Brozowski and Hall (2003) have also found that persons with passive and avoidant personalities have a greater likelihood of financial exploitation. Women who have been socialized to conduct themselves in this manner are then placed at a greater risk.

Epidemiological studies also report higher prevalence of depression and anxiety among women, increasing their vulnerability to isolation and feeling of loneliness, which in turn increases vulnerability to financial exploitation. Literature further explains that a major risk factor for financial exploitation is being female and living alone. Women make up 91.8% of the victims of financial abuse according to NEAIS (NCEA, 1998; Rabiner et al., 2004).

Ethnicity and Vulnerability

Ethnic minorities tend to be less socially integrated and often have fewer resources to cope with losses due to naturally occurring life events (Lee & Geistfield, 1999). For example, Non-Hispanic whites are a dominant group with greater social power that often leads to market savvy individuals who are better prepared to detect a potential scam (Lee & Geistfield).

NEAIS shows 83% of reports involve non-white victims (NCEA, 1998), substantiating that race is related to social power. Non-Hispanic whites have more social power; therefore, are less vulnerable. Their social power could be attributed to a better education and abundance of financial resources (Lee & Geistfield, 1999). African
Americans and Hispanics often live in disadvantage communities where resources are scarce. In addition, they might not be able to develop the skills to negotiate deals in a free market society, therefore making them more vulnerable to consumer fraud (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997).

**Education and Vulnerability**

Often minorities are less educated and economically underprivileged leading to vulnerability. Lack of education leads to lack of consumer market power-ability and makes it hard for the consumer to negotiate the best possible deal, thus creating unequal power when an exchange takes place (Lee & Geistfield, 1999). Lee and Soberon-Ferrer, (1997) also state that a more educated individual is less likely to be victimized by telemarketing fraud. Victims who are not used to negotiating in the market place find it difficult to distinguish between a fraudulent and non fraudulent telephone call and are often not able to say no and hang up (Reinboldt & Vogel, 2001)

Literature reveals that less educated consumers are more vulnerable because reading and decision making skills gained through formal education are resources used by consumers to make an educated decision when confronting the marketplace. Higher education has been linked to consumer awareness of market fraud (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997; Van Wyk & Mason, 2001). Studies also show that older adult’s with greater education experience a greater sense of control. They feel they have the power and direction over their life outcomes. A person with a higher sense of control is better at problem solving, have better coping skills and control over emotions in the face of adverse events due to personal loss or difficulties (Schiema, 2001). Ultimately, they can negotiate and advocate for themselves, which is critical when trying to avoid or prosecute
consumer fraud. Unfortunately, due to inevitable loss associated with life events, studies have documented low sense of control among older adults (Schieman, 2001).

**Marital Status and Vulnerability**

Loneliness and isolation is thought to be tied to marital status since victims are more likely to be unmarried. It is thought that when a person is isolated they lack social reinforcement, which leads to low self-confidence, which affects the ability to negotiate. Marital status has been linked to influence loneliness which ultimately influences consumer vulnerability to telemarketing fraud (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997; Reinboldt & Vogel, 2001). Widowed, divorced and single persons are believed to be more vulnerable than married person (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer).

As people age they are more likely to outlive peers and spouses, with these experiences contributing to loneliness. These life events leave those that are non married with smaller social networks than those who are married. Men who found intimate attachments in marriage are left without a wife and the social network she had created (Dyskstra & De Jong Gierveld, 2003).

Marriage alone is no safe guard against social loneliness, however involvement with other social networks as a result of being part of a marriage is a safeguard. In a marriage, women serve traditionally as the kin keepers and are in charge of organizing gatherings with family, friends and neighbors, and in the process involving the husbands. An unmarried man does not have this advantage once he loses his partner (Dyskstra & De Jong Gierveld, 2003).

Women find protection against loneliness by involving themselves in other close relationships. Women are socialized to develop skills in attentiveness, disclosure and
empathy, making them more social. This serves as a compensation for the lack of marital power and social privilege. As women are socialized they are encouraged to identify and bond with their mothers, while boys are encouraged to suppress desires of intimacy and detach from their mothers (Davidson, 2004; Dyskstra & De Jong Gierveld, 2003). As a result, when men age they have an elevated risk of social isolation. This is because men have accepted that the woman’s role is to establish and maintain social networks for them; therefore they do not seek out social networks on their own (Davidson, 2004).
CHAPTER 3

METHOD

A descriptive research design was used to complete this study. The design provided quantitative data supporting or negating a relationship between the stresses produced by life events and the susceptibility to telemarketing fraud. The focus of the research was to find an association between these two variables as opposed to determining causality.

Participants

The sampling method used was non random/ non probability. A purposive sample was selected from older adults who were 60 years or older and had lost money or property through telemarketing scams. The sample consisted of 28 older adults that met the two criteria. The participants were clients of a nonprofit organization that provides a variety of social services to the Southeast Los Angeles community. Permission from the agency’s directors was obtained.

Instrument

The survey had two sections. The first asked for demographic information of the sample with questions such as age, gender, ethnicity, education, and marital status. Additional questions measuring telemarketing vulnerability were asked. Part II was the Life Events Questionnaire (LEQ), a 12 item instrument that measured common life events that can be perceived as threatening. The test-retest reliability of the LEQ is reported as .84. The instrument has concurrent validity and is very sensitive to the
identification of stressful events (Brugha & Cragg, 1990). Examples of the questions include: 1) Your parent, child, or spouse died; 2) You were fired from your job, and; 3) You had a financial crisis. Participants respond by checking off the box corresponding to the month or months in which the events happened. The instrument is scored by totaling the number of times a life event has happened within the last six months. The scores can range from 0 to 72, with higher scores indicating higher vulnerability. The instrument was translated to a Spanish version for those whose primary language is Spanish.

Procedure

The data was collected through a self-administered survey questionnaire. The survey was administered in-person to insure a higher rate of response and completion. A Spanish version of the survey was administered for participants who preferred Spanish. Administering the survey in-person also allowed participants to ask questions as needed and provided assistance for visually impaired participants. The survey took about 20 minutes to complete. After completion of the survey, the participants were compensated for their time with a two dollar bill, information pamphlet, and a thank you note.

Variables

The dependant variables measured in this study were the stress induced by life events of each participant, the amount of money lost, and the number of times they had lost money to telemarketing scams. In addition to these variables, demographic information was asked such as age, gender, ethnicity, education, and marital status.

Data analysis

Descriptive statistical analyses were conducted in order to provide a demographic profile of the sample. Inferential analyses were conducted comparing the LEQ to each
demographic variable in order to show the relationship between life events and telemarketing fraud susceptibility. Statistical tests included Pearson’s product moment correlation, independent sample t-test, and one-way analysis of variance.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

The demographic characteristics of the sample are displayed in Table 1. The sample consists of 28 older adult telemarketing fraud victims. Ages of the participants ranged from 60 to 80 years, with the largest concentration of participants within the 60-70 age range (n=14, 50%). Approximately half of the participants were female (n=15, 53.6%) and slightly less than half were male (n=13, 46.4%). The sample was too small to reflect diversity with regard to ethnic identity. The majority of participants identified themselves as White (n=16, 57.1%), followed by Latino (n=8, 28.6%), three individuals identified as Asian (n=3, 10.7), and one individual identified as African American (n=1, 3.6%). The ethnic groups were nearly equal when categorized as White participants (n=16, 57.1%) versus non-White participants (n=12, 42.9%). The majority of the participants had some college education (n=10, 35.7%), followed by those with less than a high school education (n=7, 25.0%), high school graduates (n=6, 21.4%), and college graduates or more (n=5, 17.9%). Most participating older adults indicated they were divorced (n=11, 39.3%), followed by those who were single/widowed (n=10, 35.7%), and married (n=7, 25.0%).
### TABLE 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Elderly ($n = 28$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>$n$</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-65</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76-80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 and Over</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnicity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate or more</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/separated</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single/widowed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Telemarketing Fraud Involvement**
The telemarketing fraud involvement of the sample is reported in Table 2. Most participants reported receiving 0-1 calls from telemarketers per week (n=12, 17.9%). More than one third reported receiving 2-3 telemarketing calls per week (n=11, 39.3%), followed by those who received more than 5 telemarketing calls per week (n=3, 10.7%), and 4-5 telemarketing calls per week (n=2, 7.1%). The majority of participants (n=27, 96.4%) reported losing less than $5,000 to telemarketing fraud, with one participant (n=1, 3.6%) who reported losing more than $10,000 to this crime. More than half of the participants were victimized 1-2 times (n=15, 53.67%), followed by those who reported victimization 3-4 times (n=11, 39.3%), and those who were victimized twice (n=2, 7.1%).

Life Events Questionnaire (LEQ)

The scores of the LEQ are reported on Table 3. The standardized instrument is a 12 item questionnaire that measures negative, common life events that can be perceived as stressful. Even though the highest possible score was 72, a range of 0-72, most participants scored between 0-20. The largest group of participants scored 0 (n=7, 25%), meaning none of the life events on the questionnaire happened to them within the last six months.

A Life Event Happened or Not Scale (LEH-N)

All of the tests and analysis conducted on the LEQ showed non-significant results when compared against the demographic data. Table 4 show the LEQ condensed into LEH-N, which scored whether a life event happened or not during the last 6 months. The scores ranged from 0-6 events. When reviewed, the scores
TABLE 2. Telemarketing Fraud Involvement of the Elderly \((n = 28)\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk factor</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of telemarketing calls received peer week</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Money lost to telemarketing scams</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $5,000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000-$10,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of times victimized by telemarketing scams</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3. Life Event Scale Scores for the Elderly (*n* = 28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Life Events*</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scores can range from 0-72*

### TABLE 4. A Life Event Happened or Not Scale for the Elderly (*n* = 28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of incidents on Life Event Scale</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
showed that in the last six months eight (n=8, 28.6%) victims had at least three events happen to them, followed by seven (n=7, 25%) who reported not experiencing any of the life events in the questionnaire, five victims (n=5, 17.9%) reported experiencing one life event, three victims (n=3, 10.7%) reported experiencing four life events, two victims (n=2, 7.1%) reported five events, and only one (n=1, 3.6%) victim reported having six life events happen to them in the last six months.

Research Question 1

The analysis from the Pearson’s $r$ correlation displays a statistically significant relationship between telemarketing involvement and the likelihood that a life event was experienced within the last six months. The results show ($r = 0.15, p<0.05$) that when a negative life event was experienced, telemarketing involvement also increased.

Research Question 2

A one-way analysis of variance shows that there is no significant difference in age across different life scale scores ($F=1.84, p<0.16$). The mean scores of the life events scale also do not show significant patterns according to age. However people 66-70 do exhibit the highest life event scores followed by those 60-65 years old.

Research Question 3

A $t$-test analysis shows that there is no significant difference between gender and the number of life stressors ($t=-0.67, p<.95$). This non-statistically significant difference is reinforced by the fact that the mean life stressor scale scores are nearly equal across both genders.
Research Question 4

A $t$-test analysis shows that there are no significant differences in life event scale scores in terms of ethnicity ($t=-1.50, p<1.15$). The mean of the life event scale scores reflect the same non significant results; however non-whites did score higher than whites on the scale.

Research Question 5

A one-way analysis of variance shows that there is no significant difference in life events scale and education ($F=0.88, p<0.47$). However, participants with less than high school education did exhibit the highest mean in the life event scale scores.

Research Question 6

A one way analysis of variance shows that there is no significant difference or trends between life event scale scores and marital status ($F=0.40, p<0.75$). The mean life event scale scores appeared to be nearly equal for all categories.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 dealt with the relationship between telemarketing involvement and the likelihood that a life event was experienced within the last six months. Independent sample t-test and one-way analysis of variance found no significant differences in the incidents of negative life events across scores on the LEQ, demographics and telemarketing involvement. The original scale (LEQ) had a possible score of 72, however the participants only reported scores from 0-20, indicating that they did not experience negative life events recently. Twenty five percent of the sample (n=7, 25%) reported having none of the life events happen to them within the last six months. These findings could be explained by the fact that the scale only measured for events that happened within the last six months and participants could have had the experiences earlier. Another possible explanation is that the participants are very social, participating in senior center activities like congregate meal programs. Their socialization with others acts as a buffer preventing feelings of stress or loneliness associated with life events and therefore making them less susceptible to telemarketing fraud (Beurs et al, 2005.; Deem, 2004).

However when Pearson’s r correlations were conducted in order to discern the presence of relationships between Telemarketing Fraud Involvement Scale and the Life
Event Happened or Not Scale, it was found that the two scales were significantly correlated with one another ($r = .15, p<0.05$).

This correlation does not represent causation; however, it is a significant finding because the literature does acknowledge that as adults grow older they will encounter life events that will cause feeling of stress than can then lead to fraud vulnerability (Friedman, 1992). Soon after a negative life event occurs, a consumer faces a period of transition where due to psychological stresses the person becomes more susceptible (Langenderfer & Shrimp, 2001). The findings show that, in fact, when a participant reported an increase in life events, telemarketing involvement also increased.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 concerned the effect of age on fraud vulnerability. The literature reports that 48% of the reported financial crimes involved persons over the age of 80 years old (NCEA, 1998). This study found that only 21.4% of the participating victims were over 80 years old. The most affected were younger older adults, ages 60-70, which made up 50% of the sample. The study’s results were contrary to the hypothesis and literature, because it found that the majority of victims were younger older adults (n=17, 50%).

Trends in the mean ($M=5.7, SD=3.5$) of the LEH-N scale show that people 60-70 (n=14, 50%) years old exhibited higher scores, followed by participants 80 (n=6, 21.4%) and older ($M=2.1, SD=1.4$). Rabiner et al. (2004) states that the more feelings of depression and anxiety, the more likely a person is to being exploited. Because this group reported the highest incidents of a life event, it is expected that they had more telemarketing involvement. The second group was representative of what the experts
report. The 80 years and older group is more vulnerable to negative life events that are associated with natural process of aging leaving them more susceptible to telemarketing fraud (Lee & Geitsfeld, 1999). Because the sample is too small and the majority of victims surveyed were younger older adults, the finding cannot be generalized to the general population.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 focused on gender and telemarketing fraud vulnerability. It was expected that females would experience more incidents of telemarketing fraud than males because of the passive, patriarchal socialization of women that makes them more vulnerable to financial exploitation (Lee & Geitsfeld, 1999; Reiboldt & Vogel, 2001). However, the means of the LEH-N scale did not support the hypothesis because they were nearly equal across both genders. There were only two more females than males in the study, which was not enough to make a generalization.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 explored ethnicity and telemarketing fraud vulnerability. There were no significant findings supporting the hypothesis. The trends in the means did find a small increase in scores amongst non-whites versus white participants. Had this been statistically significant, this finding is consistent with the literature that states that minorities are at risk because they tend to be less market savvy than white consumers (Lee & Geitsfeld, 1999). Perhaps with a larger sample, this trend would have become larger.
Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 looked at the influence of education telemarketing vulnerability. There were no significant findings to support that participants with less than a high school diploma had more incidents of telemarketing fraud than those with college degrees. The study did find that those with less than a high school diploma did have the highest mean \((M=3, SD=1.5)\) in the LEH-N scores. This finding is noteworthy because the literature states that less educated consumers could be more vulnerable because of the lack of resources and decision making skills gained through formal education (Lee & Soberon-Ferrer, 1997; Van Wyk & Mason, 2001). In addition they are not as educated on the existence of white collar crimes such as telemarketing fraud.

Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 expected to find single older adults having more incidents of telemarketing fraud than married adults. The hypothesis was not supported by any significant findings or trends. The mean scores were nearly the same across all categories. The majority of victims reported being either divorced/separated or single/widowed which does indicate that a negative life event such as death of a spouse, divorce or separation occurred. This is linked to the literature that most telemarketing victims are unmarried and often experience feelings of loneliness and isolation which can lead to isolation and lack of self confidence, and ultimately influence consumer vulnerability to fraud (Lee & Soberon-Ferre, 1997; Reinboldt & Vogel, 2001). This connection cannot be generalized because of the small sample size.
Limitations

The study was not representative of the target population because it was obtained only from the Southeast Los Angeles residents. The sample size was too small and was not ethnically representative. The participants were also very social, as evidenced by their participation in senior center events and congregate meal sites; therefore they were probably somewhat insulated from the effects of negative feelings associated with negative life events. Threats to reliability included the small sample size, limited ethnic representation, and limited geographical location. As a consequence the results could not be generalized to the broader population. Threats to validity include the lack of a comparison group making it difficult to rule out other factors that could have contributed to telemarketing vulnerability among older adults. In addition, this was a quantitative descriptive research design that explored life events correlated with older adult’s susceptibility to telemarketing fraud vulnerability, rather than explaining the causes of telemarketing fraud vulnerability.

Significance to Social work Practice

Telemarketing Fraud is an important crime to study because it affects some of the most vulnerable persons in our society. The literature states that ethnic minorities, women and the oldest old are most vulnerable to telemarketing fraud. Even though there were no significant differences found between experiencing negative life events and demographics, there is a significant relationship between telemarketing involvement and the experience of a negative life event. This is important for social workers to know because steps can then be taken to implement preventative measures to reduce this risk.
Social workers can advocate for the implementation of services that can help prevent factors that might contribute to victimization. One of the main buffers against the negative feelings associated with experiencing a negative life event is a social network; therefore programs that aim to increase socialization amongst older adults would be helpful.

Social workers can also be instrumental educating the public about financial crimes, especially telemarketing fraud. Educating older adults is not enough, social workers in agencies that work directly with older adults also need to be trained on how to prevent, detect, and report telemarketing crimes. Social workers can not properly advocate for a telemarketing fraud victim if they are not fully aware of the devastating effects of the crime.

It is part of a social worker’s job to help empower and improve the lives of all people; this research assists in that by pointing out that a positive adjustment to a negative life event is essential in preventing telemarketing fraud. A social worker can help a possible victim avoid exploitation by providing them with the information and supportive services necessary to help them make an educated decision when conducting business in the market place.

**Future Studies**

Future studies should include a much larger sample (e.g., n=100), random assignment, and a larger range in geographical location. These changes would also provide a greater cultural diverse sample; therefore increasing the potential for generalization. In addition, a comparison group with random assignment would help control for internal and external reliability and validity.
REFERENCES
REFERENCES


Debbie Deem personal communication with, March, 17, 2005


M. Kleinman (personal communication, February, 24, 2005)


(Lee & Geitsfeld, 1997? (Pg11) what year? Made the change to 1999


Appendices
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
My name is Claudia Burgos and I am a candidate for a Masters of Social Work from California State University, Long Beach. I invite you to participate in my study “The effects of life event on telemarketing fraud vulnerability among older adults.” If you are 60 years of age or older and have been a victim of telemarketing fraud you qualify for my survey.

PROCEDURES
If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a survey questionnaire which should take approximately 20 minutes of your time. The questions concern the experiences you have had within the last 6 months due to a life event.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Your responses will remain confidential. Your decision to participate is voluntary and if you choose to decline or withdraw from the study at any time, you are free to do so without negative consequences. Participation or non participation will not affect the services you receive from this agency where you are being recruited.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORT
You may experience some discomfort when answering the questions. You will be asked to recall events that may have caused you sadness or distress. If you feel at anytime that a particular question is too personal or makes you feel distressed, then please refrain from answering. The consent forms and surveys will be kept separately in a secure location for three years and then destroyed.

POTENTIAL BENEFIT TO PARTICIPANT AND/ OR SOCIETY
Although you are not expected to benefit directly from participating, it is hoped that the results will provide useful information for human service agencies to better help older adults who experienced telemarketing fraud. You will also receive a brochure on avoiding fraud.

**PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**
You will receive a two dollar bill ($2.00) for your participation in this study, which will be paid to you upon depositing your survey into the “survey” box.

**IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS**
If you have any questions regarding this thesis study, feel free to contact me at (323)252-1137 or my thesis advisor, Jeff Koob, PhD, at (562)985-2269.

**RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS**
If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, you may call the Office of University Research, California State University, Long Beach, at 1250 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach, CA 90840; Telephone (562)985-5314 or e-mail to research@csulb.edu.

**SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT**
Thank you for your consideration to participate in this study. If you agree to do so please sign, print your name and fill in the date below.

I understand the procedures and conditions of my participation described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in the study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Signature: _____________________________
Print Name: ____________________________
Date: _________________________________
Get $2 for taking a survey!!!

✓ Are you over the age of 60?
✓ Have you ever been a victim of telemarketing fraud?

If you answered YES to both of these questions, you may be eligible to participate in my California State University, Long Beach thesis study about telemarketing fraud.

Call Claudia as soon as possible at (323) 252-1137 for more information!
SURVEY

My name is Claudia Burgos and I am a graduate student from the Department of Social work at California State University, Long Beach. The purpose of this survey is to learn how life events impact the lives of older adults. I will be the only one reading your answers and all information will be kept confidential.

The survey will take about 20 minutes to complete the 3 page survey, but feel free to take as much time as needed. I will also be available if you have any questions completing the survey. Please deposit the consent form and survey separately into one of the two labeled boxes once you have completed it.
Directions for this section of the survey:
The following section of this survey will ask you general questions about yourself.
Please fill in the circle next to the option that best describes you.

1. What is your age?  
   - 60-65  
   - 66-70  
   - 71-75  
   - 76-80  
   - 81 and above

2. What is your gender?  (choose only ONE) 
   - Male  
   - Female

3. What ethnic/racial group do you most closely identify with?  (choose only ONE) 
   - Caucasian/White  
   - African American/Black  
   - Hispanic/Latino  
   - Asian/Pacific Islander  
   - Other

4. What is your highest level of education?  (choose only ONE) 
   - Less than high school  
   - High school graduate  
   - Some college  
   - College graduate (Associate’s or Bachelor’s degree)  
   - Postgraduate (Master’s or Doctorate degree)

5. What is your current marital status?  (choose only ONE) 
   - Single (you have NEVER been married)  
   - Cohabitation (living with a significant other & not married)  
   - Married  
   - Divorced/Separated  
   - Widowed
6. How much money have you lost to telemarketing scams? *(Choose only ONE)*
   - Under $5,000
   - $5,000 - $10,000
   - Over $10,000

7. How many times have you lost money to telemarketing scams? *(Choose only ONE)*
   - 1-2 times
   - 3-4 times
   - More than 5 times

8. On average, how many phone calls do you receive from telemarketers per week? *(choose only ONE)*
   - 0-1 time per week
   - 2-3 times per week
   - 4-5 times per week
   - More than 5 times per week
Have any of the following life events or problems happened to you during the last 6 months? Please check the box or boxes corresponding to the month or months in which any event happened or began.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You yourself suffered a serious illness, injury, or an assault</td>
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<tr>
<td>A serious illness, injury, or assault happened to a close relative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Your parent, child, or spouse died</td>
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<tr>
<td>A close family friend or another relative (aunt, cousin, grandparent) died</td>
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<tr>
<td>You had a separation due to marital difficulties</td>
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<tr>
<td>You broke off a steady relationship</td>
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<tr>
<td>You had a serious problem with a close friend, a neighbor, or a relative</td>
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<td>You became unemployed or you were seeking work unsuccessfully for more than one month</td>
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<tr>
<td>You were fired from your job</td>
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<td>You had a financial crisis</td>
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<td>You had problems with the police and a court appearance</td>
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<td>Something you valued was lost or stolen</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Thank you for your time in taking the survey.

THE END
Questionario

Mi nombre es Claudia Burgos y estoy completando mi maestria en trabajo social en la Universidades del Estado de California, Long Beach. El Propósito de mi questionario es para que el departamento de trabajo social aprienda de cuales son los efectos de cambio de vida en las vidas de personas en la tercera edad. Yo sere la única persona que tendra acceso a los questionarios y toda la informacion sera confidencial.

El questionario de 3 paginas tomara 20 minutos para completar, pero porfavor tomense to do el tiempo que sea necesario. Yo estare presente para responder cual quier pregunta que se presente. Porafvor de entregarme a mi el questionario despues de completarlo.
Las siguientes preguntas son preguntas generales sobre usted.
Por favor escriba la respuesta para la primera pregunta.
Para las demás marque la opción que más se apropiada para usted.

1. Cual es su edad?
   - o 60-65
   - o 66-70
   - o 71-75
   - o 76-80
   - o 81 y más

1. Cual es su sexo?
   - o Femenino
   - o Masculino

3. Con cual grupo etnico/racial se considera usted? (Marque solo uno)
   - o Blanco
   - o Afro-Americano
   - o Latino/Hispano
   - o Asiatico/ Islas Pacificas
   - o Otro

4. Cual es su nivel de educación?
   - o Menos de secundaria
   - o Graduado de la secundaria
   - o Un poco de colegio
   - o Graduado del colegio (Asociado o Bachelor)
   - o Postgraduado (Maestria o más)

5. Cual es su estado civil?
   - o Soltero (Nunca se a casado)
   - o Acompañado (no casado y viviendo con un compañero)
   - o Casado
   - o Divorciado/Separado
   - o Viudo
6. Cuanto dinero a perdido a causa de las llamadas fraudulentas de telemarketing?

   o Menos de 5,000
   o 5,000-10,000
   o mas de 10,000

7. Cuantas veces separadas a perdido dinero a causa de llamadas fraudulentas de telemarketing?

   o 1-2 veces
   o 3-4 veces
   o Mas de 5 veces

8. Cuantas llamada fraudulentas de telemarketing recive por semana?

   o 0-1 veces por semana
   o 2-3 veces por semana
   o 4-5 veces por semana
   o Mas de 5 por semana

Continua en la proxima pagina. ..................

Pagina 2
Cuántos de los siguientes eventos o problemas le han pasado a usted en los últimos 6 meses?  
Por favor marque la caja que corresponda con el mes o los meses en que estos eventos le ocurrieron.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evento</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usted a sufrido una enfermedad seria, asido injuriado o asaltado?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Una enfermedad seria, injuria o assalto le ocurrió a un familiar sullo?</td>
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<td>Sus padres, hijos, o pareja fallesio?</td>
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<td>Un familiar cercano o amigo murio (tios, primos, abuelos) murio?</td>
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<td>Usted tuvo una separacion por dificultades de matrimonio?</td>
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<td>Usted rompio una relacion estable?</td>
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<td>Usted tuvo un problema serio con un amigo cercano, vecino o familiar?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Usted no tiene trabajo o a estado buscando trabajo por más de un mes?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Usted fue despedido de su trabajo?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Usted tuvo una crisis financiera?</td>
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<td>Usted tuvo problema con la policia o corte?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uste perdio o le robaron propiedad valiosa?</td>
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GRACIAS POR SU TIEMPO
FIN.
Que Puedes Hacer Para Protejerse Del Fraude Telefonico

Como puedo prevenir el fraude telefonico?
• Nunca de informacion personal (por ejemplo, su numero de su tarjeta de credito, numero de seguro social, numero de su cuenta de cheque) a alguien desconocido.
• Nunca se deje presionar por un vendedor a tomar una decision inmediata por telefono.
• Nunca pague por algo para recibir un regalo gratis. “gratis” significa gratis.
• Consiga toda la informacion por escrito antes que compre algo sobre el telefono, incluyendo todas las politicas del reembolso.
• Compruebe el registro de la persona vendiendole por telefono con el Better Business Bureau (1-909-825-7280 en la area de Los Angeles), el programa local de proteccion de consumidor (1-213-580-3273 en Los Angeles), o el fiscal general del Estado (1-800-952-5225 en California).
• Registre su numero de telefono con la lista “no-me-llame” del estado y federal (vea abajo para mas informacion sobre como hacer esto).

Como puedo reportar el fraude telefonico si yo he sido victimizado?
Reportando el fraude no garantiza que usted recuperara su dinero, pero puede prevenir a la persona de victimizar a otras personas. Si usted reporta el fraude, puede ayudar que su nombre esta en una lista de victimas eligibles de recibir cualquier reembolso posible.
Para reportar el fraude, pongase en contacto con el National Fraud Information Center. Este centro puede ayudarle a poner en archivo quejas con agencias del gobierno, como el Federal Trade Commission, el FBI, programas locales de protección de consumidor, y el fiscal general del Estado.

- Llame a 1-800-876-7060 entre 7 am – 3 pm, hora oficial del pacífico.
- Visite al sitio Web de este centro a http://www.fraud.org

Como puedo evitar la mayor parte de las llamadas de personas tratando de venderme algo?

- Solicite para ser colocado en el “No-Me-Llame” registro del Federal trade Commission registrándose por el Internet a http://www.donotcall.gov o llamado a 1-888-382-1222. Usted necesita renovar su registro cada 5 años.
- Solicite para ser quitado de la lista usada por las personas que venden cosas por el teléfono del Direct Marketing Association llamando al 1-212-768-7277.
CONSENTIMIENTO PARA PARTICIPAR EN UNA INVESTIGACION

Mi nombre es Claudia Burgos, y soy una candidata a un grado de maestria de California State University, Long Beach. Le invito a participar en mi estudio de adultos mayores que son victimas del fraude telefonico. Usted fue seleccionado como un participante posible porque usted tiene al menos 60 anos de edad y se ha identificado como una victima del fraude telefonico.

PROCEDIMIENTO

Si usted decide participar en este estudio, le pediran que complete un cuestionario sobre sus experiencias pasadas con el fraude telefonico que tomarà 20 minutos para completar. Las preguntas son sobre experiencias que a tenido en los seis meses pasados a consecuencia de eventos de la vida cotidiana.

LA CONFIDENCIALIDAD

Sus respuestas en el cuestionario seran completamente confidencial. Su decision de participar o no participar es voluntaria y no afectara los servicios que usted recibe de Human Services Association, Daylight, Barbara J. Rile Community and Senior Center, o Senior University.

RIESGOS E INCOMODIDADES POSIBLES

Algunas de las preguntas conciernen a informacion sensitiva relacionada con sus sentimientos sobre sus experiencias pasadas con el fraude. Usted puede sentir alguna angustia y verguenza cuando recuerda estas experiencias si usted parece ser visiblemente angustiado, le
mandaré al personal/consejeros inmediatamente disponible en la agencia. Los cuestionarios y hojas de consentimiento serán guardadas separadamente por tres años y después destruidos.

**POSIBLE BENEFICIOS PARA PARTICIPANTES Y/O LA SOCIEDAD**
Los resultados de esta investigación le dará información a agencias que ayudan a adultos mayores información para que puedan mejorar ayudar a sus clientes contra el fraude telefónico. Usará recibirá un folleto con información para como protegerse contra el fraude.

**PAGO POR PARTICIPACION**
Recibirá dos dolares ($2.00) por su participación después de depositar el cuestionario en la caja marcada “cuestionarios”

**IDENTIFICACION DE INVESTIGADORES**
Si usted tiene preguntas o preocupaciones sobre esta investigación, por favor sientase libre de ponerse en contacto conmigo al número (323) 252-1137 o con mi consejero de tesis profesional, Jeff Koob, PhD. al número (562) 985-2269.

**DERECHOS DE LOS PARTICIPANTES DE LA INVESTIGACION**
Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como un participante en esta investigación, usted puede ponerse en contacto con Office of University Research, California State University, Long Beach, 1250 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach, CA 90840; Teléfono: (562) 985-5314 o e-mail a research@csulb.edu.
FIRMA DEL PARTICIPANTE DE LA INVESTIGACION
Gracias por su consideración de participar en este estudio.
Si usted está de acuerdo en participar, por favor firme, imprima su nombre, y ponga la fecha abajo.
Yo entiendo los procedimientos y condiciones de mi participación descrito arriba. Mis preguntas han sido contestadas a mi satisfacción, y estoy de acuerdo en participar en este estudio. Me han dado una copia de esta forma.

Firma: __________________________________________

Nombre impreso: __________________________________________

Fecha: ____/____/____
Gane $2 por tomar un cuestionario!!!

✓ Usted es más de 60 años de edad?
✓ Usted ha sido alguna vez una víctima del fraude telefónico?

Si usted respondió **Sí** a ambas preguntas, usted puede ser elegible a participar en mi estudio de tesis de California State University, Long Beach sobre el fraude telefónico. Llame a **Claudia** lo más rápido que pueda a (323) 252-1137 para más información!
Study Abroad in Guatemala: Merging Social Work Education, Service-Learning, Language and Cultural Immersion

Prepared for

The 5th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

By

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May 2006
Abstract

The paper reports on the educational, logistical, and course content components of a five-week undergraduate summer program in Guatemala that integrated: (1) social work content on social and economic justice and cross-cultural competency, (2) service-learning, (3) cultural and language immersion, and (4) study abroad. An overview of the program goals, the course-specific educational outcomes for the course, as well as course content, assignments and requirements is provided. The paper addresses the nuances involved in the program planning, implementation and evaluation process of the summer program, as well as the evaluation results of the program.
**Study Abroad in Guatemala: Merging Social Work Education, Service-Learning, Language and Cultural Immersion**

The merging of social work education, service-learning, language and cultural immersion with a study abroad program in Guatemala is the focus of this paper. The paper reports on the educational, logistical, and course content components of a five-week undergraduate summer program in Guatemala in 2005. An overview of the program goals, the educational outcomes for the course, as well as class content, assignments and requirements is provided. The paper addresses the nuances involved in the program planning, implementation and evaluation process of the summer program, as well as the evaluation results of the program. Using the evaluation findings, future considerations are briefly noted.

Also included in the discussion are student orientation elements—including food and safety issues; air and ground transportation arrangements; online registration with the U.S. Embassy; housing arrangements; health coverage; and communication once students were placed with the host families. The cooperative and service-learning structure of the weekly social work course is detailed; as is the requisite Spanish language course. First, however, a brief overview of the social work principles and educational standards; and of service-learning is provided. A brief description of Guatemala is also provided as contextual background.

**Social Work Underpinnings**

The ethical principles of the profession, and the educational standards outlined by the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) provide the underlying ideology and focus for the summer study abroad program described in the paper. The CSWE, which is
the accrediting body for social work educational programs in the U.S., declares the profession’s commitment “to develop and apply practice in the context of diverse cultures” (CSWE, 2003, p.31). The social work profession’s pledge to social and economic justice, and to cultural competence calls for educational strategies that provide opportunities for students to acquire an appreciation for diversity, an understanding of “the global context of social work practice,” and cultural competence in social work practice (CSWE, 2003, p.32; NASW, 2001). The CSWE further states that social work education programs prepare “social workers to recognize the global context of social work practice” (CSWE, 2003, p.32). Two mechanisms for accomplishing this goal are the use of study abroad opportunities and the use of service-learning pedagogy.

Guatemala

Guatemala has a rich and complicated history. Currently a democratic government, historically it has experienced dictatorship, civil war, and social and political reforms. The official language is Spanish, as well as 23 officially recognized Mayan dialects. The population of over 13 million is split: 56% Mestizo/Ladino, and 44% Mayan descent (Cadena, 2006). The prominent religious groups are Catholic, evangelical, and indigenous Mayan traditions (http://www.infoplease). Reding (2000) reports that Guatemala is characterized by extreme social and economic inequality. According to Reding, the poverty rates in Guatemala suggest that:

In 2000, over half of all Guatemalans – 56% or about 6.4 million people – lived in poverty … about 16% lived in extreme poverty … [and] available evidence does suggest that poverty in Guatemala is higher than in other
Central American countries, despite its mid-range ranking using per capita GDP.

The poverty rates among the indigenous population are even higher – about 90% (US Department of State, 1999). With respect to social class indicators, the disparities in employment, health care, housing, education, and access to health care place Guatemala near the bottom among most of the Latin American countries.

**Service-Learning**

Service-learning is a useful pedagogical tool in study abroad educational programs for social work education. It is important to note, however, that there are differing definitions of service-learning (Cress, 2005; Kolb, 1984; Stanton, 1990; Stanton, Giles & Cruz, 1999); and that in social work education, service-learning differs from field education (e.g., internships). Cress (2005), for example, defines *internships* as students engaged in activities to enhance their own vocational or career development; and *service-learning* as students engaged in community service activities with intentional academic and learning goals and opportunities for reflection that connect to their academic disciplines (pg. 7).

While social work education does speak to service, there is no specific reference made in the accreditation standards regarding the role of service-learning. The standards, however, are explicit regarding the essential role of field education and emphasize that as a component of social work education it must reflect the mission, goals, educational level (BSW or MSW), and the values,
knowledge and skills of the profession (CSWE, 2003, p. 36). While not explicitly found in the accrediting standards, many of the *principles of good practice* (National Society for Internships and Experiential Education, 1990) described in the service-learning literature are similar in many ways to the expectations of field education in social work degree programs.

Students, in the program described in this paper, completed four hours of service daily for a five week period. They were placed at a social service agency of their interest. Sites included public schools, schools for children who were working, and rehabilitative centers. In collaboration with the course instructors, students were asked to prepare a plan of work for the service-learning experience. In that plan, students were asked to specify their goals, as well as the activities and dates for achieving their goals.

**Language Immersion Component**

It is predicted that by mid-century, one in four persons in the U.S., or approximately 100 million people, will be Latino (Zavala, 1999). For several decades, the demographic trends have prompted predictions of the need for social work educators to proactively respond to this growing population (Dodd & Montalvo, 1986). The National Association of Social Workers (NASW), the professional membership association of the profession specifically calls for language diversity among social work professionals. The NASW publication *Standards for Cultural Competence in Social Work Practice* states that, “Social workers shall seek to provide and advocate for the provision of information, referrals, and services in the language appropriate to the client, which may include the use interpreters” (NASW, 2001, pg. 27). One strategy for
accomplishing language diversity is the use of study abroad programs that include a language immersion component.

The program described in this paper required daily one-on-one four hour sessions of Spanish language, as well as events and experiences that enhanced cultural learning and appreciation among the students. Individualized sessions were used because of the range of Spanish language competence and proficiency among monolingual, heritage speakers, and individuals trained through formal Spanish language instruction. Events and experiences included, for example, site visits to medical settings and health clinics, nursing homes, day care centers, and a state mental health hospital.

**Summer Study Abroad Program**

Study abroad programs employ a number of models including student and faculty exchange, establishment of specialized courses on a specific topic, use of the Internet, and offering field instruction opportunities for students in another country (Johnson, 1996; Hokenstad & Midgley, 1997). Apart from the approach taken, according to Rai (2002), in social work, the number of social work programs utilizing study abroad programs has been increasing.

The model utilized for the study abroad program described in this paper was innovative in its blending of social work content, service-learning, and language immersion. In addition to the requisite service hours, students attended a 2 ½ hour class weekly. Instructional methods included cooperative learning, analysis and discussion of assigned readings, daily journaling on topics assigned weekly, and preparation and presentation of multimedia presentations by individual students. And, as noted earlier, daily one-on-one four hour sessions of Spanish language.
**Program Planning**

The nuances involved in the program planning and implementation for the Guatemala study abroad program included contracting and compensation of host families. At a minimum, the housing accommodations called for a private room with a bed, chair and desk; three meals a day; and laundry services. Given the rural nature of the area, transportation to scheduled field trip sites, to the language schools, to the class meeting site, and to service-learning agencies was arranged either through “public” transportation (e.g., trucks, *lanchas*, boats, buses, motorcycle taxis) or through private contracts with local providers. Logistical aspects also included identification and contracting with service-learning sites, as well as placement of students.

**Student Orientation**

Interestingly, because students participating in the study abroad program were from different universities in the U.S., much of the initial orientation was accomplished via e-mail and general correspondence. Information regarding passports, air travel planning, banking, and immigration protocol was shared with students well in advance of the trip. Initial orientation content included the course syllabus, a brief survey regarding students’ expectations regarding the study abroad program, travel document requirements, money exchange protocol, as well as general suggestions about items to pack. A written document outlining items students should pack for the trip was distributed. For example, in addition to course related items such as a laptop computer, electrical adaptors, and formatted diskettes; it was recommended that students pack zip-lock bags to protect items from humidity, rain, and bugs.
Upon arrival in Guatemala City, students received additional instructions regarding health precautions, safety measures, ground transportation, and cultural courtesies. Basic “do’s and don’ts” were provided both in writing and verbally—such as avoiding demonstrations and political gatherings, taking photos without permission, and avoiding excursions after daylight hours. Each student received a cell phone with instruction on usage and maintaining communication with others in the program. It should be noted that students and instructors arranged for accident and medical insurance prior to departure through an externally contracted insurance company. Medical providers in Panajachel were identified by the primary course instructor prior to the groups’ arrival.

Students were instructed about their service-learning roles (outsiders and newcomers), and about the course assignment expectations and grading policy. Included in this orientation was a schedule of readings prior to the beginning of the course.

**Program Goals and Course-Specific Objectives**

The three program goals were: (1) to develop or enhance Spanish language skills; (2) to develop an understanding of the people and culture of Guatemala; and (3) to contribute to the community through a service-learning project (Williams, 2005). The course-specific objectives were:

1. To develop an awareness of the interconnectedness of domestic and global social welfare.
2. Learn from the experiences of professionals and citizens of another culture.
3. Understand and compare the political-economic context for social welfare programs.

4. Understand the specific areas of social welfare practice in Guatemala.

5. Understand and describe the roles of social workers in Guatemala.

6. Know the importance of cultural diversity and its importance in the lives of others. (Williams, 2005)

In addition to the study abroad program goals and the social work course objectives, each student was required to develop individualized learning outcomes. Prior to departure, each student was asked to submit a two-page pre-departure paper describing what they hoped to accomplish, what they believed their reactions to the study abroad program would be, as well as a description of what they expected of themselves, their course instructor, and their Spanish classes. Student-specific outcomes included self-awareness, knowledge, and skill dimensions. For example, students noted outcomes such as: “reconnect with self,” “learn how to make homemade tortillas,” and “investigate the terrain of oppression, racism and discrimination.”

One of the course requirements was that students conduct a semi-structured community-based research activity. The community survey asked students to draw a map of the community and to identify where they were residing. Further, the assignment called for students to develop an assessment of the community, and to address their ideas for unmet needs regarding infrastructure (e.g., housing, transportation, banking), social services (e.g., health, education, recreation), and community and civic participation.

During the weekly class meetings, which took place at a centralized location in Panajachel (AKA Pana), students integrated the readings, the service-learning and the
Spanish language class experiences. In addition to the weekly meetings, the required daily journal entries were a vital reflection, integration, and learning tool for the students.

**Program Evaluation Mechanisms**

Two aspects of the program were evaluated: (1) the course assignments, and (2) the overall program. Course assignment evaluation consisted of journal entry review by the course instructors, a project demonstrating the student’s experience and learning, and a community-based research project. Each student was required to prepare a formal multimedia presentation and submit it on disk for evaluation. The expectation was that the presentation “reflect the student’s experience from a social work perspective; i.e., child welfare, aging, mental health, disabilities/rehabilitation, community organization or development” (Williams, 2005).

The overall program evaluation mechanisms utilized included four questionnaires in Spanish and English. The focus of the evaluation was on: the service-learning experience; the language schools; the housing accommodations; and the faculty and overall study abroad program. The service-learning evaluation instrument included 37 items that could be scored on a Likert scale of zero (did not get opportunity to participate/perform the activity) to three (“loved it”). The Evaluacion de la Participacion del Estudiante/Ejecucion de Trabajo Voluntario was completed by the service-learning supervisor and by the language instructor; and included five (5) Likert scale items indicating range of agreement. The faculty and program evaluation instrument was composed a total of 16 items, which included open and close-ended questions, as well as matrix and Likert scale items. The housing accommodations included 13 items that could be scored on a Likert scale of zero (inadequate) to two (excellent). All the evaluation
instruments included an open-ended comments section that allowed for respondents to elaborate on their responses or address areas not included in the evaluation. Evaluation results indicated successes and areas needing improvement.

**Program Evaluation Results**

Overall the program was deemed a success. Program accomplishments included successful placement of students with host families and matching of student requests with service-learning sites; development of new service-learning sites and host families; rapid access to health care; and discovery of new field trip locations/settings. Students provided high marks for the language and cultural aspects of the program. Students also noted that the “free time” provided was critical to the learning experience. The program, course and student objectives were met, for the most part.

As with any program, there is always room for improvement. The program described in this paper is no exception. For example, results from the program include the need to reconceptualize service-learning as an instructional pedagogy in social work education so as to ensure clear distinctions between volunteer, internship, and service-learning experiences. It should be noted that this concern is one that has been identified in the past (Furco, 1996). Areas in need of improvement also include the need to increase the class contact hours; increase discussion on cultural differences during class sessions, and improved coordination and structuring of the service-learning activities at the service-learning sites. Evaluation results also indicate the need for refinement of the evaluation tools and improved integration of education program objectives, course objectives, and individual student objectives.

**Future Considerations**
Faculty planning study abroad programs for social work students should consider adding a formal research component to the program of study. For example, in the study abroad program described above, addition of a pre and post-test that measured values, cultural knowledge, and cross-cultural skills would have yielded valuable information. Development of such an instrument would require further operationalization of program and course-specific objectives and outcomes. Another item to consider in planning study abroad programs for social work students would be to add a module regarding ethics and ethical standards in cross-cultural professional practice. For example, during the weekly class discussion students’ raised ethical dilemmas such as discipline of children, situations of suspected sexual abuse of children; and personal competencies in various dimensions of professional social work practice such as psychiatric assessments or working with persons with disabilities. Finally, it is the authors’ belief that explicit content on “western privilege” and ethnocentrism be included in all social work study abroad programs. Based on feedback from the students who participated in the Guatemala summer study abroad program, the merging study abroad opportunities, social work education, service-learning, language and cultural immersion is an effective instructional approach for an increasingly global society.
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PROMOTING CRITICAL THINKING AND COLLABORATIVE LEARNING AMONG GRADUATE STUDENTS THROUGH ONLINE DISCUSSION FORUM

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Background

Indiana University Southeast School of Education focuses its academic program on educators engaged in growth, where the learning activities in each class engage students in inquiry and problem solving, typically in a collaborative learning community framework. In a graduate class of mere 2.5 hours per week, Instructors try their best to carry on a meaningful discussion with a group of 25 students. This is in addition to presentations which are necessary to help students acquire knowledge base information. However, despite this effort, a study by Nunn (1996) says that there is predominance of non-interactive, lecture based instruction in university classrooms. Braxton el al. (1996) also provides data indicating that student discussion average only about 2% of class time, and contributions by students tended to be in response to the teacher questions.

Of course, faculty can assign collaborative inquiry tasks to be completed outside of class time (or even during class time). However, it is difficult in the classroom, and impossible outside of the classroom, to monitor (and hence mentor) collaborative discussion and critical thinking when it occurs in small group meetings. Without this ability, only the final product of inquiry can be reviewed.

It is in this context that the researcher sees the potential benefits of Indiana University Southeast’s Oncourse asynchronous conferencing tool. This tool provides a forum in which discussion can occur outside the classroom while allowing the instructor to: a) observe students’ contributions to the discussion; b) include transcripts of the discussions in a portfolio for feedback or assessment of critical thinking and collaborative learning; c) participate in the discussion as a way to model critical thinking skills; d) interject questions and comments in order to coach critical thinking; and e) provide expertise in a topic area when such input is required (Sloffer et al., 1999).

Students can use asynchronous online discussion forum to their advantage because: a) It is helpful that graduate students have time to compose their messages/ideas. Some issues require careful consideration and research before a response is composed. This is not possible with real-time methods. b) It is helpful for the discussion to be recorded. Students can use this recorded discussion as a learning material. With an asynchronous discussion, a permanent record can be kept easily on a web site or as emails. With most real-time methods, this not so simple. c) Students find it difficult to be available at the
same time. When students have busy schedules or live in different time zones, it is difficult to organize real-time meetings, whether online or face-to-face. In these situations, an asynchronous discussion provides the maximum flexibility for the student. d) Not all ideas are presented in class because of limited time and opportunity. This is a venue for graduate students to “showcase” their performance skills based on the criteria (rubric) set for this project. e) This is a great opportunity for graduate students to talk, share, discuss and work in partnership with colleagues from other schools to solve education issues and problems.

Overview

Using her P510 – Psychology in Teaching graduate class, the Researcher’s purpose for this project is to promote critical thinking and collaborative learning through online discussion forum where students discuss issues/problems confronting psychology in teaching. Specifically, this project is designed to: a) help students analyze problems and issues concerning psychology in teaching; b) allow students to share problems and issues with a community of professionals/peers; and c) promote collaborative problem solving and inquiry among students through the use of a web-based conferencing tool where participants can post and respond for asynchronous dialog, discussion, brainstorming, and debate about issues/problems concerning psychology in teaching.

No teacher is an island. The best teachers are those whose thinking skills are fully developed by working together with colleagues in the profession as well as other professionals in the community. Teachers should have the critical thinking skills and collaborative learning attitude to confront issues/problem in the teaching profession.

This project encourages educators, specifically those in the teacher training institutions, to develop and enhance teachers’ discussion skills and attitude by providing learning opportunities for them to learn how to gather relevant information, think critically, discuss collaboratively, demonstrate respect and courtesy to colleagues, contribute to the community of professionals and express ideas accurately and precisely.

Assessment

The Instructor’s assessment report about how critical thinking skills and collaborative learning attitude/behavior are promoted will be based on her use of the scoring rubric, anecdotal narrative about the whole instructional process (involving the teacher) and learning process (involving the students). Questions, feedback of students and the researcher’s personal reflection about this project will be qualitatively assessed.

The whole instructional development process will be patterned from the design-based research methodology (Sandoval & Bell, 2004). This indicates that the treatment process (in this case the asynchronous discussion forum) tends to
be the outcome of the project and thus leads to a broad documentation to catch all relevant, both anticipated and unanticipated, consequences of the instructional design and the use of online discussion forum.

Instructional Design and Online Discussion Forum Process:
Graduate students will be participating in three asynchronous online discussion fora using P510 Oncourse discussion forum. Each forum will be on a 3-week cycle of sharing and response. Topics will come from the pool of issues/problems confronting Psychology in Teaching suggested by the class.

The class will be divided into two groups (Groups A and B). During the first week of the cycle, each group A member is responsible for posting the details of the issue/problem concerning psychology in teaching. Group A's post should fulfill at least one of the following purposes: a. Explain your case, issue or problem concerning psychology in teaching. b. Establish and defend a position on a controversial issue related to course concepts. c. Make a connection between course content and current news or events in the community. d. Share a new resource that you discovered as you were surfing the web, reading a book or a journal article. In the week two of the cycle, each group B member is responsible for replying to the issue(s) presented by group A. The purpose of Group B’s reaction and feedback should either: a) to further discussion and encourage additional exploration of the topic presented in the original post; or b) to offer potential solutions to the target issue or problem (these solutions could come from your own teaching experiences and/or psychology in teaching concepts, principles and theories). During the third week of the cycle, members from Groups A and B are responsible for additional contributions to a discussion thread. They could add additional ideas to a thread in which they had already participated, but they could also expand their responses to other threads that contained different problems, as well. Regardless of which thread they would like to respond, their responsibility is to reply to a discussion contribution from week two. Week three contributions will serve as the summary/conclusion of the discussion forum.

The researcher would like to stress that the focus of assessment is on the critical thinking process, and not just the outcome of that process. The instructional goals will be translated into learning goals using a scoring rubric. The criteria in the said rubric are: I. Thinking Skills: a. Gather Relevant Information b. Reflect Deeply; II. Value Skills: a. Discuss Collaboratively b. Demonstrate Respect and Courtesy; and III. Communication Skills: a. Contribute to the Community of Professionals b. Ideas as Expressed Accurately and Precisely.

The research is also an attempt to make a contribution to the literature of design-based research in the field of education. The Instructor finds it beneficial for teacher training educators to promote the idea of tightening the relationship between researchers and teachers/or implementers. She would like to contend that teachers can be researchers in their own classrooms by documenting what they have been doing to promote learning in the classroom and thus provide insight to their colleagues about learning in real-world contexts.
References


Submission to the 5th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

Topic area: Psychology

Presentation format: poster

Title: Gender Identity and its Influence on the Perception of Gendered Behavior

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Abstract

238 African American participants made causal attributions for behaviors varying in whether they were stereotypically male or female, socially desirable or undesirable, and performed by an actor of consistent or inconsistent gender. Contrary to the expectations, the consistency of actor gender to gender type behavior did not significantly impact attributions, while behavior valence and gender of behavior did. Participants’ level of gender identity and their gender group specific collective self-esteem did not significantly influence their perceptions.

Introduction

Attribution Theory and Perceivers Expectations

Part of our attempt to understand the social world in which we exist and interact involves explaining other people’s behavior. Attribution theory has identified three key dimensions on which causal attributions may vary - the locus of causality, stability and controllability (Weiner, 1985b). A number of persistent and systematic errors, or biases, in the way we attribute cause, have been documented. Most relevant to the present research is the fundamental attribution error, or correspondence bias, which is the “general tendency to overestimate the importance of personal or dispositional factors relevant to environmental influences” when inferring cause (Ross, 1977, p.184).

The fundamental attribution error is a robust and reliable phenomenon (Quattrone, 1982a) and yet there is no single accepted or adequate explanation for its prevalence, though most efforts often focus on the processes and stages of attribution. Trope’s (1986) two stage model of dispositional inference proposes an initial stage involving identification of the behavior in terms of dispositional categories. A second inference / corrective stage then uses this information to infer the actor’s disposition after situational considerations, either facilitative or inhibitory, are subtracted. Trope identified a number of factors, or sources of bias, that may interfere at either stage. One was the perceiver’s prior expectations about the actor. When we approach events and attempt to interpret and explain them we do not do so in an entirely open-minded manner. Rather we bring with
us “a general set of beliefs about how people typically behave in such situations . . . and these beliefs constitute expectations” (Gilbert & Malone, 1995, p.25).

The role of perceiver’s expectations in how we attribute different behaviors has been well documented (Crocker, Hannah, & Weber, 1983; Croxton, 1989; Hammer & Ruscher, 1997; Johnston, Bristow & Love, 2000; Jones, Worchel, Goethals, & Grumet, 1971; Reeder, Fletcher, Furman, 1989). Much of this work implies a confirming attribution bias (Kulik, 1983). The degree to which perceivers consider situational factors when attributing cause “is influenced considerably by the degree to which an observed behavior is consistent with prior beliefs about the actor” (Kulik, 1983, p. 1172). Only if the behavior is inconsistent do we begin to search for ways to discount it, such as attribution to situational factors. In conclusion, one’s preexisting expectations likely act as guides that serve to make certain explanations more apparent and thus accepted as reason enough (Jones & Davis, 1965). There is a tendency to attribute actions which are consistent with our expectations of an actor to internal or stable causes, even if some situational factor is present, and a tendency to attribute actions which are inconsistent with our expectations to any possible external or temporary cause.

*Stereotypes as a Source of Expectation*

Our expectations of an actor may come from a number of sources, including the actor’s membership to a social category, in particular a stereotyped group (Deaux, 1976; Duncun, 1976; Jones & McGillis, 1976). Observing someone acting inconsistently with a stereotypical expectation we hold about their group may lead to a *stereotype confirming attribution bias*. Such a bias would suggest behavior that is consistent with perceivers’ stereotypes and expectations is more likely to be attributed to the actor’s disposition, even if compelling situational pressures are present. If the exact same behavior is performed by a target who we don’t expect to perform such a behavior, that is it is inconsistent with our stereotypes and expectations, we become “sensitive to any aspect or nuance of the situation that might have evoked the inconsistency” (Kulik, 1983, p.1172). Once an expectation has been formed about another person then we will attribute their subsequent
behavior is such a way as to confirm these expectations, thus we confirm and perpetuate our beliefs about others.

Although this bias has been demonstrated (Fredricks & Aronson, 1992; Johnston et al, 2000; Kulik, 1983; Lehmann & Santilli, 1996) it has not been adequately investigated. In particular there is a need to examine the process of stereotype confirming attribution bias in relation to gender stereotypes. We are all members of a gender group and so any impact gender stereotypes may have on how we relate to, and understand, one another have implications beyond theoretical interest.

Gender stereotypes are among the most pervasive and long standing in modern western society, and so a gender stereotype confirming attribution bias seems likely. This bias would predict that behavior performed by an actor of the gender consistent with the stereotype is more likely to be attributed to internal, stable, and controllable factors. However, behavior performed by an actor of the gender inconsistent with the stereotype is more likely to be attributed to external, unstable, and uncontrollable factors. This attribution pattern allows the perceiver to maintain the gender stereotypes which they hold. Since both positive and negative stereotypes exist regarding both men and women, the bias should be evident irrelevant of the gender of the stereotype, or valence of behavior.

*Social Identity Theory*

Although many men and women may well endorse stereotypes regarding their own group and have some motivation to persist in holding these stereotypes, it is possible that they will be more motivated to do so for out-group stereotypes, therefore the gender of the behavior and the gender of the participant may interact to lead to different attributions. However, whether the behavior is socially desirable or undesirable may also play a role. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests that an individual’s self-concept is in part derived from one’s social identity and consequently we seek to maintain a positive social identity by displaying in-group favoritism and possibly out-group derogation. Such group serving bias impacts upon the causal attributions we make for desirable and undesirable behaviors performed by in-group and out-group members.
Desirable behaviors performed by an in-group member will more likely be explained by internal or stable causes; however the same behavior performed by an out-group member will more likely be attributed to external or temporary factors. Pettigrew (1979) referred to this as the ultimate attribution error.

It is important to note however that the more secure we feel in how positive our in-group really is, the less one may have to engage in such group-serving bias, and therefore a person’s collective self-esteem may moderate the group-serving bias. Likewise the more or less we identify with our gender in-group influences the extent to which this group membership is important to our self esteem and thus how likely we are to engage in group-serving attributions. In sum, it is likely that all participants will be more inclined to attribute socially undesirable behaviors performed by an in-group (vs. out-group) member to situational causes. However, participants’ level of identification with their gender group may impact upon their perceptions and judgments of gender stereotypical behaviors and thus moderate these processes. Likewise, the more secure one feels about the value of one’s in-group, the less one may have to engage in such group-serving bias, and so participants’ level of collective self-esteem may moderate any in-group bias.

Research Aim

The aim of this research was to investigate the existence of a gender stereotype confirming attribution bias, to examine any interaction between this confirming bias and the typical group-serving bias, and the possible moderating influence of participants’ level of gender identification

Method

Overview and Design

The design is 2 (valence of behavior: desirable / undesirable behavior) x 2 (target gender: male / female) x 2 (consistency of target gender with gender stereotype: consistent / inconsistent) x 2 (participant gender: male / female), all between-subjects variables. The manipulated variables of valence of behavior, target gender and
consistency of target gender with gender stereotype are fully crossed to form an eight cell
design and participants were randomly assigned to one of these cells, with a proportional
number of male and female participants in each condition.

Participants were presented with a booklet including the stimulus materials (three
descriptions of behavior) and dependent measures. There were eight different contents for
the booklets corresponding to the eight conditions formed by fully crossing the
manipulated factors.

*Participants and Experimenter*

238 Howard University undergraduates were recruited in return for partial course
credit. There were 169 women and 65 men, with an average age of 19. Most participants
were in their freshman year (58%) and identified as Black or African American (96%).
The experimenter was always the same African American woman. In light of stereotype
threat literature (Sloan, Jones, Maitland, Philip & Starr, 2000; Sloan et al., 2003), it may
be anticipated that a White experimenter asking participants to rate targets on
stereotypical behaviors may prime racial stereotyping issues.

*Materials*

*Target behaviors.* The behavioral sentences were designed to capture and
describe a particular trait that is considered stereotypically male or female by African
Americans about in-group members, is rated not only as stereotypical of one gender, but
also as counter stereotypical of the other, and rated as either socially desirable or
undesirable. The choice of traits and wording of behavioral sentences were based on
pilot data and pre-existing literature (Glover, 2005; Smith & Midlarsky, 1985). These
traits were: emotional, clingy, talkative (female undesirable), prone to violence,
unmotivated, domineering (male undesirable), very religious, loves children, affectionate
(female desirable), sexually aggressive, sport oriented, competitive (male desirable). An
example of a behavioral sentence is “Michael argued with his friend on Saturday night,
but rather than talking the disagreement through he lashed out and beat them up” (prone
to violence). For the inconsistent condition, the actor was called Danielle.
Attribution measures. Immediately following each behavioral sentence participants completed the revised Causal Dimension Scale (CDS II; McAuley, Duncun, & Russell, 1992) to assess their attribution of causality, stability and controllability for that particular behavior. Following completion of the CDS, participants were presented with a trait endorsement measure. Participants were given a list including all 12 of the traits used in the study and asked to check which could be used to describe the specific target they have just rated using a 3 point forced choice format (1=yes, 2=maybe, 3=no).

Group Identification Measure. Participants were asked a number of questions designed to assess their level of identification with their gender group. These questions are in the form of statements to which the participant indicates their agreement on a 10-point scale from strongly disagree (A) to strongly agree (J), for example “my gender group is an important reflection of who I am” and “overall my gender group has very little to do with how I feel”.

Collective self esteem scale. Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they evaluate their gender group in favorable terms by responding to items on the Collective Self-esteem Scale (CSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), which was slightly modified to ask only about participants’ gender group. The scale has four subscales: 1) membership self-esteem 2) private collective self-esteem 3) public collective self-esteem, and 4) importance to Identity.

Analysis

The CDS II consists of four subscales which serve as the major dependent variables: locus of causality, external control, stability, and personal control. The trait endorsement measures were collapsed to form four additional dependent variables measuring the extent to which desirable-male, undesirable-male, desirable-female, and undesirable-female traits were endorsed for the actors. Analysis was conducted using a series of ANOVA’s with target gender, valence of behavior, consistency of actor gender, and participant gender as independent variables, and each of the attribution measures (locus of causality, external control, stability, personal control) and trait endorsement
measures (desirable-male, undesirable-male, desirable female, undesirable-female) as dependent variables in turn.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

A brief note regarding the results of the manipulation checks is warranted. Following the attribution measures, participants were simply asked to state the gender of the actor they had just read about. Answers were significantly related to the whether the participant was in the consistent or inconsistent condition. Whether the participant correctly or incorrectly recalled the gender of the actor depended upon whether they had performed in a stereotype consistent or inconsistent manner. Participants in the consistent condition, who were presented with actors performing behaviors consistent with stereotypes of their gender, were likely to correctly recall the gender of the actor (92% accuracy). However, participants in the inconsistent condition, who were presented with actors performing behavior inconsistent with stereotypes of the gender, were more likely to incorrectly recall the gender of the actor (24% accuracy).

Stereotype Confirming Attribution Bias

Contrary to expectations, and in contrast to notions derived from stereotype confirming attribution bias, there was no significant main effect of target gender - stereotypical gender of behavior consistency, on any dependent variable. Whether the actors’ gender was consistent or inconsistent with the stereotypical gender of the behavior, did not appear to significantly influence the perceivers attributions. For example, whether it was Michael or Danielle acting in sexually aggressive manner did not influence the extent to which the behavior was attributed to internal, stable or controllable factors.

As expected, there was no main effect of stereotypical gender of behavior on any of the major attribution variables; however it significantly affected all four trait attribution variables in the expected manner. If participants were presented with a target behaving in a stereotypically male (vs. female) way, then they were more likely to expect
male (vs. female) traits in a subsequent trait endorsement task, regardless of the identified gender of the target person.

Valence of behavior had a significant main effect for external control (F (1,214) =4.03, p<0.05), and stability (F (1,215) =4.23, p<0.05), following desirable behaviors, participants were more likely to attribute cause to external and stable causes. Valence was also significant for three of the four trait endorsement variables (and the fourth displayed the same pattern). Following desirable behaviors, participants were more likely to endorse the positive traits, whereas following undesirable behaviors participants were more likely to endorse negative traits.

While there was no a priori reason to expect it, a main effect of participant gender was found for personal control (F (1,215) =7.4, p<0.05), and the desirable-female (F (1,216) =18.33, p<0.01) and undesirable-female (F (1,216) =6.59, p<0.05) trait endorsement measures. Female participants attributed more personal control to the targets’ behaviors than male participants did, and male participants were more willing to assign female traits to an actor than were female participant. There was a significant two way interaction between consistency and participant gender for the desirable-female trait variable (F (1,216) =6.9, p<0.01) male participants were more likely to endorse positive female traits for the actor, and this is particularly true if the actor was behaving in a stereotype consistent manner. Participants’ gender did not otherwise interact with other factors suggesting that there is little indication of in-group favoritism effects.

Impact of Gender Identity

Participants appear to have strong and positive gender identities (mean 6.24 on a scale of 1-10), and fairly high levels of collective self-esteem regarding their gender group (subscale means between 4.5 and 6.02 on a scale of 1-7). To examine the influence of participants’ level of gender identification and gender self-esteem on participants’ attributions biases, group identification and collective self-esteem scores were entered as covariates in a series of ANCOVA’s with target gender, valence of behavior, consistency of actor gender, and participants’ gender as independent variables, and each of the attribution and trait endorsement measures as dependent variables.
Gender identity was significantly related to the male-undesirable trait endorsement (F (1, 207) = 4.3, p< .05). Those participants who scored highly on the gender identification measure were more likely to endorse male-undesirable traits for the actor (mean = 2.3) than those who scores low (2.4). This may be expected in light of the high percentage of female participants. Scores on the membership self-esteem subscale (the individual’s feelings regarding how worthy they are to belong to their gender group) was significant for personal control (F (1, 187) = 10.34, p< .01). A Pearson’s correlation analysis revealed a positive significant correlation (r = .21, p< .01) between participants’ scores on the membership self-esteem subscale and their attribution of personal control to the actor, the more a participant feels worthy of their gender membership then more personal control they attribute for an actors behavior. Scores of the private collective self-esteem subscale (how good they feel about their gender group) was significant for the male-desirable trait endorsement measure (F (1, 189) = 4.04, p< .05). However, a Pearson’s correlation analysis revealed a non-significant negative correlation (r = -.06, p>.05).

Conclusions

Contrary to expectations, the consistency of the actors’ gender did not have a significant impact on the attribution measures. This would seem to be a lack of support for the stereotype confirming attribution bias. However, a closer look reveals that inconsistency did have an impact on perceivers. Participants were significantly more likely to incorrectly identify the gender of the actor if they had been seen to act on a way counter stereotypically to their gender. Furthermore, there was a main effect of target gender on all four trait endorsement items. If participants were presented with a target behaving in a stereotypically male way, then they were more likely to expect male traits in a subsequent trait endorsement task, regardless of the identified gender of the target person. The same pattern occurred for targets behaving in a stereotypically female way and the subsequent endorsement of female traits. This was not qualified by the consistency of the actor’s gender with the target behavior. So, it seems that gender stereotypical behaviors are powerful, more powerful even than the actor’s actual gender, in evoking perceivers’ stereotypes regarding other stereotype relevant traits possessed by the actor. A brief behavior may be powerful enough to strongly influence our judgments.
of the additional stereotype relevant traits the actor may possess, and this behavior may be more informative than the actor’s gender itself. A parallel pattern was found for valence of behavior, participants were more likely to endorse positive traits if the actor had just behaved in a socially desirable manner, and negative traits if they had just behaved in a socially undesirable manner. This is further evidence for the power of this brief behavior to influence perceptions of an actor, even if it may not apparent in causal attributions.

Despite a seemingly high level of gender identification and self-esteem regarding participants’ gender group membership, there was little evidence of any group serving bias or moderating influence of gender identity. It is possible that there is something specific regarding our stimulus materials or participants which resulted in the moderate evidence of a confirming attribution bias, and thus the impact of gender identity and self-esteem cannot be observed. However, as noted, the procedure of the experiment was sufficiently powerful as to create expectations in the perceiver and influence subsequent trait endorsements for the actor. Alternatively, it may be that the any potential influence of gender identity and self-esteem would only be apparent in interpersonal interactions. In particular these factors may only be influential if the participant identifies with the actor and / or feels some kind of threat to their group or self-esteem. Our procedure was such that all gender related scales were completed after the dependent measures, consequently while completing the main attribution measures the participant may not have identified with the actor as an in or out-group member enough to induce group processes. Perhaps gender grouping was simply not salient to the participants while they were attributing the cause of the actors’ behavior. Thus, if participants’ gender identity was not relevant to them at that moment, and the actor was not seen in terms of gender, then no group serving bias would be necessary. Of course, further research would be needed to investigate this more fully. Therefore, whether or not gender identity impacts upon the perception of gendered behavior remains unclear.

Overall then, a brief behavior may be powerful enough to strongly influence our judgments of the additional stereotype relevant traits the actor may possess, and this
behavior may be more informative than the actor’s gender itself, and is not necessarily affected by ones’ own gender identification.

References
Glover, C (2005) Unpublished manuscript


Abstract

Parents have been found to be influential in preventing substance use among their children and parental monitoring has been found to be a strong protective factor in the prevention of substance use. Yet there is limited knowledge about the individual, familial and community factors which influence mothers to monitor their children in order to prevent their child’s use of licit or illicit substances. This exploratory cross-sectional study proposed that mothers’ use of substances, parent-child bonding, general self-efficacy, monitoring self-efficacy and/ or their perceptions of their neighborhood would predict their parental monitoring. An ecological framework guided this examination. Structured interviews were conducted with a sample of 113 mothers from a community based agency serving the South Bronx and East Harlem in New York City. Hierarchical multiple regression analysis found that increased monitoring was predicted by stronger parent-child bonding, increased general self-efficacy, younger age of child and having employment income. The findings of this study provide additional knowledge for the development of relevant drug prevention services geared to teaching parenting skills and suggest parenting topics which would support parents in becoming more active participants in the prevention of drug use by their own children.
Ecosystem services is a term used to describe the benefits to people from natural areas (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005). Services to humans can range from food production to water purification to aesthetics. The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) was initiated in 2001 to assess the consequences of ecosystem change for human well-being and the scientific basis for actions needed to enhance the conservation and sustainable use of those systems. The assessment involved more than 1,300 experts worldwide. Key messages from the assessment (2005) include these:

- Everyone in the world depends on nature and ecosystem services to provide the conditions for a decent, healthy, and secure life.
- Humans have made unprecedented changes to ecosystems in recent decades to meet growing demands for food, fresh water, fiber, and energy. But at the same time, they weakened nature’s ability to deliver other key services such as preservation of air and water, protection from disasters, and the provision of medicines.
- Pressures on ecosystems will increase globally in coming decades unless human attitudes and actions change. Measures to conserve natural resources are more
likely to succeed if local communities are given ownership of them, share the benefits, and are involved in decisions.

Ecosystem services can be categorized as cultural services (such as providing outdoor recreation locations), regulating services (such as protecting water quality), provisioning services (such as timber for houses and paper), and supporting services (such as nutrient cycling) (see Fig. 1). These services are important because they are linked to human well-being (MEA, 2005). In particular, the items in the right column are linked to security (personal safety, secure resource access, security from disasters), basic material for a good life (adequate livelihoods, sufficient nutritious food, shelter, access to goods), health (strength, feeling well, access to clean air and water), and good social relations (social cohesion, mutual respect, ability to help others). These all contribute to freedom of choice and action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECOSYSTEM SERVICES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provisioning</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Fresh Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Wood and Fiber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Supporting</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nutrient Cycling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Soil Formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Primary Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulating</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Climate Regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Flood Regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Disease Regulation</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Water Purification</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Aesthetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Spiritual</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Educational</td>
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<td>- Recreational</td>
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</table>

Figure 1. Ecosystem services components
It is unclear how familiar urban residents are with the ecosystem services provided by natural areas. Research conducted in southern California addressed people’s beliefs about natural areas and how those areas should be managed. Objectives of the study were to understand people’s connections to public lands (e.g., do they spend a lot of time or little time in natural settings--woods, mountains, desert, lakes, ocean), their perceptions about how natural areas ought to be managed (e.g., for long-term study of the relationships between weather, fire patterns, plants, animals, and soils or should they be open to outdoor recreation opportunities), and their perceptions about whether there are currently enough natural areas set aside for particular purposes (such as for camping or for the protection of wildlife).

Methods

A self-administered survey was provided to recreation visitors at day use sites on the San Antonio and San Gabriel Canyons on the Angeles National Forest in southern California in summer 2005. Both canyons are within an hour drive of more than 10 million people. Survey instruments were available in English and Spanish. Respondents (n=509) filled out the surveys on-site and returned them to data collection team members. Response rate was 56 percent. Data were entered, coded and analyzed using SPSS.

Particular items in the instrument measured two components of ecosystem services. Most measured the “cultural” component given their focus on recreational opportunities (such as camping). A few other items measured “regulating” services (such as improved air quality). This list of items was used in two sets of questions. The first
questions asked how important it is to manage natural areas for each item (5-point Likert-type scale), while the other asked if there are enough natural areas available within this urban landscape for each purpose (3-point Likert-type scale).

Results

Demographic Measures

The majority of respondents were male (62%). Half of the respondents were Latino (50%). Others were white (28%), multi-ethnic (7%), or Asian (5%). On average, the respondents had completed 13.4 years of schooling (n=494; SD=3.9). The majority were English speakers (50%). Others spoke Spanish (29%) or both English and Spanish (15%).

Group Characteristics, Use Levels, and Activities

Most respondents were recreating with family (61%) and/or friends (45%). Less than 10 percent were recreating alone or were with an organized group. Most groups stayed four to six hours (35%) at the day use sites or more than 6 hours (31%). More than two-thirds were repeat visitors to the sites (70%), and more than three-quarters planned to return to the day use sites within the next year (83%). More than half visited other natural area sites within the past year (52%). The most frequently mentioned activities participated in while on the visit included: hiking (46%), picnicking (44%), swimming/wading (32%), camping (26%), spending time in camp (22%), photography (22%), fishing (15%), nature study (14%), and rock climbing (12%). More than half spend a lot of time in natural settings (62%).
Ecosystem Services

Respondents were told that the Forest Service manages public lands, including natural areas that are set aside for various purposes. For each item on a list (some were cultural services and others were regulating services) they were asked how much they agreed or disagreed that it is important to manage natural areas for that particular item. They were also asked to think about each item and indicate if more areas are needed for that purpose, if there is the right amount set aside now, or if there are too many areas set aside for that purpose.

**Cultural Services** – For this survey the MEA (2005) component focused mostly on recreational opportunities (see Table 1 for full list of items). The items considered most important to manage natural areas for are these: camping, day hiking, educational purposes, scenic value, watching wildlife, visitor safety, sightseeing, stream play, and swimming (see Table 1). Similarly, respondents reported more areas need to set aside for: camping, day hiking, educational purposes, scenic value, visitor safety, watching wildlife, stream play, and swimming, but also picnicking at developed sites.

**Regulating Services** – For this survey the MEA (2005) component focused mostly on natural resource protection (see Table 1 for full list of items). The items considered most important to manage natural areas for are these: protection of water quality, protection of wildlife, improved air quality, and protection of plants (see Table 1). Similarly, respondents reported more areas need to set aside for: protection of water quality, protection of wildlife, improved air quality, and protection of plants.
Table 1. Average scores on ecosystem services component measures of cultural services and regulating services by the importance of managing areas and the availability of natural areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance for Managing Area**</th>
<th>Natural Areas Available**</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean  n</td>
<td>Mean  n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Services</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camping</td>
<td>4.5 476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Hiking</td>
<td>4.5 473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational purposes</td>
<td>4.5 469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>4.0 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseback riding</td>
<td>3.8 453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain bike riding</td>
<td>3.8 461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-highway vehicle riding</td>
<td>3.2 448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picnicking at developed sites</td>
<td>4.2 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenic value</td>
<td>4.5 465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sightseeing</td>
<td>4.3 465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow play</td>
<td>4.2 466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stream play</td>
<td>4.3 476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>4.3 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor safety</td>
<td>4.4 486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching Wildlife</td>
<td>4.5 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulating Services</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved air quality</td>
<td>4.5 466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term biological studies</td>
<td>4.3 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of plants</td>
<td>4.5 489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of water quality</td>
<td>4.7 487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of wildlife</td>
<td>4.7 480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rated on scale of 1 to 5, where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree
** Rated on scale of -1 to 1, where -1 = less areas needed and 1 = more areas needed

Conclusions

Experts around the world have identified ecosystem services that benefit humans (MEA, 2005). These ecosystem services are provided by natural areas, such as those managed by the Forest Service. It is important to understand both public perceptions
about the importance of particular ecosystem services and their perceptions about the availability of natural areas to provide these ecosystem services. This study of recreationists to Forest Service day use sites in two canyons in southern California examined these perceptions.

The recreationists were mostly repeat visitors to these sites who had also been to other recreation sites in the last year and had plans to visit these canyons again within the next year. Most said they spent a lot of time in natural settings.

These recreationists strongly agreed with the importance of managing natural areas for several of the cultural services items and almost all of the regulating services items. In order of importance, they felt it was most important to manage natural areas for regulating services such as protection of water quality, protection of wildlife, improved air quality, and protection of plants, as well as cultural services such as camping, day hiking, educational purposes, scenic value, and watching wildlife.

These respondents also felt that more areas needed to be set aside for particular regulating and cultural services. In order of most needed, these included protection of water quality, protection of wildlife, improved air quality, and protection of plants, as well as camping, day hiking, educational purposes, scenic value, watching wildlife, and visitor safety.

Although we did not define these services as “cultural” or “regulatory” to the respondents, it seems that the ecosystem services provided in natural areas resonate with them. Therefore, managers of these natural areas in southern California might want to consider communication and educational programs focusing on describing the benefits to people from natural areas, especially emphasizing regulating and cultural services. It
might be an opportunity to increase knowledge levels of what natural areas do for people. Awareness can lead to an informed public and protected natural areas.

References

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This paper reports results from the first in a series of studies evaluating perceptions of law enforcement officers (LEOs) in the US Forest Service (USFS). It is a follow-up to previous qualitative studies conducted to learn more about crime and violence in national forests and the impacts on recreation visitation and management, and test key characteristics of success in law enforcement, measure opinions about recreation visitor and public safety, and evaluate impacts to natural resources. Another incentive for conducting this study was to respond to a federal initiative for performance based measures.

Specific research objectives were to: (1) develop, pretest, and administer a quantitative survey instrument to gather information from LEOs about crime and violence at USFS sites nationwide; (2) confirm what crimes and acts of violence are occurring, the extent of crimes, and the impacts they have on public land management
and public safety; (3) ascertain whether LEOs perceive that acts of crime and violence are changing, and why; (4) determine LEOs’ perceptions of the impacts of crime and violence to recreation visitors and other forest users; (5) establish measures of law enforcement success; (6) identify successful agency programs nationally, regionally, and locally; (7) test the key characteristics of law enforcement success; and (8) identify additional successful strategies used by LEOs to deal with crime in forest settings.

**Methods**

An email survey was administered to LEOs in the USFS. To begin, the LEOs received an e-mail message of support from the Director of Law Enforcement and Investigations (LE&I). The email survey was administered according to Dillman’s Total Design Method (Dillman, 2000); that is, the first mailing was followed by three follow-up mailings. Of the 404 questionnaires sent via email, 294 were completed and returned, for a response rate of 73 percent.

**Results**

The LEOs were mostly male, predominantly white, and many were several years away from retirement. There was some diversity evidenced by race and gender. Their knowledge, expertise, and experience represent the best available data we have about some of the challenges LEOs face on the job.

Each LEO is responsible for a primary patrol area that totals a median 440,000 acres, although they usually patrol less than that. While on patrol, their most common
task was public relations/education/information, followed by issuing violations/warnings or performing investigations.

A major concern for the LEOs was the shortage of law enforcement officers and fire protection officers. Opinions were mixed about whether LEO authority and jurisdiction is adequate for what they believe is expected or demanded of them. Those who were dissatisfied noted that they had to depend on others to enforce state violation codes, felt that they should be deputized, and said that an outdated Code of Federal Regulations hampers their effectiveness. A large proportion of LEOs noted that they did not have adequate resources to do their jobs, with personnel and a lack of equipment topping the list of needed resources.

USFS LEOs ranked their highest job priorities as protecting National Forest Service (NFS) employees and forest users, followed by protecting forest resources, and protecting public property. They believe that the NFS line officers they most commonly interact with have a somewhat different set of priorities. Nevertheless, almost half of the LEOs felt they had good relations and rapport with the line officers they most commonly interact with. Most LEOs believed that LE&I’s relationship with the rest of the Forest Service should be one of collaboration and teamwork but almost equal percentages thought that currently they are equal partners as said currently they are outsiders to the USFS organization. Most felt supported by LE&I line officers, NFS line officers, or local NFS employees.

Several types of crime are on the increase according to LEOs. Dumping of household waste, criminal damage, and dumping of landscape waste topped the list, followed by indiscriminate shooting, road hazards, thefts of public property, and thefts of
visitor personal property. Only marijuana cultivation and arson were thought to be in decline by some LEOs. Wildlife hazards, arson, weather hazards, suicides, murder, body dumping, and domestic violence were thought to remain unchanged from FY03 to FY04. LEOs were more likely to encounter dumping of household waste and landscape waste, theft of public property, and meth labs while patrolling during the week. They commonly dealt with dumping of household waste and landscape waste during daylight hours. When areas were crowded, they were more likely to encounter thefts of personal property, domestic violence, personnel threats, theft of public property, and criminal damage. More than one-third of the LEOs said they were threatened or attacked because of their job. Most said this was a common occurrence or related to drug activity.

Lack of adequate funding, safety for themselves and others, and management issues (such as morale improvement) topped the list of priorities facing the law enforcement professionals, according to the LEOs. Most LEOs believed that the NFS line officer they most commonly interact with was in general agreement with their list of priorities.

The LEOs saw forest visitors as their primary customers. They believed that forest visitors want to be assured of a safe and enjoyable experience while on the forest and that LEOs were doing their best to prevent crime and to protect the natural resources. About half of the LEOs felt that recreation visitors were mostly safe from other visitors and mostly physically safe from site features, while about one-quarter noted that these conditions vary within the patrol area. LEOs nevertheless believed that recreation visitors were much safer from others and from site features compared to visitors’ own neighborhoods. In general, LEOs noted that in protecting forest users, they were
hampered by their patrol areas’ large size and remoteness, coupled with a lack of resources (e.g., LE personnel, equipment, and lack of backup).

In their patrol area, most LEOs reported that the quality of the natural resources had declined during the time they worked there, as had maintenance of Forest Service facilities and developed areas. Close to half of the LEOs believed that the media portrayal of crimes against resources was mostly positive, while just over half believed that the media portrayal of fire crimes was mostly positive.

Two in ten LEOs who volunteered law enforcement success stories reported successes in solving crimes and getting convictions, good cooperation, and proactive programs. Almost half of the LEOs described special policing programs that worked well. These included visible and concentrated patrols; cooperation with other law enforcement agencies; public education; public contact; and community policing and involvement. They measured their success by the positive perceptions held, or the lack of complaints made, by the public, NFS employees, and their cooperators, and by a reduction in violations. Programs that were less successful were thought to be due to lack of support and too few officers.

Nationally, a successful law enforcement program was characterized as one with sufficient resources that is understood by those engaged in or affected by the program, staffed by highly qualified individuals, and under good leadership.

Discussion

In examining the data for common responses across questions we found that one concern for USFS LEOs is relationships. They are especially concerned about the
perceptions that others have of them, including those within and outside the agency. Good relationships, working together, and collaboration are ways they would measure success within the LE&I program. Most problematic to having good relationships are a lack of understanding, a lack of support, and a lack of trust.

Another common response across questions indicated that one concern for USFS LEOs was resources. This was often expressed in terms of funding, personnel, and equipment. Fiscal concerns were raised often and seen as detrimental to getting the job done. In part this related to the shortage of personnel; there were not enough funds to hire new LEOs. Personnel issues also were related to concerns about professionalism among LEOs. Equipment concerns related to safety issues were raised. These concerns were both internal and related to the safety of forest users. Specific comments were raised about not having the basic equipment the job requires.

Natural resource protection was seen as important, too. Many LEOs reported increasing problems with forest users dumping household and landscape waste on National Forest lands. They reported that the quality of the natural resources had been compromised during the time they worked there. Protection of the natural resources was seen as a component of a successful LE&I program.

Safety of forest users and Forest Service employees was another concern. Urban-associated activities, drug activity, and motor vehicle violations were problematic and seen as on the rise. These were some of the same activities described in the earlier qualitative studies.

Current successes in law enforcement were described as successes in solving crimes and getting convictions, good cooperation, and proactive programs. Several of the
descriptions matched the key characteristics of success we identified in earlier studies. These characteristics included resources, collaboration, and communication. These also tie into the characteristics identified as integral to a successful law enforcement program including resources and understanding. Interestingly, not many LEOs had success stories to share.

We think there are several ways to use the results of this study of LEOs in the USFS. The identification of issues, particularly issues that are consistent across regions, could be used to prioritize law enforcement efforts. The case studies of success indicated that focus on problem areas was important to overcoming the problems. In addition, some of the successes that have occurred, in combination with a focus on the characteristics identified as integral to a successful LE&I program, could be identified as a priority focus area for officers and leaders. This has some serious implications for budgeting and staffing. Some consideration might be made about whether resource allocation is congruent with the issues identified by the LEOs.

On the face of the comments, it appeared that a successful LE&I program was all about the officers and their needs. Closer examination revealed a desire by LEOs to work for the public good, keep visitors safe, and protect the land base.

References

1. **Title of the Submission:**

   The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States

2. **Topic Area of the Submission:**

   Psychology, Social Work, and Sociology (Cross-Disciplinary and International Study)

3. **Presentation Format:**

   Paper Sessions

4. **Names or the Authors, Departments and Affiliations, mailing addresses, e-mail addresses, and phone numbers**

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The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States

Abstract

A significant body of research exists on the characteristics of adult children of alcoholics. Research to-date has focused on areas such as the personality characteristics, coping strategies, problem-solving, and self-identities of these children in a single cultural group. This present study examines the impact of alcoholic parents on their adult children in two different societies. One thousand seven hundred and forty-seven (1,747) valid questionnaires were collected from college students in Taiwan and the United States in 2005. Nine hundred and ninety-one (991) of the questionnaires were from thirteen different colleges/universities in Taiwan. Two hundred and ten (210) questionnaires were collected from a state university in the Central Valley of California. A total of five hundred and forty-six (546) valid questionnaires were collected from a comprehensive community college in the same region of California.

Based on preliminary data analyses, interesting similarities and differences emerged between these two cultures. American students scored higher on family cohesion while also scoring higher on family conflict. In contrast, Taiwanese students scored lower on family cohesion but were less likely to experience high levels of family conflict. American students reported more effective patterns of communication with their parents, greater parental relationship satisfaction, and being less likely to experience depression and high levels of external pressures. Students in Taiwan reported being more likely to conform to external controls. The Taiwanese students reported higher self-defensiveness, lacking a sense of security, and being less self-centered than their American counterparts.

American students were far more likely to claim one or both of their parents were alcoholics. Among American students, 25.2% of them believed their fathers were alcoholics and 9.7% of them believed that their mothers were alcoholics. However, only 11.5% of Taiwanese students claimed that their fathers were alcoholics and 2.5% claimed their mothers were alcoholics. More American students believed both of their parents were alcoholics than Taiwanese students (4.3% and 1.4% respectively).

Compared to American students, Taiwanese students were more concerned about the health of their alcoholic parents. Taiwanese students were more likely to experience internal conflict caused by their parents’ drinking; further, they were more likely to report being willing to intervene. American students were more concerned with problems such as insomnia, fighting with parents, parental divorce, and running away from home. The American sample reported greater worry about being isolated from outside activities due to their parents’ drinking, being caught in the midst of parental conflict, and not being loved by parents whom they believe to be alcoholic.

By conducting comparative research across cultures and across multiple institutions, the social and behavioral sciences are better positioned to gain a richer and more useful understanding of not only this particular topic but many other pressing social issues as well. Knowledge gained from such research may be especially useful in attempting to ameliorate some of the suffering associated with the human condition in a world that is increasingly characterized by social/cultural diversity and globalization.
Stress Management and Self-Care for Adult Learners

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Adult learners are bombarded with personal, professional, and educational stressors. Many come to the classroom using coping methods that may be unhealthy and counter-productive. Educators often struggle with students who are sleepy, distracted, or inattentive. In this 90-minute experiential workshop, participants will have the opportunity to sample a variety of relaxation and self-care techniques that will assist them and their students to deal with the tension and stress that often accompany formal education.

At Brigham Young University College of Nursing, students learn about the detrimental health effects of stress, including high blood pressure, decreased immune function, increased chronic illness, and relationship difficulties, to name a few. They also understand how stress can affect their own ability to concentrate and learn. It is important for caregivers to take care of themselves in order to care for others. Therefore, we offer a four-hour hands-on workshop for our students to learn stress management techniques that they can apply to themselves and to those they care for.

The response from students has been very overwhelmingly positive:

"I loved the stress management clinic. It is important to take time out for yourself to relax and get proper perspective on things. The techniques are simple and can be used in everyday life, even in class or on the job. The things I learned have helped me to fall asleep easier and get more rest at night. Everything we learned was useful and fun. All of us who participated would like to do it again."

"The Stress Management clinical was my favorite clinical of the whole semester because it taught me skills I can use throughout my life. I can use the yoga or positive imagery to help me be a more calm and effective nurse, but I can also use those skills to be a more peaceful and well-rounded human being. There have been several times since the clinical when I've felt overwhelmed with big decisions in my
life and I've sat down and tried to meditate and deep breathe. When I've remembered to do that, it's made a big difference in the way I feel about myself and about dealing with difficult situations.”

During this 90-minute workshop, participants will learn the value of stress management in their professional and personal lives. They will practice several modalities to manage stress, such as guided imagery, music, art, connection with others, laughter, living in the present, progressive relaxation and positive affirmations.
Towards Cultural Competency with a Latino Community: A Cross-Cultural Teaching Model

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Proceedings Submission: February 22, 2006
Towards Cultural Competency with a Latino Community: A Cross-Cultural Teaching Model

Abstract

Social work programs that prepare students for culturally competent practice rely on the principle that cultural identity and differences are positive; and that social work services need to be delivered in ways which are culturally acceptable to clients and enhance their ethnic group participation and power. Cross-cultural experiences facilitate the development of cultural competence. Equipping students in the necessary affective, cognitive, and behavioral areas for cross-cultural learning and competent practice call for teaching approaches that capitalize on the adult learning process; and where meaningful learning can be transformed to a learning process beyond the academic experience. This paper presents a cross-cultural teaching model designed to facilitate a culturally transformative learning process within the classroom and with a New England Latino Community.
**Cultural Competence**

Social work education programs that prepare students for culturally competent practice rely on the principle that cultural identity and differences are positive; and that social work services need to be delivered in ways which are culturally acceptable to clients and enhance their ethnic group participation and power (Brown & Mills, 2001; Fong & Furito, 2001; Gutierrez, 1990; Lum, 2004; Puig, 2001). As a result, there has been a growing educational focus on the delivery of culturally competent service to diverse groups and the impact of oppression on these groups (Gutierrez, Fredricksen & Soifer, 1999).

Over the last several decades there has been an expansion in the conceptualization of cultural competence. The notion of “dual perspective” advises social workers to become aware of and sensitive to the differences in the values, beliefs and treatment systems of the client system and the larger social system (Norton, 1978). Cross, Bazron, Dennis and Isaccs (1989) define competence as a “set of culturally congruent beliefs, attitudes, and policies that make cross-cultural work possible” (p. 13). They also contend that cultural competence exists along a continuum, ranging from cultural destructiveness, cultural incapacity, cultural blindness, and precompetence to cultural competence.

Solas (1996) suggests that culturally competent practitioners must address the power differentials between the social worker and the client system. Devore & Schlesinger (1999) direct the competent ethnic-sensitive practitioner to be concerned with the interaction of ethnicity and social class as they affect the client’s life circumstances. Green (1999) advises workers to explore the help seeking behaviors of clients and delineates five ethnic competencies: awareness of one’s limitations, openness to cultural
differences; a client-oriented, systematic learning style, utilizing cultural resources, and acknowledging cultural integrity.

According to Fong (2001) to be culturally competent is to understand the cultural values of the client system and use them in planning and implementing services, particularly with service delivery to ethnic minorities. Lum (2005) contends that cultural competence includes various practice levels: “micro concerns about the client and family, meso concerns about organizations and communities, and macro concerns about service delivery” (pp. 7-9). Furthermore, he maintains that the demand of being culturally competent changes according to the needs of the specific cultural group’s reality; as a result cultural competence must be viewed within a temporal context and as an ongoing process.

Weaver (2005) admits “cultural competence is an evolving concept…the process of operationalizing this principle has been slow…Clearly, practice wisdom, theories, models, and empirical evidence are all crucial aspects of the knowledge base on cultural competence. Many of these aspects are still being developed, so we do not yet have a full picture of the specific components of cultural competence” (p. 77-78). Given the scope of these evolving conceptualizations, for the purpose of this paper the operational definition of cultural competence is that of an ongoing process of knowledge, skills, behavioral, and attitudinal development that assist the practitioner to address the cultural needs of their client system (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1997).

Cross-cultural experiences facilitate the development of cultural competence (Diaz-Lazaro & Cohen, 2001). Cross-cultural contact, along with cognitive learning about the cultural group under study, can bring about a transformative learning process in the
Cross-Cultural Teaching Model

helping professional (Weaver, 2005). Equipping students in the necessary affective, cognitive, and behavioral areas for cross-cultural learning and competent practice call for teaching approaches that capitalize on the adult learning process; and where meaningful learning can be transformed to a lifelong learning process beyond the academic experience. (Comerford, 2003, 2005; Kolb, 1984; Lee & Greene, 2003). This article presents a cross-cultural teaching model, employed at a New England School of Social Work, designed to facilitate a culturally transformative learning process within the classroom and with a regional Latino community. A demographic profile of the Latino community, the course context, characteristics and course materials are included. The cross-cultural teaching model is presented in the context of Lum’s (2005) cultural spheres of learning, with anecdotal students’ comments about their learning experience. Lum (2005) contends that cultural competence consists of four areas of learning: “cultural awareness (self and other), knowledge acquisition (diverse groups), and skills development (effective practice), and inductive learning (continuous learning)” (p. 4).

Cross-Cultural Learning Perspectives

Adult learning perspectives are particularly suited for teaching cross-cultural competence (Comerford, 2005). Adult learning theory (Knowles, 1972) emphasizes a shift away from pedagogy (teaching children) to andragogy (adult experiential learning), sustained by reciprocally empowering and growth producing student–teacher relationships (Edwards & Richards, 2002). Dewey (1966) proposes that for meaningful learning to take place theoretical concepts have to be connected to personal experiences. Gitterman (2004) suggests creating a climate of ‘collaborative learning’, where teachers invite students to become partners in the teaching-learning endeavor. Kolb (1984) defines learning as “the
process whereby knowledge is created through the transformative process of experience” (p. 38).

Similarly, Weaver (2005) and others maintain that an essential element in fostering cultural competency is to provide students with transformative learning experiences, (Alvarez, 2001; Lee & Greene, 2003; Sevig & Etzkorn, 2001). That is, engaging students in an ongoing learning process in which to examine, question and expand their cultural assumptions, while acquiring behavioral and cognitive repertoires that foster critical consciousness (Alvarez, 2001; Freire, 1974). Reed, Newman & Lewis (1997) maintain that critical consciousness is “a process of continuous self-reflection coupled with [social] action” (p. 46), where important differences among people are recognized and strengthened, and the power structures/dynamics that perpetuate social injustice are challenged. This has special relevance for ethnic minorities, such as Latinos, because of the multiple sources of oppression they face, requiring schools of social work to include content on oppression and privilege (Garcia and Van Soest, 1997).

**Latinos: Differences and Commonalities**

Latinos are a heterogeneous group in socio-economic factors such education, employment, income, marital/family composition, and national/regional/local differences. In addition, they differ in colonization and immigration experiences, and politics; as well as, ethnic-identity differences deriving from such factors as nationality, class, and skin color (Moreno & Guido, 2005; Negroni-Rodriguez & Morales, 2001; Vega & Alegria, 2001). The population’s heterogeneity and complexity make it difficult to speak of Latinos as an aggregate, without risking stereotyping and obscuring inter/intra-group differences (Negroni-Rodriguez & Morales, 2001; Zuniga, 2001). Nevertheless, Acevedo
& Morales (2001) and others maintain that understanding generalized Latino values, norms, and practices is an important factor in developing competent practice with Latinos (Puig; 2001; Moreno & Guido, 2005; Weaver, 2005). Practitioners must understand how to individualize Latinos’ needs without dismissing the importance of their cultural values, practices, beliefs systems, and the strengths and resiliency that often characterize this population (Acevedo & Morales, 2001; Moreno & Guido, 2005).

Due to historical, economic, political and socio-cultural factors, many Latinos are in great need of social and community services. As aptly stated by Negroni-Rodriguez & Morales (2001) “Among Latinos, poverty, migration or immigration, cultural transitions, invisibility, powerlessness, prejudice, and discrimination are similar and common experiences that represent potential risks factors for the development of health and mental health problems, family difficulties, and family violence” (p. 135). Factors such as acculturation stress, language barriers, gender roles, sexual orientation discrimination, and lack of socioeconomic opportunities make social work practice with this heterogeneous resilient cultural group complex but also enriching (Moreno & Guido, 2005). In light of these factors and the projected population growth of Latinos, educating social work students for culturally competent practice with Latinos is a challenging but critical need.

Cultural diversity education should expose the student to a cross-cultural learning process of self-awareness and cultural transformation (critical consciousness) that will equip them to apply didactic instructional content and assist them to differentiate their worldview and values from those of clients, respecting both equally (Nakanishi & Rittner; 1992); this process will enable them to develop ethnic competence (Gallegos, 1982), while
understanding the power dynamics and social conditions of ethnic minority communities in preparation to employ effective empowerment and social action strategies (Brown & Mills, 2001; Devore and Schlesinger, 1999; Gutierrez, 1990; Lee & Greene, 2003; Pinderhughes, 1989; Solomon, 1976). Lum (1999) believes that students can be engaged in this learning process in the classroom and through direct practice experiences. Prior to discussion of the cross-cultural teaching model, the context in which the model was developed will be presented.

**Context of the Cross-Cultural Model**

**Demographic Profile of the Latino Community**

While this New England Latino community’s population is significant in number, as a cultural group, it is one of the most socially and economically disadvantaged groups in the state. Nonetheless, the state capital has a long history of Puerto Rican political involvement (Cruz, 1998), and evidenced by the two-term election of its current Puerto Rican major. Puerto Ricans total approximately 194,443 (60% of the Latino population), followed by Central and South Americans at 95,295, and Mexicans at 23,484 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). The state capital has the largest concentration of Latinos (40%). Eighty percent of the Puerto Rican population resides in the state capital’s poorest urban areas. Seventy-four percent of the Latinos in this area live in family households; thirty-three percent of them in single female households with children (greater than the state average of 7.9%). The median age of Latinos is 24.3 (younger than the overall state’s median age of 37.4); forty-two percent of the Latinos are younger than 20 years of age. The median household income is $24,820 (Mauricio Gaston Institute, 2003). The above
demographic profile supports the school’s longstanding commitment to a social work specialization in Puerto Rican/Latino Studies.

**The Course Context: Puerto Rican/Latino/a Focused Area of Study**

Weaver (2005) asserts that “A professional program with a culturally competent infrastructure will be likely to attract diverse faculty, staff and students, thus reinforcing the program’s responsiveness to diverse communities” (p. 292). As part of the School of Social Work’s commitment to social justice and cultural competence all students are required to take a foundation course on institutionalized oppression; in addition, faculty and students participate in a school-wide diversity day event each semester. The teaching model presented in this article grew out of a 1980 National Institute of Mental Health initiative that established the Puerto Rican/Latino/a Studies Project at the School of Social Work. One of the primary accomplishments of the project was to develop an elective specialization in Puerto Rican/Latino Studies in Social Work: the Puerto Rican/Latino/a Studies (PR/LS) focused area.

The PR/LS focused area’s primary goal is to offer graduate students and continuing education professionals the opportunity to learn about and prepare for the delivery of competent services to the Puerto Rican/Latino community, primarily residing in the state and surrounding New England area. To attain a specialization in the PR/LS focused area a student must complete the core PR/LS three credit course and six additional credits in PR/LS focused area electives and a year-long field placement serving the Latino population: four full-time and several part-time Latino faculty members teach the focused area elective courses. The cross-cultural teaching model presented in this paper is employed in the PR/LS core course: The Puerto Rican/Latino/a Experience.
Characteristics of the Puerto Rican/Latino/a Experience Course

In the four semesters that the author has taught the Puerto Rican/Latino/a Experience course there has been an average of 15 students a semester attending, with half of them completing the additional 6 credits in electives to attain a specialization in Puerto Rican/Latino/a Social Work Studies. On average, fifty-five percent of the students are of Latino heritage and forty-five percent are non-Latinos; eighty-five percent of the students are full-time graduate students and fifteen percent are continuing education students. The most common reasons given by students for taking the course are to increase their cultural knowledge, to understand and/or reaffirm their cultural pride. At the commencement of the course, many students, particularly the Latino students, believe that they are proficient in their knowledge of and practice with the Latino community. However, upon completion of the course most students feel that they are beginning an ongoing process of practice competency with the Latino community.

A Cross-Cultural Teaching Model

Cultural Learning Spheres

What distinguishes this model beyond the cross-cultural content is its multi-method teaching approach that extends the learning beyond the classroom to include experiential learning from and within the community under study. Lum (2005) prescribes four spheres of cultural competency learning: cultural awareness, knowledge acquisition, skills development and inductive learning. Discussion of the cross-cultural teaching model is presented within the context of these learning spheres.

Cultural Awareness: Worldviews and Cultural Values

Gitterman (1988) contends that mainstream culture’s western paradigm emphasizes an
individual world-centered view, placing responsibility on the individual, in contrast to a traditional world view or paradigm, which places responsibility upon the collective community or supernatural forces. In this regard, during the first part of course, the instructor employs an interactive group process, using a narrative format to facilitate reflective learning about worldviews, specifically, western vs. traditional paradigms (see appendix A for class exercise and worldview paradigm class handouts).

After the instructor reads the “cuento” (story) that demonstrates contrasting worldviews, the students are instructed to pair up to discuss and choose the best worldview. This is followed by a general class discussion, where students’ reactions to the “cuento” vary from either being unaware that there are different worldviews to understanding that each is legitimate, or that most individuals have a dual worldview. The instructor then introduces, in a lecture format, western and traditional worldviews, emphasizing the importance of their differing values.

Striving for true cultural competence requires that individuals understand their worldview and that of others, altering their feelings about self in relation to others (Toporek & Reza, 2001). While introduction to the differing worldviews is initiated during class discussion, the course assignments deepen students’ cross-cultural awareness in this area. As in:

At first glance, the interviewee and I seemed different. While we discussed the differences in worldviews in class, this oral history made it more real for me. I realize that in my Irish-American upbringing there were many traditional worldview practices. I am realizing that many people share a dual world view.

Martinez (2000) argues that the western priority placed on individuality may conflict with traditional values that emphasize the importance of the group when decisions must be made about the level of family involvement. Through the use of a combined lecture format and an interactive video the instructor presents traditional Latino values and
practices (see appendix B for Latino cultural values/practices class handout). The learning objective in this area is for students to become aware of their cultural values and practices, and how they compare and contrast to traditional Latino values and practices. While this self-exploration is initiated during classroom discussion, the assignments further this exploration. As in:

What I learned most from this course is that I don’t know as much as I thought I did about Latino culture…It may be funny to say but the class discussions and, particularly, the oral histories taught me a lot about myself, as well as about Latinos…I am more comfortable with myself because this course really forced me to take a step back and look within me and my community, and Latinos and their community as well.

As a Latina, I was happy to see that my interviewee had the same values, practices and traditional beliefs we discussed in class. But I was embarrassed that I forget my manners by offering to pay for my interviewee’s dinner, especially after he had just expressed such a strong belief in machismo. This is a reminder that in future I need to be more mindful of these differences.

Knowledge Acquisition: Oppression and Indigenous Leadership

Recognizing the history of sociocultural oppression experienced by Latinos and the high concentration of Puerto Ricans residing in this area, particularly in the state capitol, salient aspects of Puerto Rican history are taught. Lectures, course readings and videos emphasize Puerto Rican and other Latinos’ unique cultural/racial/ethnic mixture and resulting linguistic, social, and political diversity. The impact of this knowledge is illustrated in the following comments:

As an African-American, Latina, born in the United States, what happens to you when you are forced into a dominant group but are only noticed by the color of your skin and have no clue of your history? It made it difficult to want to understand about the struggles of another cultural group. I admit, prior to this class and this assignment, I felt island Puerto Ricans have citizenship and still get to hold onto their language and country’s identity. So what is the problem? I slowly recognized the ignorance in my thinking. Here I considered myself to be culturally diverse and prided myself on the appreciation of the culture and knew nothing about the history and plight of the island Puerto Rican.
Orlandi (1992) believes “cultural competency requires a willingness and ability to draw on community-based values, traditions, and customs and to work with knowledgeable persons of and from the community in developing focused interventions, communications, and other supports” (pp. 3-4). Adhering to the strengths perspective, the course presents significant contributions of Puerto Rican/Latino groups in developing human services and social service programs within their community. To support this content, indigenous Latino community leaders and professionals are invited as guest lecturers to present on community values/issues (e.g. non-tradition Latino spiritual beliefs and immigration/migration issues). In addition, guest speakers present on indigenous and voluntary community resources, competent service delivery and, political and social action issues (e.g. civil rights for the Latino/a homosexual community).

The goal of these presentations is to inform and sensitize the student about values, practices, community strengths and resources. Students become acquainted with indigenous Latino community leaders, building their network of cultural brokers/mediators (De Anda, 1984) in the Latino community. The following comments are taken from students’ evaluations of the guest lecturers.

Prior to the panel presentation on immigration/migration issues…I will now be more conscious of wanting to know more about their country of origin, migration experience, why their family left, who they left behind, and the level of acculturation. I will also be more aware and sensitive to the needs of undocumented immigrants.

I have heard of Santeria but did not know much about it…The presentation has given me new knowledge about this religion…I am pleased that our presenter has agreed to be a resource person that I can contact in the future.

What I liked most about the presentation on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered issues in the Latino community was the panelists’ personal stories of their struggles and pride. It made it more meaningful.
It was good to hear the panel of Latino legislators and judicial representatives discuss how the Latino community empowers itself and that community practitioners not only need to be bilingual but bicultural…There is resiliency and strength within the Latino community.

Skills Development: Ethnographic Interviewing & Cross-Cultural Learning

“Most social workers have completed a required multicultural course in their university education, but fewer have done fieldwork where they could gain practice expertise with multicultural clients of and be supervised by instructors with such expertise” (Lum, 2004, p.12). The course is offered by a Latina instructor who utilizes her cultural experiences and connection with the Latino community to provide students structured learning assignments. The assignments offer students opportunities to deepen their ethnographic interviewing skills and cross-cultural learning.

The three assignments require that students complete two ethnographic interviews with Latino individuals and a geographic assessment of a Latino community (see appendix C for assignment guidelines). The first two assignments require each student to complete oral histories, one with a Puerto Rican individual and another with a Latino individual not of Puerto Rican ancestry. The purpose of taking these individual oral histories is to increase the students’ cross-cultural encounters, deepen their cultural assessment skills and broaden their understanding of Latino diversity. As in:

These two interviews with these families provide me with examples that will help me to identify the values of personalismo, confianza, fatalismo, respeto, and familismo in my Latino clients…Despite the similarities between the Puerto Rican and Guatemalan interviewees, there were clear differences in their immigration experiences, political beliefs and acculturation levels. I need to remember that not all Latino groups, or for that matter, individuals are the same, each story is the key.

Inductive Learning: Community Assessment & Empowerment
The last assignment is a community assessment project in which small student groups are formed to complete a class presentation of a self-selected geographic Latino community (see appendix D for assignment guidelines). The purpose of this assignment is to demystify cross-cultural community encounter, sensitize the students to the strengths, resources and community needs of their selected geographic Latino population by visiting Latino neighborhoods, interviewing indigenous leaders and community residents. In doing so, community members are empowered to tell their stories, and share their communal experiences and expertise.

The students’ experience with the community assessment is particularly striking. Initially, when told about the assignments, students express anxiety and a fear of being intrusive when visiting unfamiliar Latino communities. However, because the class is divided into small diverse student groups and the Latino community is selected by each student group, invariably the choice of Latino community is one that is familiar to a group member. This begins a process of group study that customarily proves to be richer and more powerful than the members expected. Students’ report that even in the process of completing this assignment they learn to appreciate the diversity of background and experiences of their own group members.

In addition, students regularly report being surprised and appreciative, after visiting their respective Latino community, by the warmth and generosity of spirit (i.e. personalismo and confianza) with which they are received in these communities. In addition, community members support the students’ efforts by donating traditional food dishes and loaning cultural artifacts for the class presentation. The following are examples of student experiences with this assignment:
One of the first things that I did in this community assessment interview is to admit that I knew practically nothing about Mexican culture and the community. It was scary not to be the expert but the interviewee appreciated that I was honest and she was willing to help me understand some more about Mexican culture and her community.

This community assessment has helped me gain a better understanding of my Peruvian community needs… I need to be aware of the ways in which policies and/or programs need to be more relevant to the needs of Peruvian and other Latinos.

Besides understanding the Ecuadorian community, an unexpected benefit of this assignment was what our group members learned from each other. Since we were a mixed racial and cultural group, we found that many times the similarities and diversities that we shared enrich our understanding of this Ecuadorian community and ourselves.

The comments support Weaver’s contention that “It is not possible to fully understand how people experience their culture simply by knowing their ethnic heritage…understanding someone’s experience as a cultural being requires listening to and learning from the client about his or her perspective” (2005, p.34). The course assignments offer the student structured cross-cultural experiences that help them learn the rich heterogeneity of the Latino population, culture and facilitate students’ inductive learning with the Latino population. They develop a commitment to “an ongoing acquisition of a practitioner’s knowledge and skill based on practice experience, study and reflection (Lum, 2003, p.73). The following comment is indicative of this ongoing learning commitment:

I have gained a new perspective about Latino culture, one that can only grow with more awareness and education. I also need to learn more about how oppression manifests itself in the Latino community, how each Latino ethnic group is similar and different…Continuing to grow in this knowledge will enable me to be a more competent cultural broker who can more effectively advocate for social change.

Summary

A preliminary evaluation to measure the delivery of the course content was added in 2004
to the regularly administered student course evaluation. The evaluation used a Likert scale that measured whether course content was covered in reading assignments, class discussions and/or course assignments. The results indicate that the majority of students in the class report exposure to all course objectives through multiple teaching methods (See table 1 for findings). Overall, all student evaluations for the last four semesters have consistently expressed a high satisfaction with the course outcome, as evident in course ratings that fall consistently in the nine out of a ten satisfaction range. It is the intention of the author to further evaluate the models teaching effectiveness in meeting knowledge and skill objectives.

The structure of this teaching model adheres to Lum’s (2005) four prescriptive spheres of cultural competency learning by: 1) sensitizing students to traditional Latino worldviews and cultural values; 2) increasing their knowledge about Latino oppression experiences and strengths; 3) deepening their ethnographic interviewing skills and increasing cross-cultural community encounters and; 4) enhancing their understanding and commitment to cross-cultural learning as an ongoing process. In short, this conceptual, experiential, and transformative (critical consciousness) teaching approach facilitates cross-cultural awareness, knowledge, skill development, and inductive learning, while empowering Latino community members and indigenous leaders to offer their knowledge, experience and community expertise.

It is the contention of the author that this model can be used to teach cross-cultural competency across ethnic groups and with diverse student groups by using a multi-method teaching approach that moves beyond traditional classroom learning to include experiential learning from and within the community under study. The following
cautionary notes must be made to educators who are considering employing this model. The instructor must be: 1) trained and knowledgeable about the particular ethnic or oppressed group under study (Gutierrez, Yeakley & Ortega, 2000; Gay, 2002); 2) confident in their capacity to structure and facilitate the students’ cross-cultural learning process (Comerford, 2005; Gutierrez et al., 1999; Swank, Asada & Lott, 2001); 3) prepared to handle the students’, at times, emotionally-laden responses about their self-discovered ‘isms’ or biases (Chau, 1990; Comerford, 2003; Edwards & Richards, 2002; Lee & Greene, 2003); 4) committed to collaboration with key indigenous informants and cultural brokers about the strengths and issues affecting the geographic cultural community under study (De Anda, 1984; Hampton, Ligouri & Rippberger, 2003; Orlandi, 1992; Shepard, 2003); and in turn, prepared to include indigenous leaders and professionals as community guest lecturers on these topics. As a last consideration for employing this model, the values, worldviews, exercises and assignments offered in the appendices must be modified according to the cultural reality of the ethnic or oppressed population under study.

Weaver (2005) believes cultural encounters and immersion experiences increase self-awareness, critical consciousness and, in turn increase cultural competence. The model’s structure also underscores the premise that cultural competency is a journey of learning and not a fixed destination. The following best captures a student’s learning experience with this teaching model:

It was the combination of the literature, Latino speakers, class discussions, and assignments that helped me to understand what Latinos, born here and those that immigrate, face in the United States. The ignorance that once invaded my mind because I encountered individuals that lived up to the stereotypes has faded into the background. In its place is the desire to empower Latinos and to step out of
my box into theirs… I feel that I have enough of a foothold in this area that I can
do further research, learning and advocacy.
References


Appendix A

WORLDVIEW PARADIGM EXERCISE

Instructions:

Read the following Cuento (story) in preparation to discuss which of the two characters in the story has the best worldview and why?

THEN WHAT?

An American businessman stood at the pier of a small coastal Mexican village when a small boat with just one fisherman docked. Inside the small boat were several large yellowfin tuna. The American complimented the Mexican on the quality of his fish and asked how long it took to catch them.

The Mexican replied, “Only a little while.” The American then asked, “Why don’t you stay out longer and catch more fish?” The Mexican answered, “I have enough to support my family’s immediate needs.”

The American then asked, “But what do you do with the rest of your time?” The Mexican fisherman said, “I sleep late, fish a little, play with my children, take a siesta with my wife, Maria, stroll into the village each evening where I sip wine and play guitar with my amigos. I have a full and busy life, Senor.”

The American scoffed, “I am a Harvard MBA and could help you. You should spend more time fishing and with the proceeds buy a bigger boat you could buy several boats, and eventually you would have a fleet of fishing boats. Instead of selling your catch to a middleman you could sell directly to the processor, and eventually open up your own cannery. You would control the product, processing and distribution. You would need to leave this small coastal fishing village and move to Mexico City, then LA, and eventually New York City where you will run your expanding enterprise.”

The fisherman asked, “But Senor, how long will this all take? The American replied,”15-20 years.” “But what then, Senor?” The American laughed and said, “That’s the best part! When the time is right you sell your company stock to the public and become very rich - you would make millions.”

“Millions, Senor? Then what?” “Then you would retire. Move to a small coastal fishing village where you would sleep late, fish a little, play with your kids, take siesta with your wife, stroll into the village each evening where you sip wine and play guitar with your amigos.”
### WORLDVIEW PARADIGMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WESTERN PARADIGM</th>
<th>TRADITIONAL PARADIGM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VALUES/PRACTICES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Structure</strong></td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>Future Oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past/Present Oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>View of Nature</strong></td>
<td>Mastery over Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Individualism, Scientific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harmony with Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Communalism, Spiritual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Interactions</strong></td>
<td>Rational, Dispassionate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intuitive, Passionate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bases of Social Esteem</strong></td>
<td>Objective Measurable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bases of Social Activity</strong></td>
<td>Doing, Accomplishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being, Self-Actualizing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE* (Neither worldview has primary importance over the other. In addition, many individuals and groups share dual worldviews).
Appendix C
COMMONLY SHARED LATINO VALUES/NORMS/PRACTICES

The following is a list of values commonly shared amongst Latinos. It should be noted that due to various factors (e.g. age, gender, place of birth, religion, regional background, cultural self-identification, individual and family experiences) the following listing maybe expressed and weighed differently by various Latino individuals and groups.

**Familia** - A commitment to upholding the family values and supporting the integrity of the family unit, at times sublimating individual members needs/desires for the welfare of the family.

**Padres/Hijos de Crianza** - an informal, biological family sanctioned, foster parent-child relationship and guardianship system.

**Compadrazgo** (God-parent) - Using religious/secular rituals (e.g. baptism or marriage) to ascribe co-parenting and family rites/duties to select family members and/or friends.

**Respeto** - The display of social esteem and respect for the individual. Elders and children, in particular, are highly regarded and socially esteemed.

**Personalismo** - An intrinsic value in establishing cooperative and personal relationships.

**Lenguaje, Comida Criolla y Musica Latina** - Use of the Spanish language, cuisine and Spanish music as a cultural bond and medium of social/emotional expression.

**Confianza** - The process of establishing social intimacy and trust.

**Machismo** - An ascribed social role and expected set of male characteristics that include the male acting as the provider and protector of the family; sustaining a pronounced sense power, invulnerability and virility; maintaining a balance between the traditional paternal gender role and esteem for the maternal role.

**Marianismo** - (The female counterpart to machismo). An ascribed social role and expected set of female characteristics that include the female acting as the nurturer and supporter of the family; sustaining a pronounced sense of vulnerability and virtue; maintaining a balance between the traditional maternal gender role and an esteem for the paternal role.

**Hembrismo** – Has its historical roots in the matriarchal nature of various indigenous Caribbean tribes. It acknowledges the powerful aspects of women in the Latino culture. Adherence to the norm is a means of preserving the woman’s cultural identity and beliefs while creating a more flexible role for themselves in mainstream culture.

**Fatalismo** - A belief in divine intervention and/or predetermination (fate); at times employed as a coping mechanism for situations believed to be out of one's control.
Appendix D

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

**Oral Histories of a Puerto Rican and (Non-Puerto Rican) Latino Individual: The Puerto Rican/Latino Experience.**

Each student will complete 2 papers that integrate the course content on the Puerto Rican/Latino experience with an oral history of a Puerto Rican individual and a (non-Puerto Rican) Latino individual. *The individual chosen for the Oral History cannot be a family member or friend.* The student should choose an individual whose experiences afford them an opportunity to discuss personal and community experiences as a Puerto Rican/Latino. The papers should integrate and reference class readings. The following outline should guide the oral history taking:

I. Give a brief description of the person’s background (e.g. age, gender, income, family composition, educational/occupational experience, religious/spiritual/political affiliation).
   - Where were they born, in the United States or country of origin? How long have they been in the United States?
   - Why did they or their family leave? Who did they leave behind?
   - Do they visit or keep contact with their relatives in the place of origin?
   - How do they define themselves culturally? Do they identify themselves ethnically, as Puerto Rican, Hispanics and/or Latinos? Do they identify themselves racially?
   - What, if anything, do they do to retain their Puerto Rican/Latino cultural identity/values?
   - Are they Spanish, English or bilingual speakers?
   - What worldview do they hold (e.g. Traditional, Western or both)? Give examples of their worldview.
   - Do they use Spanish dichos/metaphors and are they part of their way of looking at their life experiences? Give examples of their use of dichos/metaphors.
   - What, if any, are their religious/spiritual practices? How are they beneficial?
   - What are their cultural perspectives regarding aging and the care of the elderly?
   - How, if at all, is their self-defined cultural identity different from other family members?
   - How do they compare and contrast their cultural group experience with other Latino groups?
   - What micro and/or macro Puerto Rican cultural/social challenge(s) have they experienced in the northeast?
   - In their opinion, what is the political status and relationship of their country/place of origin and the U.S./mainstream culture
   - In their opinion, what keeps the Puerto Rican/Latino population from progressing economically and socially in their country/place of origin and/or in the U.S.?
• How do they compare and contrast their ethno-cultural group experiences with Puerto Rican and other Latino groups?

II Summary & Analysis
• From your observations during the interview, what Latino values/practices/norms did your interviewee display (Please use the Spanish word for the Latino term you are identifying)

(In the last 2 questions do not generalize what you have learned. Be specific about what you have learned, taking into account everything that you have covered during your interview)
• What are the similarities and differences (e.g. socially, culturally or politically) between your personal experiences and that of the Puerto Rican/Latino individual that you have interviewed?
• How has this oral history informed your understanding of the similarities and differences between Puerto Rican and other Latino group member’s experiences?
• How will this understanding affect your future practice regarding micro/macro cultural considerations when working with the Puerto Rican/Latino client population?

Group Presentation about a Latino Community Group: The Latino Experience

Each group will make a 30-45 minute class presentation about a self-selected geographic Latino community (other than a Puerto Rican community). Each group will decide on the content and format of the presentation. The group is expected to provide a description of their chosen Latino group’s geographic community (e.g. demographic characteristics, community issues/concerns, social, economic and political issues/needs/resources, cultural/religious/spiritual practices) by taking a walking tour and interviewing key community members/stakeholders of their respective community. Please remember to adhere to the issue of confidentiality by not using actual names or identifying factors. Creativity is encouraged through the use and display of cultural, national and/or regional items depicting the Latino group’s history, food, dress, music, holidays, religion/spiritual beliefs, art forms etc. Presentation handouts and/or visual aids are encouraged to stimulate understanding, provide factual information and/or resources about the group you will be presenting.

II. Summary: (This section of the presentation should be at least 10 minutes in length. It should integrate class discussions and readings; a written copy should be prepared for the instructor).
A. What are the similarities and differences (e.g. socially, culturally or politically) between this community and that of the Puerto Rican community?
B. Evaluate your experience with this group project? How has this presentation changed your understanding of this Latino community?
C. How will this understanding affect your micro/macro future practice with clients from this Latino community?
### Table 1
**Summary of Course Content Survey**  
The Puerto Rican/Latino/a Experience Course  
Fall 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Content</th>
<th>Heard about this in a class discussion or lecture</th>
<th>Read about this in assigned reading</th>
<th>Did written assignment that included this topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Student Respondents: 17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) The history and the political status of Puerto Rico.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Latino cultural values as they influence the molding of the Puerto Rican/Latino identity and the acculturation process.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) The multidimensional nature of individual racial/ethnic identity among Puerto Rican/Latino populations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) The history and causes of Puerto Rican/Latino/U.S. migration patterns and the psychological, social, economic and political consequences on Latino populations.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) The social, political, cultural, economic forces that generate inequalities for Puerto Rican/Latinos and oppressive experiences (e.g. language, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, or worldview).</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) The knowledge of culturally sensitive, advocacy and empowerment practices employed when working with Latino populations; as well as, self exploration of professional/personal values and individual commitment to working with a racially/culturally/historically diverse population.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Indian Grandparents Parenting Their Grandchildren in Michigan

A Qualitative Study Report 2005

Prepared by
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Sponsors
Pearl J. Aldrich Endowment in Gerontology Award
Families and Communities Together (FACT) Grant
School of Social Work, Michigan State University
Acknowledgments

The Pearl J. Aldrich Endowment in Gerontology Award, a grant from Families and Communities Together (FACT), and the School of Social Work, Michigan State University, funded this research project. The researcher expresses gratitude to the funders.

Appreciation is respectfully extended to the many American Indian grandparents who shared their life experiences, awareness and use of services, interactions with the Social Work profession in various fields, and their points of view, which they offered so generously and candidly.

Secondly, we acknowledge the collaboration with the Saginaw Inter-Tribal Center and the late Victoria “Vicki” Miller, director, for her support and assistance in facilitating opportunities to interview American Indian grandparents to gain an understanding of their thoughts on relevant issues involved in parenting grandchildren.

A special thank you is extended to the Indian Outreach Workers, Community Health Representatives and Elder Advocates who were instrumental in facilitating contacts with the grandparents parenting their grandchildren.

Recognition is given to all of the Social Work students involved in the study—Deanna DeHaven, Jerilyn Church, Emily Lietz, Megan Metzger, Emily Sorroche, Lauren Walsh, Janet Yo—with a special acknowledgment of Angelique Day (MSW), Glenn Stutzky (MSW) and Emily Proctor (BSW). These students learned the importance of working with American Indian tribal nations and bands, contributed to this research through interviews and the development of a number of Fact Sheets, shared their thoughts and concerns, and grew in numerous ways through this experience.
A qualitative study was conducted with American Indian grandparents in Michigan to collect background data, information on issues that impact the grandparents’ decision to parent their grandchildren and responses to the question, “What should Social Work students know as they work with American Indian grandparents and their communities?”

Introduction

American Indian grandparents are part of the growing phenomenon of grandparents becoming the sole providers of care for their grandchildren. Erera (2002) indicated American Indians represent 1% of the 5.5 million grandparents in the United States providing formal care of grandchildren.

This phenomenon is increasing and spans all racial, ethnic, cultural, educational attainment and socioeconomic stratum. Grandparents often times find themselves in this role unexpectedly due to crisis situations, resulting in little time for preparation to make the necessary changes in their lifestyles that raising grandchildren demands. The crises that cause grandparents to parent their grandchildren include: parental abandonment, incarceration, alcoholism, drug addiction, divorce, dependency, serious illness, death, unemployment, lack of child care, adolescent pregnancy and mental health disorders (Bell & Garner 1996; Brownell & Berman 2000; Fuller-Thomson, Mills 2001).

While American Indian grandparents are raising their grandchildren in response to similar situations, three additional reasons are specific to the population. First, grandparents are viewed as historians and transmitters of culture and language to their grandchildren. In the context of extended family, grandparents raising grandchildren is a long-held cultural tradition. Unfortunately for some grandparents, they are not simply one component of a highly-functioning extended family system, but they have become the sole providers of care for their grandchildren.

Secondly, a high rate of unemployment on many reservations results in the adult children traveling long distances for employment and/or seeking educational opportunities, often leaving their children with grandparents to grow up in a tribal community with the expectation of maintaining their tribal identity and extended family ties (Aldous, 1989; Ferraro 2001; Herring 1993; Weibel-Orlando, 1990). The grandparents are often supportive of the adult children’s decisions and provide the needed child care on the reservations.

A third reason American Indian grandparents parent their grandchildren is for fear of the grandchildren being removed from home and put into the foster care system. This fear is historically relevant to many of the grandparents because when they were children, often they were removed from their homes and placed in residential boarding schools, foster care and/or adoptive homes of non-American Indians. This resulted in the loss of their tribal culture, language and community. Such fears provided the rationale for passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978. Until the ICWA, 25% of American Indian
children were removed from their homes. The Act was created as a safeguard against the removal of the children from their homes, families, extended families and tribal nations. While the ICWA exists, the fear remains and continues to cause grandparents to resist seeking social, educational and human services for themselves and their grandchildren. An extensive literature review revealed little research exists related to American Indian grandparents parenting their grandchildren. Research conducted on this topic is needed and would be valuable and beneficial to American Indian communities and the social, educational and human service providers working with them. Given the inadequate

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**Selected statistics regarding American Indians**

*Source: U.S. Census (2000)*

- 558 American Indian tribes, villages and Alaskan nations are recognized by the U.S. government.
- 13 of the federally-recognized tribes are represented in Michigan (MI Dept. of Civil Rights, 2005-06)
- 281,421,906 American Indians reside in the U.S., with a median age of 28.0 years.
- 9,938,444 American Indians reside in Michigan, with a median age of 35.4 years.
- Michigan holds the tenth highest population of American Indians within a U.S. state.
- 70,044 American Indian grandparents were reported to be living with and responsible for their own grandchildren under the age of 18 years.

- Grandchildren had been living in their grandparents’ homes as follows:
  - 9,213 - shorter than 6 months
  - 8,512 - 6 to 11 months
  - 17,031 - 1 or 2 years
  - 10,830 - 3 or 4 years
  - 96,661 - 5 years or more

- Of 41,963 American Indian children residing in Michigan:
  - 19.8% were living in poverty
  - 91.0% attended public schools
  - 13.0% of ages 5-15 years had a disability
  - 15.7% of ages 16-19 were high school drop outs
research, this author conducted a qualitative study, which included interviews with American Indian grandparents. Data was collected regarding demographics and the needs and concerns of American Indian grandparents raising their grandchildren. While not all of the findings can be shared in this venue, the major findings provided in this report will increase knowledge and awareness of the needs and issues of concern for American Indian grandparents parenting their grandchildren in Michigan.

The interviews

Thirty-one individual interviews and 27 focus group sessions (with an average of nine members per group) were conducted over a two-year period, including tribal nations and bands located in Michigan’s Upper and Lower Peninsulas. The maps on pages 6 and 7 identify the locations of the counties where the interviews and focus groups were conducted with the federally-recognized tribes.

The study required a significant investment of time and travel to engage in relationships with those who were interviewed. Frequently, a trip was made to introduce the research project, and a second visit was scheduled to actually conduct the research. This was done, in part, to establish rapport and develop a comfort level between the researchers and the participants. Once the relationships were established, many times the researchers were invited and encouraged to stay for upcoming activities (e.g., Pow wow, fish fry, art exhibit). Researchers were repeatedly asked, “When are you coming back?” This demonstrated the importance of researchers taking time to foster relationships with the people in their communities.

Legal status and ICWA

The study findings revealed that many of the American Indian grandparents who were caring for their grandchildren did so with no official legal status established, having no knowledge of the ICWA, or if they were aware of the Act, they felt it was not helpful for them in their particular situation. Fewer than one-third of those interviewed individually found the Act to be helpful.

Reasons for parenting grandchildren

The study found many of the American Indian grandparents were caring for their grandchildren despite their own serious health issues. Their reasons for providing care included the following parental issues: substance abuse, abandonment, unemployment, incarceration, lack of day care, teen pregnancy, separation/divorce, death, child abuse, rights terminated and serious illnesses. In addition, the cultural tradition of raising grandchildren was part of their rationale as well as grandparents not wanting their grandchildren to be raised by anyone else (e.g., foster care).

Parent and/or relative visitations

A significant benefit for the grandchildren living with their grandparents was the majority of them received visits from at least one parent and/or family member on a regular basis. Only two had no contact with parents or family members. Therefore, most of these children will grow up knowing their parents,
extended family members and the affiliation of their tribal nation or band as a result of their grandparents’ commitment to raise them.

**Services accessed by grandparents for their grandchildren**

The two services most often accessed by the grandparents for the care of their grandchildren were Medicaid and financial assistance. In addition, tribal services, the WIC program, school programs, food stamps, tribal health services, Supplemental Security Income, day care, Social Security, school lunch program, disability settlement, disability services, private insurance, dental services and child support were utilized. Of the 31 grandparents interviewed, seven received no services—four not wanting to seek services, two did not meet the criteria for any program, and one did not seek services due to fear of the system.

**Impact of Indian boarding schools**

Even though only four of the grandparents had attended an Indian boarding school as youngsters, during the individual interviews and focus groups the issue of maltreatment by boarding school personnel was discussed at length. Several participants had grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and siblings who had attended these schools. Not all participants felt negatively about the boarding school experience, but the majority shared their own memories or those of relatives who had had difficult experiences in these institutions. These experiences were part of the rationale as to why the grandparents made the decision to parent their grandchildren. Memories and shared experiences provided a foundation for fear of social service systems. As a result, many of the grandparents felt they were best able to provide the safest care for their grandchildren.

**Training and service needs identified**

The grandparents were asked if there were any services or training not currently available that they felt would be helpful in raising their grandchildren. Many felt they did not need any services; however, there were some who felt grandparent support groups would be beneficial in their communities. Others indicated they would like to learn how to help their grandchildren with schoolwork, self-esteem and motivation issues and medical issues.

**Social work with American Indian communities**

The grandparents shared both positive and negative experiences with the Social Work profession in a variety of fields (Hospital, Hospice, School, Social Services, etc.). The grandparents appeared to have an understanding of the difficulties social workers sometimes have in their positions (e.g., “too much paperwork,” “heavy caseload,” “too much red tape”). They were appreciative of the positive interactions they had had with social workers and indicated their experiences brought them comfort.

Unfortunately, there were more negative than positive experiences with social workers reported by the participants.
Many grandparents felt they were being “judged,” “talked down to” and felt the social workers had “all the power.” They recommended that Social Work students learn the “true history” of the American Indian people, gain experience in working in American Indian communities, show respect, engage in cultural sensitivity training, receive training on ICWA and become knowledgeable of both the tribal and state social service systems.

**Informational Notebook**

The Findings in this report were presented in an Informational Notebook that was distributed to key leaders within American Indian communities across Michigan. The Informational Notebook included Fact Sheets and Reference Sheets developed and/or researched to assist in addressing some of the issues and concerns expressed by the grandparents. The materials were designed to be easily reproduced and disseminated as appropriate to individuals or groups of community members to further discussions on the topic of kinship care relationships in American Indian communities.
Federally-recognized tribes in Michigan

Focus groups (n=27)

Shaded counties represent locations where focus group meetings were held.

- Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians (Dowagiac)
- Match-e-be-nash-she-wish AKA: Gun Lake Band of Potawatomi (Wayland)
- Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi (Fulton)
- Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians (Petoskey)
- Little River Band of Ottawa Indians (Manistee)
- Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians (Suttons Bay)
- Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (Watersmeet)
- Hannahville Indian Community (Wilson)
- Keweenaw Bay Indian Community (Baraga)
- Keweenaw Bay Indian Community (Baraga)
- Bay Mills Indian Community (Brimley)
- Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (Mt. Pleasant)
- Bay Mills Indian Community (Brimley)
Major findings
of individual interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background data of participating grandparents</th>
<th>Background data of the grandchildren of participating grandparents</th>
<th>Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) influence on legal status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gender and age</strong></td>
<td>15 Not helpful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranged in age from 43 to 86</td>
<td>26 Male grandchildren ranged in age from 18 months to 23 years</td>
<td>9 Not aware of ICWA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age was 59.7</td>
<td>Average was 12.5 years</td>
<td>7 Was helpful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Living arrangement</strong></td>
<td>19 Female grandchildren ranged in age from 2 years to 20 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Lived off reservation land (cities/rural areas)</td>
<td>Average was 10.2 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Lived on reservation land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Attended a boarding school as children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Married</td>
<td><strong>Number of years grandchildren lived in home of grandparent(s)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Widowed</td>
<td>Ranged from 1 month to 21 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Single</td>
<td>Average was 9 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Divorced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Separated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of grandchildren living in home of grandparent(s)</strong></td>
<td>Some grandparents had up to three children living in their homes; however, most homes had only one child.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legal status held by grandparents relative to their grandchildren</strong></td>
<td><strong>Health issues reported ranged from zero to five per grandparent.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 No legal relationship</td>
<td>11 Diabetes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Adopted the grandchildren</td>
<td>8 Heart disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Obtained guardianship</td>
<td>7 Arthritis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Became a foster care parent of the grandchildren</td>
<td>5 High blood pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender and age</strong></td>
<td>3 Hypertension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Male grandchildren ranged in age from 18 months to 23 years</td>
<td>2 Depression</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average was 12.5 years</td>
<td>2 Back/spine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Female grandchildren ranged in age from 2 years to 20 years</td>
<td>2 Stroke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average was 10.2 years</td>
<td>2 Hip problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of years grandchildren lived in home of grandparent(s)</strong></td>
<td>2 Parkinson’s disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranged from 1 month to 21 years</td>
<td>2 Thyroid disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average was 9 years</td>
<td>1 Cirrhoses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legal status held by grandparents relative to their grandchildren</strong></td>
<td>1 Foot pain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 No legal relationship</td>
<td>1 Paralysis of leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Adopted the grandchildren</td>
<td>1 Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Obtained guardianship</td>
<td>1 Legally blind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Became a foster care parent of the grandchildren</td>
<td>1 Pancreatic disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legal status held by grandparents relative to their grandchildren</strong></td>
<td>1 Renal failure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 No legal relationship</td>
<td>8 No major health issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reasons for caring for their grandchildren

The reasons are reported as separate categories; however, as many as five reasons occurred for some of the families:

- 26 Substance abuse
- 8 Abandonment
- 5 Parent(s) unemployed
- 5 Incarceration
- 5 Lack of day care
- 4 Teen pregnancy
- 4 Separation/divorce
- 2 Death
- 2 Child abuse
- 2 Mother in school
- 1 Parental rights terminated
- 1 Parental mental disorder
- 1 Serious illness
- 1 Child had health problems
- 1 Parent had learning disability
- 1 Cultural tradition
- 1 Did not want grandchild to be taken to anyone else (foster care)

Visits to grandchildren by at least one parent and/or family member

21 Children had visits from at least one parent and family members
5 Children had visits from family members only
3 Children had visits from a parent only
2 Children had no visits from a parent or family member

Services used by grandparents to assist in the care of their grandchildren

- Medicaid
- Financial assistance
- Tribal services (food, heat, weatherization)
- WIC program
- School programs
- Food stamps
- Tribal health services
- Supplemental Security Income
- Day care
- Social Security
- School lunch program
- Disability services
- Disability settlement
- Private insurance
- Dental
- Child support
- 8 None; five did not want to seek services

(one due to fear of the system); two did not meet criteria for any program; and one father provided for his child

Services and training not available to grandparents but would be helpful in the care of their grandchildren

24 Indicated they did not need any services, with one indicating she “would not ask” and another indicated “the tribe has all the services that I need at this time.”
3 Respite care
1 Learn how to use a feed tube
1 Support group for grandparents
1 Help with school work for both children
1 Medication for grandchild with ADD and special education services
1 Learn how to build grandchild’s self esteem and get her motivated
Grandparents’ experience with social workers

The grandparents reported having had both positive and negative experiences with social workers in various fields of the profession, which included: School, Hospice, Hospital, Family Independence Agency (known now as the Department of Human Services), Child Welfare, Mental Health, Family Services, Foster Care and Tribal Social Services.

The positive experiences the grandparents shared included assistance with adoptions, hospital discharge planning, foster care training and home visits, which made the process more personal and reassuring. The grandparents felt they were treated nicely and that most social workers want to be helpful. Also, the grandparents were aware of how their own attitudes may impact their interactions with social workers.

The negative experiences reported by the grandparents are described in the following comments: “There is a need for the workers to understand the culture.” “The lack of rapport building resulting in a lack of trust.” “Workers do not listen.” “I had feelings of being judged, talked down to and disrespected.” They also indicated that some of the workers were “difficult to contact,” “had high caseloads, too much paperwork,” “lacked time” and were “experiencing burnout.”

Six of the grandparents indicated they had “limited” to “no contact” with social workers and, therefore, felt they did not have comments to share in response to this question.

Education and training that Social Work students need to be able to work with American Indian grandparents and their communities

The majority of the American Indian grandparents who had had experiences with social workers shared their recommendations as to what they thought students should learn to become social workers in order to best serve American Indian grandparents and their communities. They would require students to:

- Engage in culturally-sensitive training to improve services. Many felt they were “judged or disregarded by social workers because of cultural differences.” They would like students to know more about the culture so they do not “stigmatize or prejudge Indian people.”
- “Be here for awhile first; learn not to push their own personal values on our people.” They would like students to invest in their communities and get to know “Indian people.”
- Develop an understanding of “our true history.” “They should learn why American Indians don’t trust the government or non-Indian society.”
- Be aware of body language.
- “If possible, when going into a native home, have an American Indian social worker accompany them.”
- Invite American Indian grandparents to come into the classroom to share their culture, stories and beliefs. “Learning from books is great, but learning from the people is important.”

- Enroll in American Indian cultural courses. They recommend students:
  - “Be open minded to different beliefs, accept what you see.” “Be respectful of the people’s needs, more empathic.” “Be more responsive and in a timely manner.” “Put client first.” “Maintain regular contact with clients.” “Be more alert and understanding.”
  - Understand that American Indians are still targets of racism. “The logo issues are a prime illustration of the ignorance that still exists.” “We are perceived as abusers of the system, not taxpayers, or rich due to some tribes having casinos.”
  - “Don’t get hurt feelings when American Indians don’t want to talk to them.” “Give them time, be patient.” “Don’t be overly-friendly.” “Be kind and good to our elders.” “Grandparents need to feel they can trust the person before they can let down their guard.” “Our elders were in the system (e.g., boarding school, foster care, adoption); they know the system, and they fear it.” “There is still some bitterness in how Indian children were treated in the boarding schools.”
  - “Know what is offered and how to access these services for the benefit of clients—tribal nations may have educational, social, health and human services for tribal members.”
  - “Be trained how to avoid burnout.”

Lastly, they recommend colleges and universities:

- Develop internships for students to learn while working within American Indian communities.
**Reasons for caring for their grandchildren**

The participants in the focus groups shared the reasons why American Indian grandparents care for their grandchildren. The major reasons included: substance abuse, divorce and separation, economic needs, teen pregnancy, lack of day care, health issues of parent or grandchild, and death of one or both parents.

Grandparents also shared that they loved their grandchildren and wanted to make sure they were taken care of properly and not abused. The cultural aspects of the reasons grandparents were raising their grandchildren included “to teach them about the Indian culture” and “We are Indian, and that is our role; it is what we do.”

**Are grandparents accessing social, educational and health services that are available to them? If yes, what services? If no, why not?**

Several of the grandparents indicated they were unaware of the services available to them. The services accessed most often were medical and dental. American Indian grandparents were more likely to use the services provided by their tribal nations. One focus group indicated the grandparents only accessed services if they were required to do so by the court.

The reasons given for not accessing services included: “not being aware of the services,” “Indian people are independent and private, and they don’t want to lose their grandchildren to the system, so they make do.”

They were also reluctant to access non-tribal services for “fear of the system,” “there is too much red tape,” and they felt the workers are “not Indian-friendly, belittle them and are overworked.” Some of the grandparents felt like they were “begging for services.”

Many, but not all of the grandparents discussed their boarding school experiences, which included maltreatment and being taught their culture was of no value. This is another reason why some of them want to stay away from non-tribal services. A smaller number of participants indicated their experience in boarding school was not negative and, therefore, did not impact their seeking services.

**How can social, educational and health services currently available be improved to increase their use?**

The first recommendation made was to improve awareness of the services available. Such awareness can be attained by including information in tribal newspapers, newsletters and flyers (not only focused on parents, but including grandparents). Agency representatives should be invited to attend meetings to present the services offered in the local area. Other recommendations were to: improve the communication between agencies (DHS/tribal, etc.) and have the agencies’ information available at the tribal offices; assign more social workers to make home visits to explain the services available; and/or hold a grandparent forum.

Additional suggestions included: “cut the red tape,” “improve communication between worker and client (less judgmental),” “learn the American Indian way,” “sponsor cultural sensitivity training presented by...”
American Indians,” and “give grandparents the same resources received by foster care parents.”

**What type of training is needed to assist grandparents in parenting their grandchildren?**

Focus group participants had several recommendations for training they would like to receive. These included:

- Parenting and discipline training for the adult children so they can resume their parenting responsibilities;
- Grandparent support groups; and awareness of social and financial programs available on and off the reservation land. They would like to learn: how to attain legal power to make decisions for the grandchildren’s welfare; how schools are different now-a-days; and how to get involved in school activities. They would like to receive information on health issues and behavioral issues (ADHD, ADD) and training on computers and the Internet so they can monitor their grandchildren’s Internet activities.

The grandparents voiced requests for services designed to help the grandchildren such as counseling and drug education, tutors for grandchildren and a place for them to meet, tribal cultural classes and a place for the grandchildren to learn respect for their elders.

A small number of participants stated they did not need or want any training. They indicated they had had training and/or they would raise their grandchildren in their own way.

**Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) influence on grandparents parenting their grandchildren**

The focus group participants were divided on their opinions in response to this question. Approximately half felt that the Act had helped them with adoption and/or resulted in their grandchildren living with them.

They felt the social workers did a good job, and the children were placed with their families and within their tribal nations, which provided the children an opportunity to learn about their cultural values and tribal identity.

One-fourth of the grandparents felt, despite the Act, their grandchildren and tribal children were being removed and placed outside of the tribal nations. Still others did not know of the Act until it was “too late,” and the child was already in the court and/or social service system. The remaining members of the focus groups indicated they were not aware of the Act.

**Grandparents’ experience with social workers**

Two-thirds of the participants reported having had experiences with social workers that were positive, negative or both. The fields of Social Work that the grandparents had interactions with included: Hospital, Nursing Home, Social Services (tribal and state), Child Welfare, and Indian Outreach Workers at DHS. The positive experiences reported were with Medical and Nursing Home personnel, School Social Workers, Indian Outreach Workers at DHS and Tribal Social Services. One focus group indicated they felt the quality of the interaction was dependent on each worker’s personality. Again, as in the responses from the individual
interviews, the participants of the focus groups were aware of how overburdened social workers are in their positions. Several of the grandparents who had interacted with social workers shared numerous negative experiences and strong opinions in regard to the Social Work profession.

The direct quotes are shared to capture the essence of the grandparents’ thoughts and feelings about their interactions.

- “I went to get food stamps; it was very intimidating and embarrassing.”
- “They think they are perfect, they have all the power. They all think they know everything, they are just book smart. Half of them don’t have kids.”
- “Not a good experience; the child welfare worker removed our grandchildren.”
- “In our county, we were treated like beggars.”
- “Social workers should not try to force their own ways of doing things upon grandparents. They look at our lifestyle negatively.”
- “I wouldn’t touch a social worker with a 10-foot pole. They need to stay away; I don’t bother with them; they have no mercy.”
- “Social workers misdiagnose children.”
- “We had our grandchild since birth, the social worker took him away at two years of age.”
- “They are very impersonal and brisk. They put the blame on the client.” One worker had stated, “Why should the State of Michigan support you? Get a job and start supporting yourself.”
- “I was always scared even though I was a social worker myself; I had no trust.”

One-third of the participants had no experience with members of the Social Work profession.

**Education and training**

**Social Work students need to be able to work with American Indian grandparents and their communities**

The personal qualities the grandparents would like social workers to have included: awareness of their own prejudices, knowledge of their own culture and the American Indian culture, respect for older persons; be responsible, kind, and generous; and talk nice. Social workers should be patient, understanding, compassionate, able to communicate, have more empathy, be able to keep matters confidential, and learn to respect traditions.

In addition to desired personal qualities, the grandparents provided several recommendations, which would be best addressed by Social Work academic programs. A partial listing of the recommendations is provided:
“Realize that not all American Indians are the same. Learn the history and experiences of the people.”


“Understand and accept Indian child-rearing techniques.”

“Internships, hands-on training with family involvement.”

“Students should participate in role playing with people who are from the American Indian culture.”

“Social workers need to be knowledgeable and up-to-date on resources and eligibility requirements for state and tribal services.”

“Receive direct exposure to alcohol/drug abuse as it affects native people.”

“Learn native traditions/customs.”

“Work with the grandparents and the grandchildren.”

“Educate more American Indian social workers. Tribal workers have the cultural awareness and understand that two sets of laws (tribal and state) exist.”

“Take away the class that teaches them to be rude.”
According to the U.S. Census (2000), there are approximately 2.1 million children being raised by a grandparent or other relative without a parent present in the home. Since 1990, the number of grandparents raising grandchildren without a parent present in the home has increased 53%.

Factors that account for the increase in children being raised by grandparents include:

- Substance abuse
- Death of parent
- Child abuse/neglect
- Abandonment
- Teen pregnancy
- HIV/AIDS
- Death
- Unemployment
- Incarceration
- Divorce
- Mental and physical health issues
- Poverty
- Domestic violence
- A parent’s unwillingness to parent
- A grandchild with physical, emotional or behavioral issues.
**Fact sheet #2**

**Legal options of grandparents raising grandchildren**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power of Attorney (POA)</th>
<th>Foster care</th>
<th>Adoption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>■ Child’s birth parents retain legal custody.</td>
<td>■ Court maintains legal custody of the child.</td>
<td>■ Grandparent has sole physical and legal custody of the child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Grandparent is allowed to make legal, financial and health care decisions on behalf of the child.</td>
<td>■ Grandparent is awarded only physical custody.</td>
<td>■ Parental rights are terminated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Grandparent must obtain a foster care license.</td>
<td>■ Grandparent must maintain residency within the state in which the guardianship is established.</td>
<td>■ Adoption is the only secure and permanent form of custody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Grandparent is afforded a higher degree of legal protection than a POA provides.</td>
<td>■ Grandparent is eligible to receive the following governmental benefits:</td>
<td>■ Grandparent must complete a favorable adoptive home study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Medical insurance (Medicaid)</td>
<td>➢ Adoption subsidy (usually equal to the foster care payment) if the child has special needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Day care assistance</td>
<td>➢ Unlike a foster care payment, an adoption subsidy may extend to the child’s college years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Financial subsidy</td>
<td>➢ Grandparents may be eligible for additional assistance if they meet low-income guidelines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Clothing allowance.</td>
<td>▶ Guardianship:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Guardianship is reviewed by the court annually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>➢ Guardianship can be terminated upon a petition by the parent if the court rules that the parent is not able to provide a safe and stable environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>■ Grandparent must comply with all pre-established court visitation agreements.</td>
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</table>

**Guardianship**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardianship</th>
<th>Foster care</th>
<th>Adoption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>■ Grandparent maintains both physical and legal custody of child.</td>
<td>■ Grandparent is awarded only physical custody.</td>
<td>■ Parental rights are terminated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Parent’s legal rights are suspended but are NOT terminated.</td>
<td>■ Grandparent must obtain a foster care license.</td>
<td>■ Adoption is the only secure and permanent form of custody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ Grandparent must maintain residency within the state in which the guardianship is established.</td>
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Fact sheet #3
Support groups for grandparents raising grandchildren

What do support groups do?

- Provide an opportunity to talk with other grandparents about similar concerns they may have in regard to their grandchildren.
- Allow grandparents to benefit from the experiences of others by talking about specific problems and receiving suggestions from others who have faced similar problems.
- Educate members through guest speakers who talk about various issues of interest to the grandparents. The issues may include health, legal, financial, educational, psychological and developmental concerns.
- Discuss specific issues that a tribal nation’s programs and services may be able to address, in addition to the types of programs and services sponsored by national and local governments.

- Create an awareness of the fact that more and more grandparents are becoming the sole providers of care for their grandchildren.

How would I start a support group?

- Become aware of the grandparents’ current situations (working, retired, children in school, children not yet school age, disabilities of grandparents and grandchildren, etc.). This information will help to determine the best time and day to hold meetings.
- Locate a convenient and safe place to meet for two hours such as someone’s home, tribal community center, tribal or non-tribal senior center.
- Publicize the meeting time and location with school officials and agencies working with grandparents and grandchildren and include an announcement in tribal and local newspapers.
- Seek volunteers in the community to provide care and supervision of grandchildren, allowing the grandparents to participate in the group and not have to be concerned about the care of their grandchildren while they are in the meeting.

What happens at the first meeting?

- The first meeting can be simple, inviting each grandparent in attendance to share why he/she decided to come to the meeting.
- It should be made clear that all information shared within the group meeting is expected to be kept confidential.
- Each participant can choose to share his/her story; however, some may need time to feel comfortable before they will be able to share the details of their situation.
Fact sheet #3 – continued
Support groups for grandparents raising grandchildren

- Ask for volunteers to help plan future meetings. If the group desires, specific roles can be assigned.

- Plan a meeting schedule based on how frequently the group wants to meet (at least monthly is recommended).

- Determine who is eligible to attend.

- Plan for a phone network. Exchange phone numbers or set up a phone tree for emergencies or for personal support.

- Remember to celebrate the triumphs and the rewards of raising grandchildren in addition to discussing the challenges.

- Provide refreshments.
Fact sheet #4

Concern for grandparents who are raising their grandchildren and experiencing maltreatment, neglect or exploitation

Unfortunately, some grandparents experience maltreatment, neglect and/or exploitation by the very grandchildren for whom they provide care. The following terms describe what some grandparents may experience:

- **Physical maltreatment:** pushing, shoving, slapping, hitting, pinching, removing medications.

- **Psychological maltreatment:** yelling, name-calling, harming animals of elder, picking on younger siblings to get what they want.

- **Exploitation:** financial or material abuse such as taking money or possessions without permission, damaging or destroying property.

- **Neglect:** ignoring or refusing need for food and/or medical attention.

**Why would someone abuse or neglect their grandparent?**

- The grandchild is angry at the absent parent(s) and lashes out at the grandparent.

- The grandchild may feel overwhelmed and abandoned by the parent(s) and needs to express his/her frustration, sadness and loss.

- Peer group pressure may encourage a grandchild to take belongings of a grandparent such as car, money, TV or checkbook.

- Substance abuse or addiction may cause a grandchild to push or shove a grandparent, yell or scream, or to take belongings to sell to get money to purchase the substances.

- Coming from an abusive home and trying to adjust to a grandparent’s home with new rules and expectations may result in stress that translates into acting out behaviors.

- The grandchild may have disabilities that can cause irrational or abusive behavior regardless of how kindly the grandparent treats the child.

- If the grandparent played a role in the removal of the grandchild from the parents’ home, there may be some resentment and anger directed toward the grandparent. The grandparent may be seen as the person who “ruined my (the grandchild’s) life.”
Fact sheet #4 – continued
Concern for grandparents who are raising their grandchildren and experiencing maltreatment, neglect or exploitation

What can a grandparent do to be safe from harm?

- Get grandchildren the help they need such as tutoring, counseling, medical and/or dental care.
- Ask a friend or relative who is available to provide respite care to allow for a break from caregiving.
- Maintain and increase friendships.
- Have friends come to visit in the home.
- Keep in contact with neighbors.
- Volunteer or join a group or organization.
- Have regular medical, dental or shopping trips planned.
- Keep belongings neat and orderly; know where the checkbook and credit cards are, have incoming checks directly deposited into an account.
- Pay his/her own bills if possible.
- Get legal advice before making arrangements for someone to take care of them in exchange for their property, possessions or money.
- Know where to go for help if the grandparent thinks he or she is being mistreated, neglected or exploited.
- Ask for help when it’s needed.
- Call 911 if in need of immediate help.
Respite care provides relief to grandparents who are caring for grandchildren either formally or informally. Regardless of age, most grandparents may need respite from their responsibilities in order to maintain the physical and emotional strength they need to effectively care for their grandchildren.

Benefits of respite

- Supports and preserves the family or grandparent relationship.
- Decreases individual and family stresses associated with kinship care.
- Postpones the need for foster care placement of the grandchild.

Types of respite

- Brief, regularly-scheduled episodes, which allow grandparents to do routine chores and/or take a break.
- Sporadic, longer periods, which allow grandparents to leave town for business or vacation, go into the hospital or attend to another emergency.

Respite resources

Adult Well-being Services of Detroit

Respite services are offered through the Grandparents Rearing Grandchildren Program. Foster grandparents are trained to provide in-home care for children, allowing grandparents to accomplish essential tasks such as going to the doctor or shopping. Educational workshops, support groups and individual information and assistance are also available. For more information, call (313) 833-3765 or visit http://www.awbs.org.

Southwest Michigan Region IV Area Agency on Aging Senior Volunteers Program

Adapted from the national respite model developed by the National Council on Aging (NCOA), the Family Friends Program offers respite care for grandparents raising grandchildren in high stress situations. This state-funded program uses National Family Caregiver Support Program dollars in addition to United Way and Strong Families/Safe Children monies to support program operations. Senior volunteers provide between four and 12 hours a week of in-home respite care. Volunteers also take children to planned activities outside the home in order to decrease the amount of stress caregivers may experience in raising their grandchildren. For more information, call AAA Senior Volunteer Programs at (269) 983-7058 or visit www.region-iv.org. You can also visit the Family Friends Program at www.family-friends.org.

ARCH National Respite Network and Resource Center

ARCH assists and promotes the development of quality respite and crisis care programs, helps families locate respite and crisis care services in their communities, and serves as a strong voice for respite in all forums. Resources related to respite services are available and include: Bringing respite to your community: A start-up manual and Evaluating and reporting outcomes: A guide for respite and crisis care managers. ARCH also provides resource information on state coalitions for respite in each state. For more information, call (919) 490-5577 or visit www.archrespite.org.
Fact sheet #6
The guilt-free way of saying “no” to your grandchildren

Your grandchild is misbehaving. What should you do?

- Make sure that every child in your home knows the rules.

- Make a sign with the top five most important rules in your home. List after every rule what to do and what not to do.

- Family rules should apply to everyone and should be adjusted for age. Putting consequences in writing will help you become more consistent and forewarn your grandchild of the consequences when a rule is broken.

- Doing nothing often stops irritating behavior (whining, arguing, burping, name calling, slurping food, etc.). However, doing nothing only works if you are also praising good behavior.

- A small number of children who have been abused or neglected may not respond to these guidelines. If your grandchild is unresponsive, you may need assistance from your grandchild’s school social worker or an infant mental health specialist (for the non-school-age child) through a tribal agency or local community mental health agency.

How to say “no” to a nagging grandchild’s behavior

- Once you’ve said “no,” you must stick to your word. Yielding to nagging only reinforces the behavior because your grandchild will get the message that she or he has been able to change your decision.

- A firm “no” followed by some calm words indicating that if your grandchild continues to nag, other privileges or special treats may be withdrawn. For example, “If you continue to nag about the toy, I won’t rent the video you wanted to watch tomorrow.”

- A nagging grandchild requires discipline paired with an understanding that nagging is unacceptable, annoying and undesirable behavior that you will not tolerate.

How to say “no” to prevent arguments

Following a grandchild’s request:

- You do not have to say yes or no immediately. After your grandchild has made a request, ask for his/her reasons. Say, “Let me think about it.” If the grandchild demands an immediate answer, you can tell him or her the answer will be “no” unless you are given time to think about your decision.

- If you have taken the time to consider the request and the grandchild’s reasons, and you decide you need a compromise as a solution, explain your position.
If the answer is no, say “no” firmly. You have the right to say no.

Include your reason as part of your refusal and do not change your decision (for at least 90% of the time).

Advantages of this approach to saying “no”

- It teaches your grandchild to be patient.
- The child will learn that being “good” increases the likelihood of a “yes” response.

- Grandparents have earned the privilege of saying “no.”
- Grandparents are positive, fair and rational even if their grandchildren don’t always agree with them.
Fact sheet #7
Ways to help children with ADHD control their anger

Children diagnosed as having Attention Deficit-Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) may present special challenges, especially related to episodes of anger.

The following are ways to help children with ADHD control their anger.

- Make lifestyle changes (sleep habits, nutrition, exercise and medications, if doctor recommended).
- Use assertive discipline techniques such as:
  - Use direct, firm statements
  - Avoid arguments
  - Decide on consequences that you know you can and will reinforce
  - Consistently reinforce limits that have been set
  - Give the child positive feedback when he/she does make behavior changes.
- Recognize the effects of stress.
- Teach your grandchild “self-calming” techniques. This skill takes daily practice for at least three months before it becomes a natural reaction to stress.
- Access a mentor or positive role model.
- Teach your grandchild to be aware of his/her non-verbal behavior and voice tone.
- Encourage your grandchild to talk about his/her feelings of frustration and disappointment.
- Teach conflict resolution skills.
- Teach your grandchild to recognize his/her own mood states.
- Reinforce your values.

When should a grandparent get involved in a child’s education?

- The earlier a grandparent can get actively involved in a child’s education, the more powerful the effects will be.
- The most powerful forms of involvement are those where grandparents work directly with children on learning activities at home. Successful students have grandparents who create and maintain family routines.
- Children who are raised by grandparents actively involved in their educational process are more successful both academically and socially.
- The most consistent predictor of school success and social adjustment is having a grandparent who has high expectations of the grandchild in school.
- If you have concerns about your grandchild’s education, you cannot wait for the school to tell you how he/she is doing. Grandparents who stay informed about their grandchild’s progress at school have higher-achieving grandchildren.
Fact sheet #8

Bully-proofing your grandchildren

“Bullying is a relationship in which one person seeks to gain power and control over the life of another.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs that your grandchildren may be being bullied</th>
<th>What to do if your grandchildren are targeted by a bully</th>
<th>What to do if your grandchildren are behaving like bullies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They say they are being bullied, picked on or teased.</td>
<td>Listen to your grandchildren carefully.</td>
<td>Talk with your grandchildren and find out what is happening and why.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They complain of not feeling well and don’t want to go to school.</td>
<td>Believe what they tell you.</td>
<td>Keep calm. The use of physical force or anger to punish will make the situation worst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their grades begin to drop markedly.</td>
<td>Assure them it is okay to talk about these situations.</td>
<td>Explain how their behavior is hurting people and why it is unacceptable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money or personal possessions go missing.</td>
<td>Get the details: who, what, when, where the incident(s) occurred, including the names of any witnesses. Write down all of the details, along with taking pictures if appropriate.</td>
<td>Discourage the use of bullying behaviors from any family member towards another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They come home with torn or damaged clothing.</td>
<td>Ask your grandchildren how they have tried to cope with the bullying.</td>
<td>Don’t be afraid to ask for help from others if you feel you don’t have all the answers. No one does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unexplained bruises appear on their bodies.</td>
<td>Brainstorm with your grandchildren possible alternative strategies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nightmares, eating and sleeping problems occur.</td>
<td>Make an appointment to see your grandchildren’s teacher/social worker/principal to explain the situation your grandchildren are confronted with and your concern about it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fact sheet #9

Tips for selecting a tutor for your grandchild

Selecting a tutor for your grandchild is an important step in providing a child with assistance to improve his/her learning and academic success in school.

With the rapid increase in technology and changes in educational curriculum, it is understandable that a grandparent may not be able to provide as much help with a grandchild’s homework as needed. Therefore, a tutor may be a helpful alternative to assist a grandchild to learn and improve academic success.

How to select a tutor

- Work with your grandchild to understand the child’s learning difficulties.

- If your grandchild is diagnosed as Learning Disabled, be sure to share this information with the prospective tutor.

- Interview the tutor and check his/her references to make sure the tutor is dependable, responsible and has an expertise in the subject that is causing the child difficulty in school and homework assignments.

- Ask the tutor how he or she will make learning fun for your grandchild.

- To assist the tutor, provide a schedule of your grandchild’s tests, quizzes, themes and weekly homework assignments.

- Attend the teacher conferences to assess your grandchild’s progress in all subjects.

- Check with the tutor to find out if he or she has tutored children of the same age.

- Develop a schedule with the tutor and have a cancellation policy in case you need to cancel a session due to illness or vacation.

- To find a tutor, check with the child’s teacher, community volunteers and professional volunteers. College students interested in working with children may be an appropriate resource.

- Advocate for your grandchild to make sure he or she gets the services and support he or she needs to be successful.

Tutoring resources

- **Capital Area Literacy Coalition**
  1028 E. Saginaw
  Lansing, MI 48906
  Contact: Lois A. Bader
  Phone: 517.485.4949

- **Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians**
  Tribal Youth Program Tutoring Services
  Big Bear Arena
  Two Ice Circle
  Sault Ste. Marie, MI 49783
  Phone: 906.635.7010

- **The WORD Project, Home Assistance Skills Development**
  (after-school tutorial for youth)
  671 Davis, NW; P.O. Box 3
  Grand Rapids, MI 49504-5147
  Contact: Mary Ann Ferguson or Martha Dahl
  Phone: 616.458.0871

- **Reading & Language Arts Centers, Inc.**
  One-to-one and small group tutoring sessions in Southeastern Michigan for beginning and struggling readers from preschool age through adults. Programs are designed to meet the unique needs of students with dyslexia, learning disabilities and attention deficit disorders.
  Contact: Alison Eldert
  Phone: 248.645.9690
This list of activities is provided to encourage grandparents and Elder Programs to develop and share positive intergenerational activities for grandparents and grandchildren.

Please note: It is important to provide these activities in a way that is meaningful for your family and/or community.

- **Grandparent’s Day.** Elder Programs may want to plan a special luncheon or show for grandparents to attend with their grandchildren. Or a grandparent and grandchild may want to hold this activity as an individual family event.

- **Intergenerational community concert.** Invite musicians of all ages in the local area for a concert to be held at a community or tribal center. Grandparents and grandchildren can be involved in the planning and/or the concert.

- **Intergeneration Support Day.** A day for community youth groups and older grandchildren to help grandparents with daily chores such as yard work or grocery shopping. Local college students may be interested to participate in this type of activity.

- **Community forum.** Grandparents and grandchildren can gather to talk about issues they face in their community and share their ideas about how to address those issues.

- **Intergenerational art exchange.** Grandparents and grandchildren can create together or separately artwork that highlights positive aspects of their relationship. Their work may be displayed at a school, elder center, tribal cultural center, shopping mall or a restaurant.

- **Elder’s Career Day.** Invite elders from the community to schools or youth group meetings to speak about their work experience and what it meant to them.

- **Writing event.** Sponsor a writing event on the topic of the “Importance of Grandparents” or the “Importance of Grandchildren” and have the articles published in a local or tribal newspaper. Or create a booklet of these stories to be sold as a fundraiser for a grandparent and/or youth group activity.

- **Lesson plan focused on elders.** Make a request to teachers to include a lesson plan on “the important roles the elders play in the community” during National Intergenerational Week (begins the third Sunday in May).
Intergenerational talent show. Grandparents and grandchildren can produce a talent show and/or a play that would include songs and special talents they want to share with their community.

One-day intergenerational trip. Tribal- or community-sponsored trip to a “fun” location for both grandparents and grandchildren. Additional supervision should be offered by volunteers to assist the grandparents in caring for the grandchildren to ensure all will have an enjoyable time.

Movie night or afternoon. Select movies that are age appropriate and invite the grandparents and grandchildren to the viewing so they may watch a movie together. Then have the grandparents and grandchildren discuss the movie as two separate groups and then share each group’s point of view with the other.

Grandparent banquet. Honor the grandparents for their caring contributions to their families and the community. Have their grandchildren present a special “Certificate of Award” to their grandparent. If age appropriate, the grandchildren and community volunteers can do the cooking, decorating and programs.

Brainstorming session. Invite grandparents and grandchildren to a special meeting to brainstorm their own ideas for a “Calendar of Events.”
Fact sheet references and credits

Fact sheet #1
Grandparents raising grandchildren

Information compiled by:

Suzanne L. Cross, PhD, ACSW, CSW, Associate Professor
Angelique Day, MSW
School of Social Work
Michigan State University

Grandparent’s guide to navigating the legal system (1997). National Committee to Preserve Social Security & Medicare.


Information compiled by:

Angelique Day, MSW
School of Social Work
Michigan State University

Fact sheet #2
Legal options of grandparents raising grandchildren

References:


Fact sheet #3
Support groups for grandparents raising grandchildren

References:


Information compiled by:

Suzanne L. Cross, PhD, ACSW, CSW, Associate Professor
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Michigan State University
Fact sheet #4
Concern for grandparents who are raising their grandchildren and experiencing maltreatment, neglect or exploitation

References:


Information compiled by:

Suzanne L. Cross, PhD, ACSW, CSW, Associate Professor School of Social Work Michigan State University

Fact sheet #5
Respite care

References:


Information compiled by:

Angelique Day, MSW School of Social Work Michigan State University

Fact sheet #6
The guilt-free way of saying “no” to your grandchildren

Information compiled by:

Angelique Day, MSW School of Social Work Michigan State University

Fact sheet #7
Ways to help children with ADHD control their anger

References:


American Indian Grandparents Parenting Their Grandchildren in Michigan
A Qualitative Study Report 2005


**Fact sheet #8**
**Bully-proofing your grandchild**

Information compiled by:

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**Fact sheet #9**
**Tips for selecting a tutor for your grandchild**

Information compiled by:

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References:

Michigan State University Extension Programs.


Information compiled by:

Suzanne L. Cross, PhD, ACSW, CSW, Associate Professor
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**Fact sheet #10**
**Suggested grandparent-grandchild intergenerational activities**

Information compiled by:

Suzanne L. Cross, PhD, ACSW, CSW, Associate Professor
Emily Sorroche, BASW Student
School of Social Work
Michigan State University
Abstract

According to terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986), the fear surrounding thoughts of one's own death serve as a basis for much cognitive and behavioral motivation. Generally, a death reminder, or mortality salience, evokes stronger adherence to worldviews. Worldviews, within the TMT framework, are construed in part as traditional beliefs that offer protection from fear of death. Given the importance of religious belief in the face of death, the present study investigates the effects of mortality salience (MS) and religious priming on judgments of outgroups. To accomplish this, participants will either be reminded of their own death, or be reminded of a painful experience (control condition). Then, participants will either receive a religiously prosocial prime (e.g., focusing on love and acceptance) or a passage regarding laws and commandments (e.g., defining what is wicked and despicable). Participants will then judge a member of an outgroup—an actor who is ostensibly homosexual. It is predicted that the participants who are primed with death and received
the religiously prosocial prime will rate the actor in a more favorable fashion than those
who are in the pain and prosocial passage condition. Through this study, the effects of
varying religious passages will be explored in light of death reminders to more fully
understand the nature of negative judgments of perceived outgroup members.

References

Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (1986). The causes and consequences of
the need for self-esteem: A terror management theory. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.),
*Public and private self* (pp. 189-212). New York: Springer-Verlag.
Abstract

This study assessed the acceptability of public displays of affection (PDA) by gay men, lesbians, and heterosexual men and women. Three-hundred and eighty-one individuals (246 women, 135 men), 123 of whom were self-identified as lesbians or gay men and 192 of whom self-identified as heterosexual participated in an online study on the acceptance of three different forms of PDA (holding hands, hugging, and kissing). Participants used a 7-point Likert scale to rate the appropriateness of each of 18 still photographic images (six gay male, six lesbian, and six heterosexual), with each image showing a single couple depicting one of the three forms of PDA. There were two different dyads of each category (gay male, lesbian, and heterosexual), each appearing in three of the eighteen images and depicting each form of PDA. Results were consistent with other studies showing that heterosexual males' ratings of homosexuals were significantly more negative than heterosexual females' ratings of homosexuals, and that heterosexual males' ratings of lesbians were significantly more positive than their ratings of gay men. The results also
indicated that gay men and lesbians rated all expressions of PDA more positively than heterosexuals of either sex did, though their overall pattern of ratings mirrored those of male and female heterosexuals. For example, similar to heterosexual males' ratings, gay men rated the images of lesbians significantly more positive than images of gay men, indicating that eroticization of lesbians may be universal among males of all sexual orientations. Results also supported the contact hypothesis, with ratings of the second set of images being significantly higher than ratings of the first set of images. Discussion includes the implications of these findings, suggestions for future research, and a theoretical hypothesis for women's consistently more positive ratings of homosexuals in comparison with men's ratings.
ARE TEACHERS PREPARED TO ACCOMMODATE DIVERSITY IN THE CLASSROOM?  
A MANDATE FOR COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

Topic Area: Education

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Abstract
By the year 2050, half the US population will be of Hispanic, African American, Native American or Asia/Pacific descent. NCATE Standard 4 (Diversity) mandates that educators acquire the “knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to help all students learn”; yet few teacher education programs successfully prepare new teachers to be responsive and proactive with curriculum, instruction, or assessment in accommodating students of diverse backgrounds. The authors of this study used a multi-method approach to examine differences in awareness and attitudes toward diversity among student teachers and public and private school teachers. While there were no significant differences based on position, there were, however, differences based on gender, ethnicity, and residence (urban vs. rural). Further, focus group participants articulated a genuine need and concern for addressing diverse learning needs that reaches beyond current practice. In order to initiate and develop cultural competence that extends into the classroom, colleges of education must take specific steps to infuse their curriculum and field experiences with multiculturalism. In this workshop, study methodology will be presented along with an interactive discussion of conceptual and practical implications for teacher preparation programs.
ARE TEACHERS PREPARED TO ACCOMMODATE DIVERSITY IN THE CLASSROOM: A MANDATE FOR COLEGES OF EDUCATION

Introduction

Over the last several decades in American history, the wave of new immigrants has changed from the large numbers coming from Europe to increasing numbers coming from Korea, Vietnam, China, India, Philippines, Somalia, Laos, Mexico, and Central America. According to the 2000 census, at the turn of the century, nearly 20% of all school children will be considered limited-English-proficient (LEP) and they will be living in non-English homes. Currently, the United States has approximately 30 million Latinos, making it the fifth largest Hispanic country in the world; and 1 in every 3 persons in the United States speaks Spanish. By the year 2050, half of the U.S. population is projected to be of Hispanic, African American, Native American or Asia/Pacific descent (Cartledge, Kea, & Simmons-Reid, 2002).

The increasing number of immigrant students and English language learners in U.S. schools presents education with both challenges and opportunities. Most teachers have ancestral roots in Europe, and are often surprised when they hear of discrimination and exclusionary issues facing recent immigrants, such as the English-only movement gaining momentum throughout the country, with the states of Oregon, California, Washington, and Arizona passing English-only laws (Bradfield, 2004). Statistics continue to show that students enrolled in teacher preparation programs represent monocultural backgrounds, with over 90% of these students from white middle class backgrounds, and little or no experiences working with minority populations (Van Hook, 2002). In addition, few teacher education programs in the United States have changed their programs to adequately prepare teachers to accommodate their curriculum, instruction,
and assessment to meet the needs of immigrant students from various backgrounds (Romo, Bradfield, & Serrano, 2004). Few teacher training programs require bilingual education or English as a second language for teachers seeking teaching certificates (Lynch & Hanson, 2004).

**The challenge of teacher education programs meeting NCATE standards**

University-based teacher education programs that seek recognition and full accreditation by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) must address and meet established standards through the communication of high expectations and skilled expertise in the delivery of teacher education for pre-service teachers. Two of the standards that address cultural diversity include Standard II.B that deals with the composition of candidates for licensure. Indicators for this standard require evidence to show that the unit recruits, admits, and retains a diverse student body. Standard III.B deals with the composition of the faculty. Indicators for this standard require evidence to show that the unit recruits, and retains a diverse faculty.

**Teacher force remains white and middle class women**

The National Center for Education Statistics (2000) reported that the teaching force remains composed mainly of white, middle-class women (84.3%) who frequently have limited knowledge about and/or experience with people from cultural/ethnic backgrounds that are different from their own. In addition, minority teacher candidates are more likely to attend segregated schools in which they relate primarily to members of their own ethnic/cultural group (Capella-Santana, 2003). The percentage of teachers of color does not approximate the percentage of students of color in any state other than Hawaii and the District of Columbia. In addition, approaches such as affirmative action
programs or minority scholarship programs have proven insufficient to change the current patterns of recruitment, hiring, and retaining diverse teacher education student body or faculty (Gallavan, Troutman, & Jones, 2001).

Cartledge et al. (2002) stress that we are all products of the environment, and experiences play a major role in our perception of the world and responses to events in the environment. With a largely European American female teaching force, cultural discontinuities emerge when the student population consists of racially and ethnically diverse youngsters who are disproportionately impoverished (Gay, 2000). These discontinuities can undermine the students’ ability to learn and frustrate the teacher. Teachers have a powerful influence over the achievement of all students, and of low income culturally diverse students in particular (Tucker, Porter, Reinke, Herman, Ivery, Mack, & Jackson, 2005).

The challenge presented by No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

Since the inception of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), public schools across the U.S. are working to decrease the achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students. There are several implications for teacher education programs as they are being asked to address the achievement gap issue by preparing pre-service teachers to work in a diverse school setting, when they have little or no experience with persons from another ethnic background or social class (Van Hook, 2002). One example of a teacher education program addressing this challenge is UCLA’s Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access (IDEA) and its Center X, in which an environment has been created for students, faculty, and educators to work together connecting theory and practice around socially just teaching (Engle, 2006).
The failure to provide an equitable and fair education in the U. S. has many sources, including a society that emphasizes cultural differences rather than similarities; schools that do not provide a relevant and challenging curriculum for all; teachers who consciously hold low expectations for minority students; teachers who treat students differently based on race, gender socioeconomic status, and language; and parents and students who fail to empower themselves above the limitations imposed by all of the above (Gonzalez-Espada, 2004).

The challenge of addressing a workforce that is culturally competent and diverse

In a 2004 report, the National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force stated that one resource necessary for improving the performance of students of color is a teacher workforce that is culturally competent and diverse. They report that students of color tend to have higher academic, personal, and social performance when taught by teachers from their own ethnic group. However, they add that this does not suggest that culturally competent teachers could not achieve similar gains with students of color and students from different ethnic groups. The report A Call to Action (2004) emphasizes that positive dispositions toward diversity and cultural competence are key factors in improving the quality of America’s teaching force. They stress that future teachers need training in addressing diversity issues:

Without understanding the historical, social, and political underpinnings of how disenfranchised groups have been systematically excluded from receiving a fair and equitable education, there will continue to be a shallow approach to understanding diversity issues (p.9).

Importance of Multicultural Competence

Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke, & Curran, (2004) stress that a lack of multicultural competence can magnify the difficulties that novice teachers have with classroom
management. Definitions and expectations of appropriate behavior are culturally influenced and conflicts are likely to occur when teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds. Weinstein et al., (2004) proposed a model including five components: 1) recognition of one’s own ethnocentrism; 2) knowledge of students’ cultural backgrounds; 3) understanding of the broader social, economic, and political context; 4) ability and willingness to use culturally appropriate management strategies; and 5) commitment to building caring classrooms.

One outcome of the mismatch between teachers and students of color is the over-representation of students in programs for children with behavior problems, and in the juvenile justice system. Cartledge et. al., (2002) report that when the behavior of youth is viewed through culturally altered prisms, distortions occur in the way their behaviors are perceived, in the interventions they receive, and in the ways they view themselves. Cartledge el. al. (2002) suggest “One rule of thumb in providing culturally competent services is to neither make culture account for everything, nor to discount its impact altogether” (p. 114).

Multicultural competency and education continue to evolve and change; yet, there is agreement on the goals of multicultural education. These goals include promoting better understanding among people, reducing prejudice, fulfilling the democratic ideal of equality under the law, and freedom of thought and action within established law (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). In addition, multicultural education aims to develop an appreciation of the contributions made by people from all elements of society to the United states and to humankind (Birkel, 2000). This affirmation of the importance of the identities of students is expressed by Banks (2004):
We must nurture, support, and affirm the identities of students from marginalized cultural, ethnic, and language groups if we expect them to endorse national values, become cosmopolites, and want to make their local communities, the nation, and the world more just and humane. (p.297).

**Need for research on diversity issues and culturally responsive teaching**

The importance of teachers’ sense of efficacy has been shown to be an important teacher characteristic that is consistently related to student achievement (Tucker et al., 2005). Teacher efficacy has been conceptualized to include the beliefs that teachers have about their skills and abilities to create desirable outcomes for students. Teacher efficacy is related to one’s attitude toward race and perceived ability to work with students from culturally diverse backgrounds. If pre-service teachers lack confidence in their ability to teach diverse groups, and don’t believe that student learning can be influenced by effective teaching despite home and peer influence, they are less likely to persist longer in their teaching efforts and provide an academic focus. Teachers with a sense of efficacy provide different types of feedback and ultimately improve student performance.

Friend & Pope (2005) suggest that educators examine their own beliefs about teaching and student learning, and identify scripts carried in their heads about who can learn, what they can learn, and how they can be taught with the goal of becoming a transformative teacher – one who is committed to advocating for all students. In-service teachers in one study reported lower efficacy for teaching culturally diverse students, which indicates the need to offer training to teachers already in the field as well as to pre-service teachers (Pang & Sablan, 1998).

The current study proposed to provide educators an opportunity to reflect on their sensitivity and cultural competence toward diversity issues by participating in a
composite questionnaire and in focus groups to examine differences in awareness and attitudes toward diversity. Implications for colleges of education, teacher preparation programs and practice will be identified and discussed.

Methodology - Part I: Survey

Population and Sample

The population for this study included undergraduate education students and public and private school teachers for Grades 1-12 in the states of Texas and Louisiana. There were 709 participants: 323 undergraduate education students and 386 public and private school teachers. Undergraduate education students were surveyed during class meeting times; teachers were solicited and surveyed via mail.

Instrumentation

A self-report survey was distributed to participants. The instrument consisted of four parts. Part I included a research consent and sought demographic information: age, gender, ethnicity, place of residence, position, and education background. For the purpose of analysis, certain demographic information was categorized. For example, age of participants was grouped into 7 ranges. Position in Education was categorized as follows: Pre-service Teacher (entry and upper-level) and Teacher (elementary, middle, high school). Finally, the number of years teachers had worked in education was collapsed into 3 categories: 3 years or less, 4-19 years, and 20 years or more.

The balance of the survey (Parts II, III, IV) was comprised of three different instruments: the Cultural Diversity Awareness Inventory (CDAI) (Henry, 1986), the Teacher Multicultural Attitude Survey (TMAS) (Ponterotto, Baluch, Grieg, & Rivera, 1998), and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC-SDS) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Responses to the CDAI and the TMAS were in the form of a 5-point
Likert scale, while responses to the MC-SDS statements were either true or false.

The Cultural Diversity Awareness Instrument (CDAI) (Henry, 1986) was not scored; rather (following Henry, 1986, and Larke, 1990), it was treated as an inventory of 26 statements about cultural diversity beliefs among teachers grouped into five general areas: Cultural Awareness, the Culturally Diverse Family, Cross-Cultural Communication, Assessment, and Creating a Multicultural Environment. Item responses were collapsed into three categories: Strongly Agree/Agree, Neutral, and Strongly Disagree/Disagree and frequencies were tabulated (Henry, 1986; Larke, 1990). Strong responses among items in each general area would indicate a need for additional training in each of the specified areas. Because the CDAI was not scored, statistical inferences from responses and comparison of outcomes to those of the TMAS were limited.

The Teacher Multicultural Attitude Survey (TMAS) (Ponterotto et al., 1998) is a validated instrument that was developed to measure multicultural awareness of teachers in the K-12 setting. It allows for a total score ranging from 20 to 100 based on responses to the 20 Likert-style items. Ponterotto et al. did not indicate score ranges associated with levels of performance; therefore, higher and lower outcomes should be interpreted relative to the overall mean and standard deviation of the subject group.

Following Ponterotto et al., (1998), the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC-SDS) was used to test for convergent validity. The instrument contains 33 items to which subjects respond either True or False. Test scores may range from zero to 33. A low correlation between scores on the TMAS and the MC-SDS would indicate that outcomes on the TMAS were not contaminated by the need of participants to respond in a socially desirable manner. Such an outcome is desirable.
**Protocol**

Participation in this study was voluntary and anonymous. Participants received a group of materials: 1) the survey coded by group type, e.g. position of respondent; 2) a postage-paid return envelope; and 3) a postage-paid postcard that solicited participation in Part II (focus group sessions) of the study. Instructions on the front page of the survey requested that participants complete the survey and return it in the attached envelope. The postcard was to be returned separately so that anonymity would be maintained.

In classroom settings, instructions were read to undergraduate education students, and the survey was distributed to those who wished to participate. Students then placed their surveys in a common large envelope. Afterwards, postcards for the second part of the study were distributed. Students were given instructions to complete these cards and return them via mail if they wished to participate in the focus groups.

**Data Analysis of the Survey**

Descriptive statistics were used to characterize the study sample. For the purposes of analysis, the sample was grouped by position in education. Instrument item response frequencies were also tabulated. While the CDAI was not scored, researchers examined frequencies of responses to identify items upon which respondents showed the greatest variability of response. Total scores were calculated for the TMAS. Finally, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on both instruments to determine the difference between groups in diversity awareness and attitude based on Position, Age, Gender, Residence, and Ethnicity.

**Methodology - Part II: Focus Groups**

**Participant Selection**
The second part of the study involved follow-up focus groups composed of volunteers from Part I of the study. Focus group sessions were configured according to position in education. A total of 185 participants indicated an interest in attending the focus groups. Fifty-two individuals were scheduled for three sessions, and 33 actually participated.

**Instrumentation**

Each focus group participant received a set of five index cards upon which were printed two-part questions (Table 1). Part One of each question was printed on Side One of the card, Part Two of the question was printed on Side Two. Participants responded to each of the questions in writing before discussing their responses as a group.

During focus group discussions, two to three research observers recorded participant comments on scoring sheets that were configured similar to the index cards. Observers were instructed to transcribe participant comments and categorize them as comments that communicated either Experiences, Facts, or Opinions.

Table 1. Focus Group Discussion Questions

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<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a. What is cultural diversity? How would you define it?</td>
<td>1b. Is cultural diversity positive or negative? Why? Give examples of your own experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. In the past, the U.S. population was described as a <em>melting pot</em>. More recently it has been described as a <em>mosaic</em>. What do you think? Can you discuss the difference between these two descriptions?</td>
<td>2b. How would each of these ideas about the population change an individual’s approach to a group?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. Schools must address the need for all students to be viewed as “growing persons with a future.” In your opinion, who is ultimately responsible for addressing the issue for diversity? As individuals? As professionals? As a society?</td>
<td>3b. When you identify individuals who should take responsibility, what role should they play?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. What are some solutions you have developed or experienced to address cultural diversity? Give examples.</td>
<td>4b. In particular, think of something you would like to see happen that has not yet occurred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Has your awareness or attitude towards diversity changed as a result of participating in this research? If so, how? If not, why not?</td>
<td>5b. What actions do you plan to take that directly result from our interaction and discussions today?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The final focus group session was videotaped. Qualitative analysis to elicit themes was performed using the video, responses written on the index cards, and comments recorded by research observers.

**Protocol**

Three focus group sessions were evaluated in this study: Entry-level Pre-service Teacher, Upper-level Student Teacher, and Teacher (elementary, middle, high school). Sessions were scheduled at varied times. Each session lasted approximately 90 minutes. The sessions were moderated by a single researcher, while the other researchers and a research assistant served as observers.

Each participant received a set of index cards with pre-printed questions. The moderator instructed the participants to respond in writing to one set of questions at a time, after which the group discussed their responses. Researchers transcribed the comments of focus group participants during the oral discussions into one of three categories: Values/Opinions (where participants prefaced statements with “I believe..., I think..., I value..., In my opinion...”); Experiences (where participants prefaced statements “I did..., I found... I heard/saw...”); or Facts (where participants prefaced statements with “I know..., I learned..., I have read...”).

**Survey Results**

**Sample Description**

The final sample size, after removal of incomplete surveys, was $N = 709$, and comprised 628 females (89%) and 81 males (11%). The mean age for all participants was 38.41 years. Ethnicity of those who responded was 72% Caucasian, 20% African-American, 6% Hispanic, 1% Asian, and 1% Native American. More than half of the study participants (52%) resided in suburban areas, while 23% resided in urban areas and
25% resided in rural areas. Within the Teacher group, 31% of the respondents had worked in education for more than twenty years; 28% for 10-19 years; 29% for 4-9 years; and 12% for 1-3 years.

The authors examined demographic characteristics by position group. For example, there were more than nine female teachers for every one male teacher. Caucasians were disproportionately represented in every group segment, while Hispanics were largely under-represented with respect to the size of the population in the United States. Interestingly, while a large number of pre-service teachers resided in rural areas, the greater majority of school teachers resided in suburban and urban areas. Finally, 59% of the teachers had been in education for more than ten years.

In previous studies (Henry, 1986; Larke, 1990), researchers collapsed item responses in the CDAI into a 3-point Likert scale (Agree/Neutral/Disagree) and tabulated item response frequencies. Authors of this study followed this practice, then conducted post hoc Bonferroni comparisons by item to identify which items resulted in the most variability in response, whether based on age, gender, ethnicity, residence, or years in education. Four items were thus identified (Table 2). Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using Wilk’s Lambda compared item responses on the CDAI according to demographic characteristics. Results revealed significant differences ($p<.05$) in certain item responses for all characteristics: Position ($F=5.727$, 8 items), Years in Education ($F=3.268$, 10 items), Age ($F=2.212$, 7 items), Gender ($F=4.097$, 6 items), Residence ($F=2.362$, 5 items), Ethnicity ($F=4.095$, 6 items).
Table 2. CDAI Responses that Reflected Greatest Variability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>NEUTRAL</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe students should be referred for testing if learning</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficulties appear to be cultural or language differences.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe translating a standardized achievement or intelligence test</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to a child’s dominant language gives that child an added advantage.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe I would prefer to work with children and parents who share</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my culture.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe student job assignments should rotate regularly and equally</td>
<td>82.8%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The CDAI was utilized to measure respondents’ awareness of cultural diversity issues while the TMAS measured attitudes toward diversity. Scores for the TMAS and for the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale were calculated. Following Ponterotto et al., (1998) respondent scores on the TMAS were correlated with the Marlowe-Crowne scores to test for instrument contamination. While the correlation ($\rho = .105$) was significant at the $p < .01$ level, significance was largely a function of sample size. Thus, the very weak correlation between the two instruments indicated that responses were not influenced by social correctness.

Post hoc analysis of variance revealed significant differences in TMAS scores based on Gender ($t = -1.517$), Ethnicity ($F = 4.880$), and Residence ($F = 4.290$) at the $p < .05$ level. In other words, females scored significantly higher than males; Non-Caucasians scored significantly higher than Caucasians; and Urban and Suburban residents scored significantly higher than Rural residents. Finally, mean scores were calculated for each position in education and for the collapsed position groups (Table 3). There was no significant difference in TMAS scores based on Position in Education or based on collapsed position (Pre-Service Teachers vs. Teachers).
Table 3. TMAS Mean Scores by Collapsed Position Group and Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIONS</th>
<th>MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALL Pre-service Teachers</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry-level Pre-service Teachers</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Teachers (practicing)</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL School Teachers</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Teachers</td>
<td>76.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School Teachers</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Teachers</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Focus Group Results**

Entry-level pre-service teachers participated in a focus group, and responses were categorized into values and opinions (82%), experiences (9%), and facts (8%) as indicated in Figure 1. Responses were grouped together in themes around the questions. Participants defined cultural diversity as having the presence of all cultures, and stressed the importance of all cultures being included. Cultural diversity was described as being sometimes positive and sometimes negative, and a preference for the metaphor of a mosaic rather than melting pot to describe diversity was indicated. They described the role of the individual addressing diversity as one of making conscious decisions to treat people fairly, and the professional role as one of mentoring young people.

*Fig. 1 Focus Groups Results*

Suggestions for solutions to address cultural diversity included: Research other
cultures and show acceptance; Use a seating chart to encourage students to mix outside their own group and be open-minded. Time was identified as an inhibiting factor in meeting the needs of culturally diverse students. Changes in attitude toward diversity as a result of the research study included: “I am more curious;” “I have more understanding of diverse cultures;” and “I will surround myself with other cultures and respect other cultures.”

Upper level student teachers gave 53% values and opinions, 27% experiences, and 20% facts. Response themes included cultural diversity as meaning anything of difference, gender, nationalities, and race. In discussing the two metaphors, melting pot and mosaic, they said that in a melting pot the teacher would teach everyone the same, and in a mosaic make allowances for differences. The melting pot was described as everything thrown together, and the mosaic as a group of differences, but more organized. Professionals were viewed as responsible for creating an environment that accepts diversity, and individuals, professionals, and society being responsible for addressing cultural diversity.

Solutions for addressing cultural diversity included: Get beyond the labels; Reach children before they get into school and provide city-wide programs; Focus on ways we are alike, not how we’re different; Celebrate differences; Bring education regarding diversity to students; and Instead of talking about it, put it into practice. Perceived changes in their awareness or attitude as a result of the research study included: “Now, I want to bring education about diversity to my students;” “If we are exposed to differences, maybe we can practice that as educators.”

Teachers gave 63% comments that were values and opinions, 25% experiences
and 10% facts. Cultural diversity was described as including the notion that everyone is uniquely different including ethnicity, religious background, and language. They said historically, cultural diversity has been negative, but that it is growing more positive. In describing the two metaphors for culture, they described a melting pot as everyone blending in, and a mosaic as putting pieces together, but each piece is different. They identified individuals, professionals, and society as having responsibility for addressing the issue of diversity. Solutions for addressing cultural diversity included: Teaching the whole child, and teaching to different learning styles; Teachers need to stop being afraid of what’s different; and Teach students about diversity to make a difference.

Their response to awareness and attitude change as a result of the research study included: Discussing cultural diversity provided different opinions; Teachers need to be advocates; and Teachers need to work together to share ideas and practices.

**Implications for Colleges of Education and Teacher Preparation Programs**

Recent changes in the cultural fabric of American society, particularly evident in today’s classrooms, impose new mandates for social responsibility on colleges of education. Institutions of higher learning often act as sounding boards and policy advisors in the formulation of standards and methods for addressing societal issues of importance. Consequently, it is critical that colleges of education assess and respond to increased social diversity. Such a response must not merely pay lip service to state licensing boards (Marshall, 2004), but rather model *cultural competence* through practice: an appreciation of and proactive stance towards social cohesion (Garcia & Lopez, 2005). In so doing, colleges of education will play a dual role of shaping both administrative policies as well as those teacher education students who will ultimately enact those policies.
Effective teacher preparation programs for the 21st century must include as a major focus the education of all teachers, including teachers of color, with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to work effectively with students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social class groups (Milner et al., 2003; Banks, 2004; Romo et al., 2004; Friend & Pope, 2005). For teachers to be effective and equitable, they need to understand and appreciate human diversity. Knowledge is not equivalent to understanding, nor does it equate to understanding (Banks, 2004). Creative instructional activities and culturally correct teaching materials need to be used to facilitate understanding, and teachers need to individually and collectively commit to and work toward a caring, safe, democratic school environment (Romo et al., 2004).

Six implications for action emerged from a review of the literature and from the current research study. To prepare teachers for the multicultural classroom, teacher preparation programs need to provide opportunities for students to:

1. Examine their own ethnic and cultural identities, and to share their attitudes toward other ethnocultural groups in open, safe discussion (Friend & Pope, 2005). The participants in the focus groups repeatedly commented on their appreciation of the open, safe discussion of cultural diversity.

2. Become aware of the dynamics of prejudice and racism and how to deal with them in the classroom (Gay, 2000; Garmon, 2004). The teachers in the study described incidents of prejudice and racism, and admitted to not knowing how to deal with the incidents.

3. Examine the dynamics of privilege and economic differentials (Call to Action, 2004). The in-service and pre-service teachers said they had little information on economic differentials.

4. Build knowledge and appreciation of the history and contributions of diverse groups (Darling-Hammond & Garcia-Lopez, 2002; Banks, 2004). Both pre-service and in-service teachers recommended that the study of cultures go beyond the ‘special occasion’ days.

5. Build understanding and knowledge of the relationships among language,
culture, and learning (Weinstein et al., 2004). The pre-service and in-service teachers said that such knowledge would enable them to use this information in creating multicultural activities that are meaningful and challenging educational opportunities.

6. Learn how to use various instructional strategies and assessment procedures sensitive to cultural and linguistic differences, and the learning styles of various groups and individuals (Nagel 1998; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). The teachers recommended that instructional materials be examined to ensure that they are culturally correct in the information being presented. (Dahm, Sisk, & Nix, 2006)

An infusion of multiculturalism needs to be included throughout the teacher education curriculum and field experiences. Such an infusion starts with preparation programs themselves, to include actively soliciting and hiring culturally diverse faculty support, raising awareness and sensitivity within current faculty, providing institutional programs and support to attract and enable underrepresented student populations, and working collaboratively with local school systems (Gallavan, Troutman, & Jones, 2001).

Recommended dispositions, knowledge, and skills should be addressed in multiple multicultural courses early in the pre-service teacher’s education. Further, multiculturalism should be infused throughout teacher preparation with an emphasis on social justice and equity. For example, pre-service teachers need to be exposed to examples of successful teaching of ethnic and language-minority groups, and they should be paired with experienced teachers in multicultural classrooms to receive firsthand training. Finally, particular focus should be placed on developing self-reflexivity. In other words, pre-service teachers should be encouraged to analyze, recognize, and reflect upon their own attitudes with respect to cultural diversity (Garcia & Lopez, 2005)

The authors recognize that conducting one study with a survey and focus groups does not yield all of the information needed; however, the participants asked to repeat the
focus groups and suggested that similar focus groups be initiated in their schools to help fellow teachers learn how to provide all students opportunities to live and learn democratically in the classroom and schools.

There has been abundant discussion about the importance of diversity, but minimal or inconsistent implementation (Birkel, 2000; Miller., 2002; Banks, 2004; Romo et al., 2004; Friend & Pope, 2005; Sapon-Shevin, 2005). If schools are to provide a meaningful experience for all students, teacher preparation and practice must adopt a different set of goals and purposes of schooling that includes assisting teachers in learning to value differences rather than similarities. As each student contributes ideas and energies to the classroom, this interchange will help to promote diversity by honoring student differences through interrelationships, interdependence, and building on the unique qualities of each student (Romo et al., 2004).

**Discussion**

Analysis of the data indicated that there was no significant difference in levels of awareness or attitudes toward diversity based on position or the number of years working in education. The findings corroborated the literature that says females and non-Caucasians are more sensitive to cultural differences. There was agreement across groups that cultural diversity is an inclusive term that embraces ethnicity, age, religions, special learning needs, and disabilities. In addition, there was agreement across the groups on the use of the metaphor of a melting pot being somewhat negative, and the mosaic metaphor reflecting unity with differences remaining intact. The participants agreed that addressing the issues involved in diversity needs to include responsibility of the individual, the professional, and society, but with emphasis on responsibility of the individual.
Most participants indicated a number of specific actions that they could take to address building cultural competence: bringing culturally diverse speakers to their classrooms; sharing literature from a multicultural perspective; celebrating the similarities and differences of the children in their classrooms on a daily basis; and addressing the different learning styles and interests of children from diverse backgrounds. No matter what the level of teacher enthusiasm and interest, however, institutional support and governmental funding are also necessary to facilitate an appreciation of diversity (Garcia & Lopez, 2005).

There was interest in developing in-service teacher training focusing on the multicultural nature of society, social justice and equity, and the implications of cultural diversity for the classroom and for counseling. The participants reported that their thoughts had been stimulated and extended by the discussions in the focus groups, and expressed interest in learning more about the issues and implications of cultural diversity.

Conclusions

A review of the literature has revealed that the concerns and issues regarding cultural competence in education are not unique to this study, nor even to this particular university. The struggle to appropriately address and integrate multiculturalism in teacher preparation is universal (Garcia & Lopez, 2005; Marshall, 2004; Dooley, 2004). Our goal for the future of this project is to provide suggestions for adapting the methods courses and field experiences in teacher education programs to include knowledge about diversity and to encourage field experiences with diverse groups. We will continue our research with pre-service teachers to gather more information on their levels of awareness and attitudes about cultural diversity which would lead to more effective ways of
engaging them in transformative teaching in the classroom to enable all students to learn to their full potential. The logical consequence of shaping awareness and attitudes in a positive manner is behavioral change.

Along with colleges of education and school districts, we plan to deliver in-service training that addresses the transformative nature of education that moves both student teachers and teachers beyond awareness to affirmation and active engagement in addressing the multicultural nature of their classrooms (Nieto, 1996). We agree with Haberman & Post, (1998) who said being a critical multicultural educator is as much a philosophy and way of life as it is implementation of quality curriculum to address cultural diversity.

References


Understanding our gifted, 16(4), 3-7.


How Midwestern (U.S.A.) Latinos View Strong Marriages: 
A Standpoint Theory Approach

Topic Area: Other Areas of Social Science/Family Studies

Presentation format: Paper session

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***Corresponding author: Charlotte Shoup Olsen
Abstract

Currently, the Latino population makes up 13% of the nation’s population with recent trends suggesting that this number may grow up to 20% by the year 2010. Unfortunately, it appears that the growing rate of Latinos does not match a growing rate of human services made available for the Latino population in the United States. It seems clear that as the Latino population continues to grow and deal with family stressors that influence marriages and children, more human service programs need to be developed to meet this growing need. Thus, it seems critical for family researchers to engage in more studies that include Latino populations as they examine how to create culturally sensitive education programs especially with the call for more research-based programs. The purpose of this study is to offer some research findings regarding how Midwestern Latinos view a strong marriage in order to better inform program developers on how to develop culturally sensitive marriage educational programs for Latino Americans. Standpoint theory, originating from feminist research approaches, offers a unique method for this study in exploring the experiences of a marginalized group in the U.S.A. such as Latino Americans. It seems to be a methodological approach that controls for the biases that come with traditional social structures and power. Thus, this study attempts to only report what ten Latino American couples living in the United States taught the researchers in understanding how Midwestern Latino couples define a strong marriage. Findings will be reported from a modified phenomenological analysis that was used to evaluate the qualitative findings.
A Survey of Foster Parents’ Satisfaction Toward Nevada’s System of Child Welfare

Topic Area: Social Work

Format: Poster Session

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A Survey of Foster Parents' Satisfaction Toward Nevada's System of Child Welfare

Prepared by

Renee Edwards
Adrienne Ekas
Joanne J. Thompson

UNLV School of Social Work
Child Welfare Improvement Initiative
February 15, 2006
Nevada Foster Care Survey

Background and Methodology

As part of the Nevada Program Improvement Plan, the UNLV School of Social Work undertook an extensive survey of foster parents between May 2005 and January 2006, to determine their attitudes and level of satisfaction toward Nevada’s child welfare system. The survey was a statewide study of open and closed foster homes. The initial sample was a stratified random sample based on geographic location. The major method of data collection was through telephone interviews. Of 466 homes identified, 281 foster parents agreed to participate; responses were obtained from 226 respondents, representing a 80% response rate.

The survey instrument included a series of questions related to support services and accessibility (including mental health, medical, day care, educational, etc), foster parent participation in the case planning process; and caseworker support. The data collection instrument was developed based upon a review of the literature and other states’ surveys; additional ideas were incorporated into the instrument as a result of its pretest, and feedback from state and local child welfare agencies, including foster parent associations.

Demographics

226 foster parents were interviewed by phone between May, 2005 and January 2006. Table 1 represent a breakdown of the demographics. 201 (71.5%) were from Clark County, 39(13.9%) from rural Nevada, and 39(14.6%) in Washoe County. The majority of individuals were 35-49 years of age (51.2%); 30.7% were 50-64 years old; 7% were 65 or older.

37.6% reported to be foster parents for 2-5 years; another 27.1% have been providing care for over five years. 35.5% have been providing care less that two years. 59.1% reported to having other children in their home beside foster children. The majority of parents reported to have 1 child in foster care, followed by 19.6% with two, 14.6% with 3; and 20.1% with 4 or more. 16.1% reported to be providing relative or kinship care.

An Analysis of Foster Parent Satisfaction

The findings of this report are intended to provide state and local agencies with feedback identifying agency strengths and ways in which improvements can be made in making foster care and effective and viable options for children in need. Several areas were examined and included the following: foster parent involvement in case planning; caseworker satisfaction; attributes of foster children; payment/training issues; availability and satisfaction of support services; and overall satisfaction. A qualitative analysis of over-ended responses is also included which relates to specific ways in which the State can make improvements in responding to the needs of foster parents.
Key Findings:

- 57.6% of foster parents in Nevada report that they are satisfied with the foster care system, 42.4% report dissatisfaction

- Foster parents who completed the entire survey showed slightly higher satisfaction levels than foster parents who only completed the “satisfaction” question. Therefore, some caution must be taken in generalizing the results of the survey to all foster parents in Nevada.

- Foster parents in Washoe County are significantly more satisfied with the system than foster parents in either Clark County or the Rural Region.

- Foster parents who currently operate a foster home (open) are more satisfied than foster parents who have closed their homes within the past several years.

Strengths:

- Over 83% of foster parents feel their foster children are good matches for their family’s strengths and needs

- The majority of foster parents feel that training has been beneficial, especially training they have received since taking on foster children.

- Almost 75% of foster parents believe that their caseworkers care about their foster children and their families, and feel that their caseworkers encourage and compliment them on a job well-done

- Most foster parents feel that the reimbursement is fair and that they receive it on time.

Areas needing improvement:

- Over 30% of foster parents report that their caseworkers visit their children less than once a month

- Almost half of the foster parents reported that they are not given enough time to prepare for the separation when foster children are removed from their homes.

- Over 40% of foster parents feel that their caseworkers do not inform them of their foster children's behavioral or emotional needs prior to placement.

- Almost 40% of foster parents who feel they need respite care have not received it.
- Over 30% do not feel that they are involved in the case planning for their foster children, or that their opinions are taken into consideration when decisions are made regarding their foster children.

Sample:

466 foster homes were selected to participate in the study. These homes included both currently open homes and recently closed homes and were selected through stratified random sampling (using geographic stratifiers).

281 foster parents agreed to participate at least partially in the study. 226 (80%) completed the entire survey, and 55 (20%) completed only a single question regarding the participant’s overall satisfaction with the foster care system in Nevada.

### Sample Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Sample (N = 288)</th>
<th>Open Homes (N = 203)</th>
<th>Closed Homes (N = 85)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Geography</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark County</td>
<td>201 (71.5%)</td>
<td>131 (64.5%)</td>
<td>76 (89.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washoe County</td>
<td>41 (14.6%)</td>
<td>40 (19.7%)</td>
<td>2 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Region</td>
<td>39 (13.9%)</td>
<td>32 (15.8%)</td>
<td>7 (8.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>162 (74.0%)</td>
<td>123 (77.0%)</td>
<td>39 (65.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>57 (26.0%)</td>
<td>36 (23.0%)</td>
<td>21 (35.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Data</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-34</td>
<td>24 (11.1%)</td>
<td>17 (11.0%)</td>
<td>7 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>110 (51.2%)</td>
<td>75 (48.4%)</td>
<td>35 (58.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>66 (30.7%)</td>
<td>51 (32.9%)</td>
<td>15 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>15 (7.0%)</td>
<td>12 (7.7%)</td>
<td>3 (5.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Data</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length of Time as Foster Parent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>18 (8.2%)</td>
<td>12 (7.6%)</td>
<td>6 (10.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>59 (27.1%)</td>
<td>43 (27.0%)</td>
<td>16 (27.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years</td>
<td>82 (37.6%)</td>
<td>56 (35.2%)</td>
<td>26 (44.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ years</td>
<td>59 (27.1%)</td>
<td>48 (30.2%)</td>
<td>11 (18.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>63</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kinship Care</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35 (16.1%)</td>
<td>24 (15.3%)</td>
<td>11 (18.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>183 (83.9%)</td>
<td>133 (84.7%)</td>
<td>50 (82.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Data</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How would you rate your overall satisfaction with the foster care system in Nevada?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All foster parents:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely Satisfied</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Satisfied</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Dissatisfied</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely Dissatisfied</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents completing entire survey:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents completing this question ONLY:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents with open homes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents with closed homes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster parents from Clark County:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>43.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foster parents from Washoe County:</td>
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<td>Satisfied</td>
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<td>75.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24.4</td>
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<td>Foster parents from the Rural Region:</td>
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<td>Satisfied</td>
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<td>44.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Open-Ended Questions:

The types of responses provided by foster parents with open homes and those with closed homes were very similar, so the data is combined.

1. What would be the main reasons if you decide to no longer be a foster parent (open homes)? What were the main reasons why you decided to stop being a foster parent (closed homes)?

32% Adopted child/Plan to adopt child

25% Lack of support/Poor communication with agency, caseworkers, or system

18% Personal reasons (e.g. spend more time with own children, pursue career, illness, age)

6% Need a break/tired

4% Child's behavior too difficult

15% Other

2. What training would be, or would have been, most helpful in preparing you to be a foster parent?

25% More information on child behavior, mental health, and special needs
Specific topics requested:
- Fetal Alcohol Syndrome
- Drug Abuse
- Disabilities
- Emotional adjustment associated with changing placements
- ADHD
- Cerebral Palsy
- Medical problems
- Medication
- Reactive Attachment Disorder
- Sleep disorders
- Anger management
- Sexual Behavior

25% Current training is sufficient.

12% Need case by case training/honesty from caseworkers regarding background of child.

8% Hands-on experience. Several participants suggested that new foster parents should spend time in an operating foster home.
4% Ways to navigate the system and work with caseworkers.

4% Accessing community resources and respite care.

4% Age appropriate training (e.g. infants, adolescents)

18% Other

3. What about Nevada’s foster care system do you think needs to be improved the most?

45% Caseworkers
- Better communication from caseworkers (20% of caseworkers total)
- Should have reduced caseloads and higher salaries (20%)
- Need to listen more and respect foster parents (15%)
- Should visit children more often and have greater availability (14%)
- Need to be honest when providing background of children (13%)
- More supportive of children and foster parents (11%)
- Need to be more competent and caring towards children (7%)

9% System itself needs improvement
Common suggestions included:
- More communication between agencies
- Provide someone to contact 24 hours a day if caseworker is unavailable
- Processes take too long
- Should be less paperwork
- Need better organization

7% Best interests of child should be priority, not rights of biological parents

7% Greater availability/better quality of services
Common suggestions included:
- respite care
- transportation
- child care
- medicaid
- medical/dental services
- recreational activities
- allowances for adolescent foster children

5% Children should be placed more quickly into foster care and permanent homes

5% More recruitment and better screening of foster parents

5% Better judges and quicker decisions by the court system
5% Nothing needs to be improved

3% Better training

9% Other

4. What are some positive things about Nevada’s foster care system?

36% Caseworkers
   - Most caseworkers truly care about the children (40% of caseworker responses)
   - Some caseworkers are supportive and meet the needs of foster parents (30%)
   - Some caseworkers are very good at their jobs (30%)

13% Everyone is supportive, caring, and tries to help the children

9% Training was helpful

8% Nothing positive about the system

7% Children are able to get good services

7% Reimbursement is fair and timely

4% It is rewarding to be a foster parent

3% Private agency is excellent

3% They provide a home for all children

10% Other

Recommendations for Improvement

We offer the following recommendations to be incorporated by the State as it moves forward with its Program Improvement Plan (PIP):

- Despite findings from the federal review, it still appears that the State, especially Clark County, is having difficulty meeting timeliness standards regarding worker contact with foster families. The State needs to provide sufficient resources to lower current caseloads—this will require the addition of staff.
- One of the major attrition factors had to do with poor communication and lack of involvement of foster parents in the case planning process. Clear policies need to be developed and enforced which require ongoing, regular communication
between staff and foster parents. An ongoing case review process needs to be in place which monitors such activities.

- We do note there were significant regional differences regarding foster parents' satisfaction with their child welfare systems, with Washoe County rated significantly higher than the rest of the state. Local and state officials need to determine those factors which may explain such differences—these would include: job qualifications, educational requirements and licensure; caseload ratios; salaries; and turnover/retention, and organizational climate. Steps need to be taken to address these and other issue.

- An in-depth, on-going training program addressing behavioral, educational, and other special needs to be provided to all new and current foster parents.

- Additional resources, i.e. respite care, need to be made regularly and readily available to all foster parents. This will help address issues of attrition and burnout, and increase foster parents' perceptions that the child welfare system is ‘family focused’.

- Twenty percent of the foster parents surveyed reported 4 or more foster children in their care. While it is important not to disrupt sibling groups, the reliance upon homes to care for large numbers of children (which in addition to their own) needs to be re-evaluated.

- Finally, foster parent feedback needs to be an ongoing annual process, in order to document the State's progress in making substantive program improvements. We recommend in tandem, an external ongoing case review process of children in care which can be used to document worker and organizational accountability. Such a process will capture the State's efforts to comply with federal requirements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My foster children are good matches for my family's strengths and needs.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>51.4</td>
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<td>Agree</td>
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<td>18.1</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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**I am involved in the case planning for my foster children.**

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.1</td>
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**My opinions are taken into consideration when decisions are made regarding my foster children.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreeement</th>
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<tr>
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<td>26</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
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**I am given enough time to prepare for the separation when a foster child is removed from my home.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreeement</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>36</td>
<td>23.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18.6</td>
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<td>15.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19.9</td>
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</table>

**My foster children's behaviors are manageable.**

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<td>32.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Agree</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**I receive fair reimbursement for my work as a foster parent.**

<table>
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<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>37.1</td>
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<td>Agree</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.3</td>
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</table>

**I receive reimbursement on time.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>56.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Somewhat Agree</td>
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<td>10.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
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<td>38.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
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<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Somewhat Agree</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**It is easy for me to transport my foster children to meetings, appointments, and events.**

| Strongly Agree | 64 | 31.9 |
| Agree | 35 | 17.3 |
| Somewhat Agree | 35 | 17.3 |
| Somewhat Disagree | 29 | 14.4 |
| Disagree | 21 | 10.4 |
| Strongly Disagree | 18 | 8.9 |

**The court system and my child welfare agency inform me in plenty of time about court dates for my foster children so that I may participate.**

| Strongly Agree | 63 | 28.5 |
| Agree | 57 | 25.8 |
| Somewhat Agree | 43 | 19.5 |
| Somewhat Disagree | 28 | 12.7 |
| Disagree | 15 | 6.8 |
| Strongly Disagree | 15 | 6.8 |

**The training I received prior to becoming a foster parent prepared me to care for a foster child.**

| Strongly Agree | 64 | 38.3 |
| Agree | 42 | 25.1 |
| Somewhat Agree | 32 | 19.2 |
| Somewhat Disagree | 20 | 12.0 |
| Disagree | 6 | 3.6 |
| Strongly Disagree | 3 | 1.8 |

**The training I have received since taking on a foster child has been useful.**

| Extremely Satisfied | 23 | 51.1 |
| Satisfied | 7 | 15.6 |
| Somewhat Satisfied | 2 | 4.4 |
| Somewhat Dissatisfied | 8 | 17.8 |
| Dissatisfied | 3 | 6.7 |
| Extremely Dissatisfied | 2 | 4.4 |

**How satisfied are you with your private foster care agency?**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My caseworker informed me about my foster child's medical history and needs before placement.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My caseworker informed me about my foster child's educational needs before placement.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is easy to get in contact with my caseworker.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>My caseworker is effective in dealing with issues my foster child or family may have.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>My caseworker cares about my foster child and my family.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
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<td>Agree</td>
<td>Somewhat Agree</td>
<td>Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>My caseworker encourages and compliments me on a job well done.</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>My caseworker visits my home and foster child often enough.</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>How often does your caseworker visit your home?</td>
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<tr>
<td>More than once a month</td>
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<td>Once a month</td>
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<tr>
<td>Less than once a month</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counseling or mental health services:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of participants indicating a need in the past year</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of those in need, number who have received services</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Services for foster children's behavior problems:</td>
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<td>Of those who have received services, number who are satisfied</td>
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<td>Foster parent support group or emotional support:</td>
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<td>63.6</td>
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<td>Of those who have received services, number who are satisfied</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crisis assistance:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of participants indicating a need in the past year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of those in need, number who have received services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of those who have received services, number who are satisfied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support from licensing workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of participants indicating a need in the past year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of those in need, number who have received services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of those who have received services, number who are satisfied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Is There an Emerging Black Middle Class in the United States?

Sociology/Ethnic Studies

Research Paper Session

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Introduction:

Nick Kotz (2005) in his review of Ira Katznelson’s book, When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America, argues that as a result of the civil rights act of 1964 and the affirmative action policies that followed that “…in the 1960s a black middle class has prospered and grown rapidly” (p.19). This paper will try to test the veracity of this statement. The paper will present an analysis of selected demographic data to attempt to answer the question: Is there an emerging Black middle class in the United States and has it prospered?

There is general consensus among sociologists that there are three key variables that serve as indicators of social class position: income, education and occupation. Social class, in turn, will influence a variety of life chances including factors that influence one’s area of residence and issues related to health. Recent census data will be analyzed to help offer a preliminary response to the question posed.

Review of the literature:

Most studies on the Black American experience focus on the black poor, whether they live in southern rural areas or in urban ghettos (see Pattillo-McCoy, 1999). There is, I believe, a presumption amongst most white Americans, and perhaps many black Americans as well, that if one is black one is poor. This stereotypic notion negates the possibility of class diversity even though there are approximately 37 million black Americans. Lane (1986), for example, writes about a white reporter who interviewed Condolezza Rice, who was then a Stanford University professor. The opening line of the story read: “She has come a long way up from the ghetto.” The problem with that statement is that Rice was the product of a middle class home in a suburban community in Alabama. This is not surprising. Social class differences seem to be a forgotten element when one deals with the issue of race. In discussing the civil rights movement of the 1960s, Davidson (1996) states: “Raising the issue of class was likely to get you tagged as a Communist, a designation which killed your political effectiveness…” (p. 110). More broadly, race has largely supplanted class in the discussion of social issues.

The first major study of the black middle-class was written fifty years ago with the publication of E. Franklin Frazier’s now classic study: Black Bourgeoisie (1957). In
his conclusions, Frazier writes: “Our purpose was to treat the black bourgeoisie as a case study of a middle-class group which had emerged during the changing adjustment of a racial minority to modern industrial society” (233). His study offers a scathing analysis of the black middle-class. In his own words he states: “The black bourgeoisie suffers from ‘nothingness’ because when Negroes attain middle-class status, their lives generally lose both content and significance” (238). One of his basic arguments is that the black middle-class, in its striving for status, has turned its back on the larger black community.

Birmingham (1977), in reviewing Frazier’s work, argues that the same may be said about the upwardly mobile white middle class. Pinkney (2000), drawing on Frazier’s earlier work, argues that the black middle-class in some ways tries to “out middle-class” the white middle class. He asserts that the black middle-class “…overconform(s) to middle-class standards of behavior…” (p. 207).

Mark Anthony Neal (2002) also addresses the issue of the cleavage within the black community. In his study of black popular culture, he notes that while the black middle-class did not abandon the black urban communities from which they came, they “…were often still marked as ‘different’ because of their economic and social class” (p. 47). Interestingly, in the same work Neal discusses the success of the Bill Cosby television show (see pp. 54-5). On the one hand the show did depict a “typical” middle-class black family. On the other hand, the show was devoid of any meaningful discussions of issues that affected the larger black community.

Interestingly, Bill Cosby made news in May 2004 when he spoke derisively about the black lower class lifestyle. Dyson (2005) critically analyzes Cosby’s comments and argues that Cosby showed little understanding of the black lower class lifestyle. He states that Cosby’s comments reflect the strains between what he terms the “Aristocracy” and the “Ghettocracy.” He states that Cosby’s comments may be seen as typical of “…upper-middle-class blacks and the black elite who rain down fire and brimstone upon poor blacks for their deviance and pathology, and for their lack of couth and culture” (p. xiii-xiv). What Dyson argues is that many in the black middle-class lose sight of the largely structural factors-both economic and political- that may limit opportunities for the black poor.
Oliver Cox (1976) has also addressed the issue of class rifts in the black community. He states that: “Middle-class Negroes are thus identified with mainstream culture, a culture which the lower class tend to distrust and fear” (p. 263). He goes on to argue that for some lower-class black leaders, any level of middle-class achievement may be seen as a “mark of apostasy.” Middle-class blacks, he argues, may be viewed as Uncle Toms. While the black poor may hold negative views of the middle class, Dyson (1996) suggests that the black middle class may feel “guilt and anxiety toward the black ghetto poor” (p. 187).

Birmingham (1977) follows a similar line of thinking when he writes: “…as more and more blacks become successful, the more they will be resented by the less successful and, inevitably, the gap between the educated and successful blacks at the top and the ill-educated poor at the bottom will seem wider and unbridgeable” (p. 292). This is certainly not a pattern monopolized by black Americans. Other racial and ethnic groups, as they stratify, will mirror similar patterns of behavior.

Cornel West (1993) examines the role of what he terms the “new black petite bourgeoisie” in the emergence of the post World War II civil rights movement. He argues that one of the elements of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s greatness was his ability to mobilize this new middle-class with the black working poor and the black underclass (272). He goes on to argue that this new middle-class “…welcomed Malcolm X’s rhetoric and honesty with open arms. It resonated with their own newly acquired sense of political engagement and black pride…” (281). The Black Power movement, West argues, represented in part a new desire among the black middle-class for “power and a starving for status” (283). In moving beyond the political, West states that this middle-class will “most likely pursue power-seeking life styles, promote black entrepreneurial growth and perpetuate professional advancement” (287). However, West goes on to offer a caveat. “Yet,” he writes, “the rampant racism in American society truncates such life-styles, growth and advancement. The ‘new’ black middle-class can become only a ‘truncated’ petite bourgeoisie in American society, far removed from real ownership and control over the crucial sectors of the economy and with intractable ceilings imposed upon their upward mobility” (287).
The “fragility” of the black middle class has also been noted by Washington (1996). Similar to Frazier’s ideas, Washington writes that the black middle-class is caught between fitting into white stereotypes and fitting into the expectations of other black Americans. They appear to be torn between identifying with the large middle-class culture and empathizing with poorer segments of the black community. Miniter (1998) also discusses this fragility but from a somewhat more conservative perspective. He suggests, as do others, that being middle-class is different for blacks and whites. This difference lay in two areas: economics and family experience. He points out that while black Americans do occupy professional and managerial jobs, they have fewer assets than their white counterparts. He also argues that the family experiences of black professionals are important. More specifically he sees the need for what he calls the “reconstruction of the black family into a more reliable shelter from life’s storms.”

With this discussion of the black middle-class, we have yet to define what the term middle-class or for that matter black middle class may actually mean. There is clearly no consensus as to the definition of these terms. For example one may examine the review essay by Pattillo-McCoy (1999) for a summary of some of the different views on the black middle-class. A brief analysis by Robinson (1997) presents some of the issues related in trying to quantify what is meant by the black middle-class. This is an issue that this paper will address in the data analysis section.

Given these difficulties it is perhaps best to think of a more generic definition of middle-class, and then see to what degree the black middle-class fits into that definition. Zack (1998), in her discussion of the relationship of class and race suggests the following definition: “The middle class can be defined as the group that is able to attain and maintain the economic and social goals of home ownership, steady employment, college education, and more or less stable nuclear family life” (p.102). She goes on to note that the black middle-class generally does not do as well as their white counterparts. They are at a disadvantage when one examines data on earnings, property values, educational attainment of children, and even health statistics. Blackwell (1991) sees the black middle-class as having the following values: “high achievement motivation, a tradition of family stability, high religiosity, high regard for property ownership, a sustained history of
political participation and activism, social striving, and consumption of durable goods” (p.177-8).

Given the overall difficulty in trying to define in any clear and consensual manner what it means to be middle-class, this paper will offer what may be termed “circumstantial evidence” to examine the state of the black middle-class

**Data Analysis:**

The first series of tables will examine data on income. There is no absolute definition of how social class divisions may be divided by income (see, for example, Robinson, 1997). That is, there is no clear answer to the question: how much does one have to earn to be middle-class? By examining the data in the first three tables, and Figure 1 some idea as to changes in black middle-class patterns over the past 20 years may be ascertained.

Table 1 presents data on family income by percent distribution at discrete income levels. There appears to be relatively little change in the percent of black families who are in the mid-level range of income as defined by those earning between $35,000 and $74,999. In 1980 about 30 percent of black families fell into this income range. In 2002 the same percent of black families fell in this range. The greatest gain for black families was in the highest two income categories where the percent of black families slightly more than doubled between 1980 and 2002. However when compared to white family income the picture is not positive. One out of three white families earn $75,000 or more while only one out of six black families earn this same amount.

**Table 1 Money Income of Families-Percent Distribution by Income Level and Race, in Constant (2002) Dollars: 1980 to 2002**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $15,000</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000-</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Range</td>
<td>Median Income</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$24,999-$25,000</td>
<td>$45,277</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000-$34,999</td>
<td>$49,251</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000-$49,999</td>
<td>$55,376</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000-$74,999</td>
<td>$54,633</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000-$99,999</td>
<td>$26,198</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000 and over</td>
<td>$28,583</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median income</strong></td>
<td><strong>$35,166</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another way to examine income levels is to analyze income by quintiles. Table 2 presents data on the third, fourth and highest quintiles and the top 5 percent of earners. The numbers indicate the means for each of the quintiles shown. For all years indicated white families had substantially higher mean incomes within quintiles when compared to black families.

Another way to examine the changes in income is to look at the overall percentage increase in earnings by quintile between 1980 and 2003 (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1 Changes in Income: 1980 to 2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Third fifth</th>
<th>Fourth fifth</th>
<th>Highest fifth</th>
<th>Top 5 percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>$34,384</td>
<td>$54,873</td>
<td>$110,117</td>
<td>$174,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>$33,700</td>
<td>$52,339</td>
<td>$104,899</td>
<td>$168,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>$21,490</td>
<td>$34,829</td>
<td>$65,120</td>
<td>$95,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>$12,713</td>
<td>$20,122</td>
<td>$35,207</td>
<td>$48,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>$55,776</td>
<td>$82,676</td>
<td>$169,501</td>
<td>$294,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>$53,159</td>
<td>$77,230</td>
<td>$161,919</td>
<td>$288,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>$37,011</td>
<td>$52,513</td>
<td>$97,076</td>
<td>$152,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>$22,016</td>
<td>$30,137</td>
<td>$50,429</td>
<td>$71,581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Housing and Household Economics Statistics Division. Last revised: May 13, 2005

While both black and white family income has increased for the years indicated, different patterns emerge. Black Americans experienced a more rapid growth for those in the third
quintile, and both blacks and whites had the same growth for those in the fourth quintile. In the highest income categories white income growth increased at significantly higher rates than that of black income growth.

The differences in income may be explored further by looking at the ratios for the means within each quintile. For example, in 2003 the ratio of mean family income for the third quintile was .62. This means that black families had a mean that equaled 62 percent of that of white families. In more common parlance this is often referred to as black families in the third quintile earned income that was 62 cents on the dollar as compared to white families. The data indicate that it is only in the third quintile that there has been any narrowing of the gap in mean income. The fourth quintile has been relatively constant while the highest fifth and the top 5 percent the difference in mean income has increased.

Table 3 Ratios of Mean Family Income by Quintiles and Top 5 Percent by Race:
1980 to 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Third fifth</th>
<th>Fourth fifth</th>
<th>Highest fifth</th>
<th>Top 5 percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Housing and Household Economics Statistics Division. Last revised: May 13, 2005

Stoll (2005), in summarizing his research on income has argued that there are two patterns that emerge in studying median family income of white and black Americans. First, income increased for both groups as both group were influenced by general economic trends, especially the upswing in the 1990s. Second, blacks still maintained a relatively low position as compared to their white counterparts. He also suggests that while these differences in income are real, they may also be influenced by family structure. His argument is that blacks are less likely to be married and therefore there are
fewer persons contributing to the family income. There are a disproportionate number of black families that are female-headed, and have only one income. This has a substantial negative impact on the income data.

**Table 4 Asset Ownership Rates for Households by Race: 2000**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asset</th>
<th>White, non Hispanic</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest earning assets at financial institutions</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks and mutual funds</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own business or profession</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicles</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>70.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own home</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental property</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRA or Keogh accounts</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401K or thrift savings plans</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Income, while important, is only one measure of wealth. Wealth consists of all the assets one may hold. Table 4 presents data on the percent of white and black Americans who hold specific types of assets as of 2000. The data indicate that for all the types of assets shown white Americans have higher rates of ownership. This is particularly telling when one examines the data for interest earning accounts and for home ownership. One may argue that these two types of assets are central to achieving the American Dream—owning your own home and having some savings set aside for a rainy day. It is these two asset categories that there is the largest gap between white and black Americans.

There has been a narrowing in the gap between rates of homeownership during the 1990s and mortgage lending has increased substantially for black American homebuyers. However there is additional evidence to indicate that more recently, because of increases in unemployment and mortgage foreclosures a number of families are still
struggling to achieve their dream (AmeriStat, 2005). The overall pattern in home ownership between 1980 and 2000 when comparing black and white Americans has not changed significantly. In fact, for the twenty-year period black home ownership went from 44.4 percent to 46.3 percent of all black Americans. At the same time white home ownership went from 67.8 percent to 71.3 percent (Hobbs and Stoops, 2002).

Education is a second variable in understanding patterns of social mobility and a variety of other changes within racial and ethnic subgroups (See Egelman, 1989). Educational attainment is related to occupational mobility and, in turn, to changes in income. For Black Americans there have been substantial increases in the level of educational attainment over the past 25 years (see Table 5). For the group as a whole, and for both gender groups there has been more than a doubling in the proportion of persons who have completed four or more years of college. However, if one examines the most recent data, there appears to be a slowing down in the rate of growth of college graduates. Between 2000 and 2004 there has been almost no increase for black males, and the increase for black females has been less than 2 percent. Wheary (2005) points out that the recent slow growth in educational attainment may be due to increased tuition at public institutions, and a lack of proportionate increase in need-based financial aid.

Table 5 Educational Change: Percent of People 25 Years and over Who Have Completed 4 years of College or More: 1980 to 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Attending college and educational success generally has bee linked to early childhood experiences including parent-child interactions. Table 6 presents data on
children’s exposure to pre school educational preparatory activities such as being read to or being told a story. For both white and black children there has been an increase in these home literacy activities with one exception—that of visiting a library. Also, the gap in experiences of white and black children appears to be narrowing.

Table 6 Children’s Involvement in Home Literacy Activities by Race, Children 3 to 5 years old Not Yet Enrolled in Kindergarten: 1993 and 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>White, Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>Black, Non-Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read to</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told a story</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taught letters, words, or numbers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visited a library</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Not surprisingly these home literacy activities are reflected by somewhat greater school readiness skills of black children (see Table 7). However, while black children are generally on par with white children on a number of basic skills (recognizing letters, basic counting, and writing their name), they still lag behind in reading readiness and having 3 to 4 basic skills.

Table 7 Children’s School Readiness Skills by Race, Children 3 to 5 years old Not Yet Enrolled in Kindergarten (in percent): 1993 and 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>White, Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>Black Non-Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recognizes all letters</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counts to 20 or</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
higher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Writing name</th>
<th>52</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>45</th>
<th>52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reads or pretends to read story books</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has 3-4 skills</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These home literacy and school readiness data may be important indicators of a growing black middle-class. Research indicates that parent child interactions vary by social class (See LeMasters and DeFrain, 1983:87-107). Generally speaking, the higher the social class the greater the child-centered orientation to parenting. This child-centeredness is reflected in part by a greater degree of verbal interaction (Brooks, 2001:55). This verbal interaction will also manifest itself by influencing the amount of time parents spend reading to the child, and helping the child learn basic literacy skills. While African American families, historically have shown a number of positive family characteristics (See Hamner and Turner, 2001:168-179), as larger numbers of black Americans move into the middle class, one would expect an increase in what may be termed middle class types of family interactions emphasizing the development of literacy skills.

In examining the two tables above, and assuming that these skills and activities are associated with middle class values, then we can suggest that more Black Americans are exhibiting middle class patterns of behavior. Between 1993 and 2001 Black Americans have increased their level of participation at least equal to and often greater than their white counterparts. As noted above, there appears to be two patterns in the data. On the one hand the Black participation in these activities have increased. On the other hand, there still are gaps in the level of participation between white and black Americans.
### Table 8 Percent Black Employed Civilians by Selected Occupations: 1983 and 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1983</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managerial and professional specialty</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial managers</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, marketing, advertising and public relations</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountants and auditors</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer systems analysts, scientists</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, college and university</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselors, educational and vocational</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economists</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologists</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The third key variable in analyzing social class position is occupation. Table 8 presents data on percent black employment in selected occupations. All occupations listed are typically perceived to be “middle-class.” The overall general census category of “managerial and professional specialty” increased by 2.4 percent. Given sampling error this difference appears not to be significant. Some specific occupational categories do appear to have increased significantly: financial managers, accountants and auditors, educational and vocational counselors, and social workers. It would not be surprising to see some gain in these areas because as the black middle-class expands, their need for “middle-class” services also increases.

### Table 9 Residence by Type of Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White, non Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another variable often linked to middle class status is migration to the suburbs. According to Cummings (1998:176), “During the 1970s the rate of the African American population in the suburbs increased faster than did that of whites.” In part this was due to federal policies to end residential segregation. A latent function of this move to the suburbs was an increasing isolation of the poor in inner cities. Table 9 presents more recent data on population distribution by racial category. The term urban is used for the census term “metropolitan area, inside central city.” The term suburban refers to the census category “metropolitan area, outside central city; and, rural represents the census category “nonmetropolitan.” For the eight year period covered in the table, blacks and whites have experienced a similar decline in rural residence. At the same time, however, black Americans have experienced a more rapid decline in urban residence and a more rapid increase in suburban residence.

While many black suburbanites live in black dominated suburbs, there is an increase in multiracial suburban communities. Many of these newer black suburbs are located in the south (Atlanta, Washington DC, Richmond, and New Orleans). Data also indicate that much of this black suburbanization movement is fueled by the black middle-class (see Palen, 2005:132-8; and Frey, 2001). This migration to the south has been explained by Frey (2005) as follows: “like whites, blacks were attracted by the South’s booming economy, low density living, and warmer climate. Other pull factors included
historic roots in the region, the existence of a growing milled-class black population, and an improved racial climate” (p. 1).

Another area to examine to look for circumstantial evidence of middle-class patterns is that of health. Social class influences many aspects of life including that of health. Perhaps most important of all health indicators is life expectancy. Table 10 presents data on life expectancy by race and gender. It is clear that for both racial groups life expectancy has increased between 1980 and 2002. The data also indicated that race by itself does not explain all the variation in life expectancy. Sex is a key predictor with respect to life expectancy. The data also indicate that within gender groups whites have a higher average life expectancy than blacks.
Table 10 Life Expectancy at Birth by Race and Sex: 1980-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th></th>
<th>Black</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another health indicator is that of prenatal care. One may expect as more members of a group enter the middle class, the greater the degree of health care. This would include women making greater use of medical professionals during pregnancy. The data indicate that there is a narrowing in the gap between white and black women receiving prenatal care during the first trimester. For all years shown, however, white women had a higher percentage of prenatal care than their black counterparts.

Table 11 Prenatal Care for Live Births During 1st Trimester by Race: 1980-2002 (in Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Improved and more widespread availability of prenatal care would most likely lead to lower infant mortality rates. Table 12 presents data on infant mortality by race and by level of educational attainment. The data indicate several points. First, infant mortality is declining for both white and black mothers. Second, the higher the education the lower is the infant mortality rate. Third, for all categories, white mothers have lower infant mortality rates than do black mothers.
Table 12 Infant Mortality Rates for Mothers 20 years of Age and Over By Mother’s Education and Race (Not Hispanic): 1983-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White Mothers</th>
<th></th>
<th>Black Mothers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 12 years of education</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 years of education</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 years or more of education</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 13 Interracial marriages (in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total married couples</th>
<th>Black/White marriages</th>
<th>Black/White marriages as percent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>57,919</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>56,495</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>53,256</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>49,714</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A last variable to be analyzed is that of interracial marriages. The data in Table 13 indicate a substantial increase in the number and proportion of black/white marriages. Between 1980 and 2002, there was a 16.5 percent increase in all marriages. During the same time period, black/white marriages increased by 137 percent.

Interrace marriage patterns are influenced by both demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. As a black middle class emerges, one may expect greater numbers of
interracially married couples. Lee and Edmonston (2005) examined some of the variables associated with intermarriage. They found that the higher the education, the greater the chance for intermarriage. Specifically, intermarried Black Americans with less than a high school education made up 5 percent of all black married couples. Black Americans with a college degree or higher made up 9 percent of all black married couples. Not surprisingly, there were also income differences when endogamous marriages are compared to intermarriages. Mean family income, in 1999, for endogamous marriages was $58,100; the figure for interracial couples was $61,700.

Conclusions

In examining the status of black Americans, James Blackwell (1991) noted that “to be black in America contrasts profound individual achievements and group gains with the economic, educational, and political deprivation of a growing underclass” (p. xvii). His work suggests a pattern of countervailing trends within the black community that manifests itself with both a growing middle-class, and a growing underclass. One may take this notion of countervailing trends one step further by utilizing it in analyzing the position of middle-class black Americans.

The data analyzed in this paper indicate that there appears to a growing black middle class. Generally over the past twenty years, there are higher income levels, gains in educational attainment, and at least some increases in some “typical” middle-class occupations. In addition, there is evidence of a black suburbanization pattern. Health indicators show some gains during the same time period, with increasing life expectancy for males and females, greater delivery of pre-natal care and a decreasing infant mortality rate. While certainly speculative, increasing numbers of black/white marriages may also be indicative of an emerging black middle-class.

The countervailing trend, as shown by the data, indicates some remaining major gaps between blacks and whites. There are substantial differences in quintile income means, and in data presented on issues related to overall wealth. There are still major differences in educational attainment. The selected middle-class occupations analyzed show generally minimal gains for black Americans. Health indicators, while improving, still lag behind those for white Americans.
How does one make sense of all these data? One may conclude by stating that on the road to the American Dream, black Americans are closer to their destination, but they, and we as a society, still have a long road to travel.
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6. **Abstract of the Paper:**

The 1990s were a crucial period for lesbians in Taiwan. Lesbian novels such as Du Xiu Lan’s *Ni Nü*, Chen Xue’s *The Bad Girl*, and Qiu Miaojin’s *The Journal of the Crocodile* were published to popular and critical acclaim. Magazines such as *Girlfriend* and *Dao Yu Bian Yuan* (*Isle Margin Journal*) also began to be published. A conference on Sexuality, Sexology, Trans/Gender Studies and LesBiGay Studies was held for the first time by the National Central University in 1995. Although a number of publications and critics address the notion of sexuality in lesbianism, there is seldom any discussion of sisterhood within these lesbian relationships. However, this does not mean that sisterhood is not portrayed in women and lesbians’ novels or that the relationship of sisterhood cannot be viewed as part of lesbian relationship.

With the reference of the May Fourth Movement1, many Chinese women such as Ding Ling, Feng Yuan-jun, Shu Ling-hua, and Lu Yin have developed a theoretical

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1 The May Fourth Movement (1917-1927) was a revolution of political thinking about literacy, women’s status and education. Influenced by the democracy and technology of western society, many
account of women’s literature, and provide a critical assessment of the customs of feudalism and patriarchy. The freedom to choose love, marriage, and female friendship has been the main issue for them. Some critics, such as Rei Chow, Meng Yue, and Dai Jin-hua, use psychological analysis to portray these rebellious New Women as possessing an “Oedipus” complex. However, Jian Ying-ying disagrees with this argument, positing that women loving women cannot be explained simply as a psychoanalytical model, and that cultural difference should be taken into account – the powerful role of motherhood in the Chinese family and how female romantic friendships are regarded as a normality in Chinese culture. The plot of female bonding tallies with Faderman’s definition of lesbianism:

“Lesbianism” described a relationship in which two women’s strongest emotions and affections are directed towards each other. Sexual contact may be part of the relationship to a greater or lesser degree, or it may be entirely absent. By preference the two women spend most of their time together and share most aspects of their lives with each other.

“Romantic friendship” described a similar relationship.²

In this paper, sisterhood in lesbian relationships will be addressed through a reading of lesbian novels in the early twentieth century. I shall begin by analysing how two novelists, Ding Ling and Lu Yin, were influenced by the May Fourth Movement.

² Lillian Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men (London: Women’s Press, 1985) 17-18._
INTELLIGENCE FAILURES AND 9/11

BY

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Abstract: Intelligence Failures and 9/11
Is it possible that the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 could have been prevented? Can the spectacle be attributed solely to the organizational and operational abilities of the al Qaeda network, or rather to a break down in the U.S. intelligence community? These questions are very significant because there were many lives lost that day and in wars pursuant to the tragic terrorist attacks. If the attacks could have possibly been prevented then it is important for the American people to understand how and why they were not and to hold the system accountable. This critical level of understanding is instrumental in taking measures to prevent possible future attacks.

In light of the post-September 11th developments and the 9/11 Commission’s investigations, it has become more evident that, there were major failures in intelligence analysis and in the ability to detect the preparations for the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. This study proposes that the intelligence community failed to respond adequately to the warnings and threats of terrorist attacks. The lack of interagency cooperation and information sharing led to missed opportunities to follow up with leads from previous threats and attacks. Finally, the problem of classifying information became an obstacle in detecting the terrorists before the attacks. In 2004, President Bush created the new office of the Director of National Intelligence, with Director John Negroponte, as a response to address these charges and in hopes of reforming the performance of the intelligence community.
There were major failures in intelligence analysis and in the ability to detect the preparations for the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The terrorist attacks of September 11th cannot be attributed to the strength of the terrorist organization al Qaeda, but rather to a weak link in the U.S. intelligence community. The main responsibility of the CIA is collection of foreign intelligence, involving foreign governments and nationals. Their mandate involves providing “accurate, evidence-based, comprehensive and timely foreign intelligence related to national security.” (SIS 681 handout) The FBI is in charge of domestic law enforcement, including investigations, organized crime and counterterrorism, and protecting and defending the United States against terrorist and foreign intelligence threats. How did these all-source intelligence agencies fail to make assessments of the threats to national security? Why did they fail to act promptly in the face of all the warning signs? These organizations failed to meet the mark. In this paper, I will discuss the intelligence failures that led to the terrorist attacks of 9/11, mainly focusing on the CIA and the FBI. First, I will show how the intelligence agencies’ responses to the warnings and threats of terrorist attacks were insufficient. Next, I will show that the lack of interagency cooperation and information sharing led to missed opportunities to follow up with leads from previous threats and attacks. Finally, I will discuss how the problem of classifying information became an obstacle in detecting the terrorists before the attacks.
First, the intelligence agencies’ responses to the warnings and threats of terrorist attacks were insufficient. In the spring of 2001, the level of terrorist threats and warnings of attacks reached its peak. By March, the intelligence community had issued a report warning of threats against U.S. interests by Sunni extremists. In June, the interagency Counterterrorism Security Group (CSG), Richard Clarke, warned National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice that Abu Zubaydah and al Qaeda were planning attacks against U.S. interests, without specific locations, or targets. Although the threats were interpreted to be focused on other countries, the U.S. was not ruled out. Clarke also warned Rice, “Foreign terrorist sleeper cells are present in the U.S. and attacks in the U.S. are likely.” (9/11 Commission pgs. 179, 255) He also indicated that a series of reports to the analysts at the State Department, CIA, DIA and NSA warned about a significant imminent terrorist attack. (p. 257)

The response of the FBI to these threat warnings was limited because the warnings and instructions were not specific. The FBI notified its field offices to conduct human source intelligence and search electronic databases for information on Sunni extremism. In July, the FBI Counterterrorism Division issued a general warning to local, state and federal agencies warning of Bin Laden threats, but they claimed they had no credible threats. In the absence of specific threats, the FBI virtually ignored the warnings and failed to take any precautionary actions, leaving the U.S. vulnerable. And there was no oversight on the part of the CIA’s DCI, or government. The FBI was under the impression that attacks would occur overseas because historically terrorist attacks have transpired overseas. In fact, reports of warnings did give clear intelligence as to possible perpetrators, methods and targets. FBI officials failed to extrapolate from the warnings
the possible threats to domestic targets. And the Counterterrorism Center did not consider how aircraft could be used as weapons, even though there have been so many incidents around the world involving suicide bombers. In fact, the thought of flying planes into buildings did not cross anybody's mind. (It has been a long time since the kamikaze pilots’ attack on Pearl Harbor.)

It is also unclear how warnings and a plan of action were relayed to the FBI rank and file. FBI Director Pickard told the Commission he conveyed heightened terrorist threats to FBI agents in the field, a claim of which the Commission found no evidence from agents in the field, except in New York. Furthermore, Pickard’s remark belies the Bureau’s claim that they did not have warnings involving domestic targets. In fact, Pickard did not instruct the field offices to investigate any possible domestic threats, even though domestic threats were not ruled out. Pickard also claims that Attorney General Ashcroft did not want to hear about threats or “chatter” anymore, a claim which Ashcroft disputes. The 9/11 Commission concluded that “No one was looking for a foreign threat to domestic targets.” (p. 263) The NSC did not give explicit instructions to the FBI to conduct any surveillance operations and the FBI did not take the initiative to marshal their agents to conduct investigations. Given their false assumption that the threats were focused overseas, they did not what course of action to take domestically. They lacked direction and they did not have a set of plans. There was no substantial response from FBI headquarters and there was no clear direction, or plan of action devised to marshal the FBI agents. There were no measures taken to secure the borders, transportation systems, coordinate with INS or U.S. Customs, or conduct electronic surveillance against potential domestic threats. (p. 265) Meanwhile, the information was progressively
building up concerning al Qaeda operatives training at flight schools across the country. Given all the warnings, domestic intelligence officials should have thought and planned ahead, keeping in mind the bigger picture. They did not think there would be an attack in the U.S., therefore, they did not think about what they would do in case there was an attack. The threat was from foreign sleeper cells transporting their ideas and carrying out their plans on U.S. soil, unbeknownst to foreign and domestic intelligence agencies. However, the foreign intelligence agency was more familiar and accustomed to deal with foreign-based threats.

CIA officials had warnings of the terrorist attacks as well and they were looking overseas. This mode of operation came naturally to them as part of their job. The CIA took measures overseas in response to the threat warnings, but they failed to work with the FBI to make sure they would do the same here. The CIA did not review possible scenarios of what could happen in the U.S. and assist the FBI with a plan of action. CIA officials told Attorney General Ashcroft and the CSG that al Qaeda members thought the imminent attack would be “spectacular.” The agency only referenced threats overseas and claimed that it was probably too late to stop any attacks and there would not be advance warning. (p. 259) In June 2001, the CIA notified its station chiefs about possible al Qaeda suicide attacks on U.S. targets. CIA officials were instructed to warn and share this information with their host countries. However, they were not instructed to share any pertinent information with the FBI, their domestic counterpart. In a July, the CSG organized a meeting for the CIA to brief representatives from the domestic agencies, including the INS, Federal Aviation Administration, the Coast Guard, the Secret Service, and the FBI, on the threat warnings. However, the agencies were directed
not to send advisories to their field offices. The NSC deemed the information “subject to classification and distributed restriction.” (p. 258) This was a major failure on the part of the intelligence agencies. The failure to share this information with the field offices seems counterproductive for having the briefing at all. What is the point in gathering the information if not for the field agents who conduct necessary investigations? The information should not have been classified for those in the agencies that needed to know in order to conduct their job.

The State Department made other efforts abroad to disrupt any attacks, including warning U.S. ambassadors, enlisting foreign partners to disrupt terrorist plans, moving military personnel out of harms way and closing the American embassy Yemen. In addition, the CSG had foreign emergency response teams in place in case of a terrorist attack. (p. 257) Defensive measures were taken and warnings were disseminated abroad, but the same actions were not taken domestically. Security was not increased and the public was not informed or warned. Federal agencies and the government believed the threats were focused abroad and this is the message they conveyed to the entire intelligence community. So while the CIA and the FBI were anticipating an attack overseas, the terrorists were making plans and preparing overseas and in the United States. Overall, the intelligence agencies failed to consider foreign threats to domestic targets and to act promptly. In addition, the intelligence agencies also failed to follow up with important leads overseas and within the U.S.

Second, the lack of interagency cooperation and information sharing led to a number of missed opportunities from failing to follow up leads from previous attacks and threat warnings. In 1993, Ramzi Yousef and Abdul Hakim Murad tried to bomb the
World Trade Center. These men were extradited to the U.S. in 1995 from Islamabad. Yousef was convicted on September 11, 1996— a date which would become infamous. As a result of their investigation, the FBI and the CIA had learned from Murad’s laptop plans to “dive bomb” planes into the CIA headquarters. The plan also involved other aircraft being flown into other U.S. government buildings, including the Pentagon, the World Trade Center and the Sears Tower. These are some of the threat warnings that were historically available to both agencies. In 1995, the CIA and the FBI learned about Project Bojinka from the Philippine authorities. This project involved eleven transcontinental flights from Southeast Asia, to be exploded in midair and two to be flown into government buildings in the U.S., including the World Trade Center. (p. 147) Since the FBI and the CIA had previous knowledge of Project Bojinka, how could the agencies not have anticipated this style of attacks with the use of aircraft? They should have monitored Arab men or new students enrolling in flight schools in the U.S. from this point on. It is not reasonable to expect U.S. authorities to profile or single people, namely young Arab men, for questioning, but given the high-level threat warnings something should have been done to screen these men out. It is understandable that at that time, most of the Saudis coming into the U.S. were not criminals and there was no way of knowing their intentions, but some did not have clean backgrounds. In fact, the terrorists’ flight training went undetected. Hazmi and Mihdhar were in flight training in San Diego. They commented to their Arabic speaking instructor that they wanted to learn how to fly Boeing jets, but the instructor did not take them seriously and he did not report them to authorities. Hamzi and Mihdhar were roommates in San Diego, whose house owner had “friendly contacts among local police and FBI personnel.” (p. 223)
However, the house owner never suspected anything and the FBI never tracked them down. Ziad Jarrah, Marwan al Shehhi and Mohamed Atta were training in Florida. Hani Hanjour started his flight training in Arizona, as early as 1996, as part of his personal interest at that time.

By far the biggest clue and most significant lead available to the FBI was Zacarius Moussaoui, a French national. Moussaoui came to the U.S. in February 2001 and had flight lessons in Oklahoma, then in Minnesota. What set him apart from others in pilot training was that he wanted to learn how to "take off and land," but he did not know how to fly and operate an aircraft. (p. 273) On August 15, an FBI agent in the Minneapolis field office conducted an investigation on Moussaoui. The agent interviewed Moussaoui and concluded that he was "an Islamic extremist preparing for some future act in furtherance of radical fundamentalist goals." (p. 273) Moussaoui had expressed a jihadist ideology and had traveled to Pakistan, a common route to training camps in Afghanistan. He expressed an interest in learning martial arts training and purchasing a global positioning receiver. Suspicious of a hijacking plot, the agent detained Moussaoui on immigration violation charges and processed for deportation on August 17. The FBI did not find enough compelling evidence to arrest Moussaoui and confiscate or search his possession, like his laptop. The agent's efforts to obtain a criminal warrant were frustrated because of FISA, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which required showing a connection to a foreign power. The agent referred to officials in Paris and London, who connected Moussaoui with a Chechen rebel leader. FBI headquarters found this to be insufficient in attaining a FISA warrant.

In August, the CIA notified Paris and London that Moussaoui may be a "suicide
hijacker." (p. 274) On September 4, the FBI notified the federal agencies their concerns about Middle Eastern men in flight training. The FBI was not authorized to share information on Moussaoui with the FAA. This is another example of how the lack of interagency cooperation and information sharing would debilitate the U.S. and block them from detecting the terrorists. The FAA did not think it was unusual for Middle Eastern men to be in flight training. That the FAA did not deem it strange that Middle Eastern men were learning how to fly planes, is intrinsically strange and should have raised flags. Was the FAA aware of a lot or a number of Middle Eastern men who had sought flight training? This remains unclear. If it were the case that the FAA had a higher than usual number of Middle Eastern men, then is it not possible that they could have put two and two together, and seen relationship between aviation and terrorism? This line of critical thinking escaped officials from the FBI, the CIA and the FAA. Moreover, the FAA was one of the recipients of the threat warnings, but they lacked the information about Moussaoui. Despite this, the FAA did not act, with increased security, or place air marshals on flights. This was yet another missed opportunity to detect the terrorist in training. The FBI had failed once again in their inability to share crucial information with an agency that was on the front lines. This failure would have dire consequences. Perhaps they underestimated the significance of Moussaoui's plans, therefore; their response to the threat was untimely and incomplete. Moussaoui had communicated with Ramzi Binalshibh, the al Qaeda liaison to Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, which the FBI did not know about. If only the FBI were able to search more thoroughly, they may have been able to make the connections from Moussaoui to al Qaeda to flight training and then back to the threat warnings, they could have probed further and perhaps the other
operatives. Upon finding the connections, they could have probed further and perhaps discovered other operatives. The shortcoming of the handling agent was his failure to go up the chain of command and contact Michael Roline, the FBI assistant director heading the Bureau's International Terrorism Operations Section. (p. 275)

In November 1999, Jordanian intelligence learned of terrorist cell operations through intercepting a phone call between Abu Zubayhad and Khadr Abu Hoshar, a Palestinian extremist, indicating “the time for training is over.” Fearing a possible terrorist attack, the Jordanian police detained Hoshar and his accomplices, sentenced them to death and they notified Washington. U.S. authorities were warned, but no precautionary measures were taken. On October 12, 2000, operatives attacked the U.S. Navy destroyer, the USS Cole off the coast of Yemen. An investigation assisted by the U.S. Ambassador to Yemen, Barbara Bodine, the FBI, CIA and Naval Criminal Investigative Service proceeded. A list of al Qaeda links was gathered, but the CIA wanted more conclusive evidence. Yemeni authorities interrogated Badawi and Quso which revealed information about Khallad’s and Nashiri’s involvement. Khallad and Nahiri would be future hijackers on September 11th. The FBI recognized Khallad as an al Qaeda operative, who had lost a leg in an Afghanistan training camp. (p. 192) The fact that he had only one leg, unless he had prosthesis, would make him stand out (no puns intended). This should have made it easier for agents to track him down. U.S. intelligence agencies knew these men were involved with the 1998 embassy bombings, but they were not tracked down and captured until 2002. National Security Advisor, Samuel Berger’s statement that this was an “unproven assumption,” prevented the FBI and the CIA from making a solid case against al Qaeda for the attack on the Cole.
Information related to the terrorist attacks on September 11th was embedded in both incidents. U.S. intelligence agencies did not make a comprehensive effort to track one lead to another.

Another vital lead involved CIA surveillance of a future hijacker. The CIA learned from National Security Agency analysis and the Counterterrorist Center that an “operational cadre,” including Nawaf and Khalid would be traveling to Kuala Lumpur in January 2000. The agency knew these men were linked with al Qaeda and the 1998 American embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. Surveillance teams tracked Nawaf, Khalid and Mihdhar in Kuala Lumpur on the way to Bangkok, but the CIA officers lost track of the men. The CIA was supposed to update the FBI of their surveillance findings, but they failed to do so. They did not tell the FBI that they could not recover their target. Consequently, the men’s names were put on a Thai watchlist, but not on the U.S. State Department's watchlist. The watchlist would have been invoked and authorities in the U.S. would have been alerted when Nawaf, Khalid and Mihdhar tried to enter the U.S. Weeks later, CIA officers in Kuala Lumpur learned that these men were on their way to Los Angeles. (p. 181) The men experienced any complications on their entry.

Even though the FBI and CIA worked together on the USS Cole investigations, there were problems of information sharing and following up with leads. The FBI inquired foreign officials about the positive identification of Khallad, an al Qaeda official. But the CIA's bin Laden unit linked Khallad with Mihdhar in Kuala Lumpur, knowing that the men possessed U.S. visas. This information was in the CIA internal operational files, to which the FBI had no access and was not informed about. Mihdhar would leave the U.S. in 2000 and apply to renew his U.S. visa in June 2001. (p. 267)
First, the CIA failed to pursue their missing trail. Second, they failed to communicate this information about Khallad to the FBI. Third, the agency did not disseminate reports on its tracking and subsequent loss of tracking of Mihdhar. The CIA knew how dangerous Khallad was, but they failed to take action and resume their search. According to the Commission, CIA officials rationalized their primary focus on Southeast Asia, that unlike the FBI who plays “man-to-man,” the CIA plays “zone defense.” (p. 268) In contrast with operations of an FBI agent, who worked on an investigation from beginning to end, a CIA desk officer would move onto another project when a trail went cold in Kuala Lumpur. (p. 268) In short, they dropped the case when it no longer produced results for them instead of going out there being proactive and aware of their surroundings. The failure of the desk officer to follow up with a case beyond the boundaries of Kuala Lumpur signifies a major failure and breakdown in agency procedures. Attacks like those on September 11th occur when people in such positions fail to do their due diligence. The FBI did not start looking for Mihdhar in the States until January 2001 because they did not know that Mihdhar had a U.S. visa. By the time the agencies made any sense of what was going on, and started their search for the terrorists, it would be too late. There was not enough time to track the men down across the nation, specifically on both coasts, and deter them from implementing their plans.

Another CIA official and an FBI agent worked together on the Cole investigations, which harbored information related to the planes operation. They produced some disjointed results; however, again the implications of failing to share information would mean a failure to pursue a major lead in a timely fashion. The collaboration of the agents at this point became a backtracking clean up effort. Fahd al
Quso, who had traveled to Bangkok, came to their attention. Officials from both agencies met in New York in June 2001, to go over the Cole case and examine photographs. Even though they were working together, the CIA official could not share NSA information reports with criminal investigators, the FBI, without the permission of the Justice Department’s Office of Intelligence Policy and Review. The CIA already had this same information from initial NSA reports that led them to Kuala Lumpur, but because the FBI did not share the information, the CIA agents did not know it was the same information. The lack of information led to what amounts to confusion, in hindsight, but it also delayed a lot of action from being taken to follow up with leads. Different agents had pieces of information that they did not voluntarily share. Some agents did not share information because of a lack of authority and some agents were preserving their bureaucratic turf and status of power, but some agent did not share information for reasons unbeknownst to everyone involved. They did not know that it was information that was needed to be known by others. But then again, why do we have information in the first place, if it is not meant for sharing, especially under these circumstances. Surely, information we know can’t be all just for our personal knowledge. On the other hand, some of the agents just did not know that they should have shared the information they had. The CIA official had information on Khalid, Mihdhar and Hamzi, and knew that Hamzi had traveled to Los Angeles, but he did not relate this to the FBI agents. The CIA was “not authorized to answer FBI questions regarding CIA information. (p. 269) This lack of cooperation would prove to be a catastrophic decision because the FBI agent had information on Mihdhar. If the agencies' fragmented information had been shared, they could have pieced the puzzle together.
They were armed for the battle, but they did not engage. For one thing, they could have put Mihdhar’s name on the U.S. watchlist because he would seek to renew his visa, overseas in a few days. This lack of information sharing was significant because the signals intelligence established a link between Mihdhar and suspected terrorist facility in the Middle East. Khalid was with Mihdhar in Kuala Lumpur when they were lost and then discovered to have flown to the U.S. (9/11 Commission p. 269) If the CIA had learned sooner about Mihdhar’s jihadist connection, they could have alerted the FBI to search for him in the U.S. Ironically enough, a few days after the meeting, Mihdhar obtained his U.S. visa overseas and would be flying to New York, without detection.

Another FBI analyst reviewed the Kuala Lumpur data, discovering Mihdhar’s visa application and Hamzi’s travels to Los Angeles. Discussions with an INS official revealed Mihdhar’s entry into the U.S. Hamzi’s and Mihdhar’s name was finally put on a TIPOFF list on August 24. The FBI did not move quickly enough. In fact there were delays in the New York field office in commencing the search for this critical lead because the search draft had been stamped “routine.” If the FBI had grasped the urgency of earlier threat warnings, the search for the lead may not have been categorized simply as another “routine” procedure, but rather correctly deemed as “urgent.” The FBI agents also failed to inform their superiors about this information, who may have had more information pertaining to the case that they had not already shared with the rank and file. This information hoarding signifies systematic inefficiency. Nevertheless, the search for the men would begin, albeit it would prove to be futile. Mihdhar would fly his plane into the Pentagon on September 11th.
Finally, there is the problem of classification of information as intelligence or criminal, which obstructed efforts to pursue leads and detect the terrorist before the attacks. The “wall” between the FBI’s intelligence unit and the criminal division prevented an intelligence agent from sharing with a criminal agent. The rationalization for this lack of information sharing is that the investigation had originally started with regards to the Cole incident; and only from that investigation did Mihdhar’s name arise. The recognition of his name and the affirmation of his identity would raise flags with the FBI and become an intelligence issue. It was not a criminal proceeding yet, but it was not known then that it would prove to be one. In fact, the criminal agent's information was shredded. (9/11 Commission p. 270) The investigating agent might have misunderstood the agency rules and the overlapping complexity of the information could have been too hard to manage. Again, an agent would fail to think outside the box and look at the bigger picture. If they did not think so rigidly, they would have shared information with superiors for direction, or with other agents in their agency as a way of reaching out for assistance in searching for an individual. They could have shared the glory or credit, if that is what it is about. But what seems to be turf protection is not logical and it is not a conducive method of searching for criminals, or potential criminals for that matter.

Another piece of key information, that neither the intelligence agents, nor the criminal agents were aware of, was that the NSA had allowed the passage of information to criminal agents. (p. 271) Unfortunately, it seems like the damage has to be done first before certain actions are taken. Information sharing should be a preventive measure, that was missing and which lay at the heart of the issue here. It is plainly absurd that a
criminal FBI agent cannot have access or obtain intelligence and information on persons of interest. A criminal FBI agent, with their investigative experience, resources and knowledge of al Qaeda and possible cells within the U.S., could have assisted a colleague, intelligence FBI agent in the search for someone. However, criminal agents were barred from receiving this information, and they were excluded from the search proceedings. Restricting available and competent resources can have dire consequences, as it did in this case.

Overall, the ability of the terrorists to carry out the attacks of September 11th cannot be entirely attributed to their perseverance, but rather to the U.S. intelligence community. In summary, the intelligence agencies failed to analyze information and detect the preparations for the attacks in a timely fashion for a number of reasons. The intelligence agencies did not adequately respond to the warnings and threats of terrorist attacks. The lack of interagency cooperation and information sharing led to missed opportunities to follow up with leads from previous threats and attacks. And the problem of classifying information blocked efforts in tracking leads. Overall, the Commission concluded that there was confusion about the rules governing information sharing. Clearly the “wall” between agencies and within agencies led to the catastrophic events on September 11th. Those vested with the power, authority and responsibility to protect the American people had their hands tied and could not think independently and act promptly to get the job done. It is noble to want to work within the guidelines, but in this case the intelligence officials needed to share information. It’s better to be safe than sorry.

It was the responsibility of the intelligence agencies to communicate more effectively and act with greater urgency so they could put the pieces together and make
sense of what was going on, in their own cities. This failure of the intelligence agencies is inexcusable, regardless of the rules of engagement. The disjointed system that constitutes the intelligence agencies greatly contributed to this. The inability of the DCI and the “central” intelligence agency to oversee the all-source strategic intelligence gathering has been addressed since September 11th with reforms, but that is a work in progress.
Sources


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New Visibility, Epic Theater and Textual Openness in Six Plays of the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido in Rio de Janeiro

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ABSTRACT

New Visibility, Epic Theater and Textual Openness in Six Plays of the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido in Rio de Janeiro

My work examines six contemporary plays of Augusto Boal’s Centro do Teatro do Oprimido in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in terms of how the insertion of the Oppressed in the theatrical scene creates a flexible theatrical format and, as a consequence, promotes social dialogue.

In my work I analyze how Artemanha’s Fruto proibido and Vícios, Marias do Brasil’s Quando o verde dos seus olhos se espalhar na plantação and Eu também sou mulher, Arte Vida’s A princesa e o plebeu and Corpo EnCena’s Ser Doutor, Seu João, não é mole, não! deal with issues of visibility through a social and theatrical perspective in the light of Diana Taylor’s theory of the gaze. I also point out that throughout Brazilian history traditional theater has mirrored the legitimate power in establishing social symbols to be gazed at. The Oppressed’s dramatic and, eventually, social inversion as someone who is aware of the social system’s inconsistencies and able to react
against it depicts a change in the visibility pattern of the lower class. How the regular visibility pattern is modified by the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido’s pieces will be analyzed according to Jiří Veltruský’s *Drama as Literature*, which defines the formalities of traditional drama, and therefore assists the explanation of the new textual format of the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido’s as a tool against constituted social relationships.

My examination is based on a research I did in Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 2003. It depicts that the format of traditional theater has to be altered in order to manifest new visibility patterns because traditional theater reinforces relationships of power which are already advantageous to the elite, privileging their perspective. My analysis of the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido’s six pieces highlights the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido’s launching of a new play design, through which the Oppressed pronounces his/her wishes and is enabled to fight for justice.
Proceedings Submission

Title of the submission: Integration through Equal Opportunities in a Scandinavian State: The South Asian Immigrant Experience

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Full paper: Attached
Integration through Equal Opportunities in a Scandinavian State: The South Asian Immigrant Experience

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This paper is designed to explore the process of the integration and adjustment of South Asian immigrants to Norwegian society. In this paper I examine the extent to which different factors such as, time since migration, receptiveness of the host society, position in the labor market, schools, social networks, and interaction with the host society – contribute to immigrants’ attainments, integration and equal opportunity in a multicultural society like Norway. Based on ethnographic methods including unstructured interviews of first generation South Asian immigrants and their children in Norway, three different levels of integration are explained. The first level involves high ethnic identity and low integration and relates to first generation immigrants who have accepted that a permanent return to their home country is impossible. The second level of integration is related to high ethnic identity and high integration. The individuals in this category are second generation immigrants who are integrated into Norwegian society, while maintaining a high ethnic identity by strong allegiance to their parental norms and values. The third level is explained in terms of identity crisis, which sometimes causes an internal turmoil and disorientation for many second generation immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

Although a substantial amount of literature has been written on the subjects of ethnic relations in Norway, there are, nevertheless, very few studies that examine the socioeconomic integration patterns of South Asian immigrants in Norway. My attempt at contributing to this discourse stems the unique perspective as an immigrant myself who has experienced the process of integration first hand in metropolitan Oslo.

There are two reasons why I choose this topic and believe it is worthwhile. First, the demographic and the ethnic composition of the post-1970 immigrants in Norway differ greatly from the earlier Nordic and European immigration into Norway. Migration
occurs because of push-pull factors that push immigrants out of their own countries because of poor economic conditions and draw them into industrial countries. The socio-economic conditions of the 1970s, and the rapid economic growth in the Western industrialized countries has caused immigration to Norway, that, in turn, has significantly impacted Norway’s relatively homogenous society. These changes have brought with them a resurgence of long-standing debates over immigration policy, race and ethnicity, and integration of immigrants in the 1990s. The Norwegian government has been explicit in proclaiming equal opportunities for all of its residents (White Paper 1996-97).

However, there has been little evidence that equality ideology has helped to improve the everyday lives of immigrants and their offspring living in Norway. Surveys from the early 1990s, point toward a high degree of resentment towards non-Western immigrants (Hernes and Knudsen 1994). Berg (1997) has analyzed her experience with the immigrant settlements in Norwegian counties. She found that non-European immigrants faced consistent problems during the economic boom of the 1990s, when native Norwegians and other Westerners were enjoying full employment. Other Norwegian surveys carried out from 1994 to 2000 showed a more favorable opinion of immigrants when it comes to equal opportunity for immigrants in the socioeconomic spheres (NCBS 2001). However, among many Norwegians who maintained some liberal approach toward immigrants, there was also a growing feeling of discontent for immigrant groups, with the strongest negative attitudes felt toward South East Asians because of their Muslim background.

When I undertook this research, I believed that high unemployment rates among immigrants and the effects of racial discrimination in certain areas are indicators of the fact that immigrants are still ascribed a position of “Other” in the contemporary Norwegian society. Thus these issues deserved greater research attention, for this reason, one of the objectives of this study was to explore the implications of demographic changes on the integration process of these immigrants and their descendents.

The second reason for this research is my interest in immigrant related issues and my desire to improve the conditions in this area. My knowledge in this area has been acquired through work experience with immigrants and my contact with the professionals
in the field of ethnic and race relations. In addition, I will be drawing upon my own experiences as a first generation immigrant who lived in Norway for more than twenty years. In response to those who might question the scientific integrity of such research, my answer is that being personally related to one’s subjects or having a special relationship with the cultural traditions to which one studies does not disqualify the research. As Guba and Lincoln (1985) point out, it simply makes the researcher more inclined and interested in the area of study and more accountable to the subjects.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The conceptual framework is based largely on the concepts of socioeconomics and integration during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The decline of a rural population, the growth of cities, the emergence of nation states and globalization of trade are some phenomenon that has evoked new theories and explanations. These theories not only discuss production systems but also social interaction as well. A number of classical and contemporary theoretical perspectives still underlie the discussion around integration and how a coherent society is possible. Brettell and Hollifield (2000) emphasize that the study of social relations is grounded in the classic works of social theorists (e.g., Marx, Weber, and Durkheim) and such classic sociological theory is central to understanding the processes of migration and immigration integration.

Starting with the classical approach, Karl Marx discusses socioeconomic disparity and argues that this ultimately leads to increased inequality between social classes. He says that in such a society, human exploitation has been carried out to the most extreme degree. Accordingly, it leads to inequality and disadvantage and prevents exploited groups from equal participation in the society (Bottomore and Goode 1983). One problem with this approach is that it undermines the emergence of the welfare states. Further, I will argue that human exploitation and oppression is not attributable to a specific economic system such as capitalism but can be found in any form of economic system. In the Norwegian case, for example, the difference and disparity in socioeconomics between minority and majority groups exist, and the state with its
progressive-minded, tolerant and inclusive approaches become the most important organization in promoting the integration of Society (Brox 1993; Fuglerud 1996; Ljunggren 1988).

Another classical theorist whose work figures heavily in discussions of social cohesion and integration is Max Weber. His model of the integration of modern societies or social solidarity is influenced by individual and group social interaction. Weber assumes that inequality follows from the inevitability of a struggle for dominance or survival within a social environment (Weber 1978). For Weber, equal opportunity is just one aspect of class conflict, and argues that inequality exists in specific structural situations when there is an element of competition between groups, and when equity is blocked by institutions and organizations. In particular, the exercise of self-interest by individuals in a diverse society will not, according to Weber’s view, guarantee equality of social justice (Weber 1978). Weber sees the virtue of tolerance and equitability as important factors for a stable and just society, and the key elements for the transition from one society to another. He argues that one important element in every society is the structure of dominance practiced by different social actors. Accordingly, the state or authority is an important agent in promoting equality and justice for all groups in society. According to Hamburger (1989) and Schierup (1988), equal opportunity and social cohesion will not secure any result if any of the competing groups lacks a required attribute as discussed by Weber. Similarly there is the question of individual choice and attitudes, which even under ideal conditions, may lead to different patterns of social life and behavior for some groups. This can create negative outcomes that will not support integration and social cohesion (Hamburger 1989; 1998; Schierup 1988).

Like Marx and Weber, Durkheim was very concerned about the complexity of social integration in the modern society. He characterized modern society by social differentiation, density of population and the struggle for survival. He defines integration as relationships between different social groups and individuals that reinforce social bonds and convince individuals of the fair and just basis of their status in society. He discusses two form of societal integration: mechanical and organic solidarity (Durkheim 1984). Mechanical solidarity suggests that integration binds groups together into a single
moral and social unit with a sense of common duty and responsibility. Another aspect of Durkheim’s theory is that people are different, therefore they have to depend on one another if the society is to remain stable and productive. Durkheim calls this approach organic solidarity. According to this model, cooperation and solidarity is based on the division of labor where the diversity of social groups in a modern society allows a recognition and dependency upon one another, while sharing the welfare benefits among them. For Durkheim, societal integration involves a sense of moral obligation upon the individual toward the wider society. Thus, in Durkheims’ theoretical framework, integration is a matter of individuals’ moral convictions.

The moral aspect of Durkheims’ theory is important for integration because of its emphasis on individual motives, inclinations and convictions. One problem with this theory, however, is that while it emphasizes values and morality, it ignores the fact that socioeconomic disparity cannot be solved just by moral convictions and discipline. There are also other aspects of social cohesion and integration. For example, state power is important to regulate economic life and to hold society together. In any given society there are oppressed groups. A just system in which the people’s rights are protected is not possible without state intervention.

Contemporary theories of modern integration derive from the classical theoretical perspectives that suggest that integration is achieved through interaction, social consensus and a functional participation of all actors and institutions in the society’s socioeconomic system (Fuglerud 1996; Aron 1967; Larsen 1992). Norwegian sociologist Berg (1997) argues that there is a dual process of interaction and sees integration as the product of both interaction between social groups and contacts with public and private sectors that provide the conditions that make for their participation. According to Berg, integration is important in pluralistic societies and it can be achieved only through interaction among different groups and is endorsed by the power structure of society. Other studies are consistent with this approach. For example, Hamburger (1989) and Schierup (1988) argue that the future of a multicultural society is closely connected to immigrants’ real possibilities to influence their own conditions of life style. According to these authors, an autonomous sociodevelopment and organization among established
immigrants is important in the sense that it helps the new immigrants to get information about society’s institutions through their own socio-cultural network and thus become part of the majority while maintaining their own identity.

All of these studies point to the idea that the socioeconomic process of integration is fundamentally interactive and that intergroup contact affects attitudes. As the Norwegian government suggests, “the more interaction between members of different cultures occurs, the more mutually favorable attitudes will develop which will then lead to the smooth integration of different groups in the Norwegian society” (White Paper No. 17, 1996-97). The problem that I can see for this notion is that the failure of individual immigrants to achieve socioeconomic mobility is linked either to their reluctance to accept the values of their host society or to the resistance of the native majority to accept them on an equal basis. Nevertheless, in this model a successful integration is based on cooperation and solidarity among various social groups and requires the engagement of legal institutions. Accordingly, this model leads me to believe that socioeconomic integration is measured by individuals’ and groups’ behavior in relation to each other even as they retain a measure of their original cultures. I would also expect that the state, as a powerful entity, act to insure that all social groups and classes in the society are integrated according to the principle of equality.

American contemporary theorists developed their own models of integration in relation to the set of general theoretical issues regarding societal cohesion as addressed by the classical and contemporary European perspectives. In the 1970s and 1980s, the assimilation perspective of the earlier 20th century was rejected by many contemporary scholars. As the question about immigration and integration of immigrants around the world has become a hot issue during the past two decades, many scholars have started to explore the phenomenon in light of modern immigration. Some of the most prominent contemporary individuals involved in immigrant-related issues are Borjas, Portes, Rumbaut, and a British born South African sociologist, John Rex. They shared similar concerns for the betterment of social groups in a modern multicultural society and argue that integration can be measured by education, work, income, experience and other elements of human capital that immigrants bring along with them into their new country
George Borjas (1990), in his theory of integration that contains a socioeconomic dimension, link socioeconomic success to the time perspective. According to his model, integration can be achieved in socioeconomic terms. Using the concept of human capital that suggests that the economic success of immigrants is determined by the skills that they bring with them, Borjas describes socioeconomic integration as achieving parity with the native majority in such areas as education, employment and income. He explains that the longer the stay of the immigrants in the new country, the better the chance of knowing all there is to know of the host society, and thus adapting to the labor market and becoming economically successful. For Borjas, time-since-migration is an essential factor in the positive integration process. This means that the longer the time spent in Norway, the more likely immigrants are to integrate into the Norwegian society. This integration model assumes that as time passes, the minorities become more familiar with mainstream society, and thus more economically and socially successful (Borjas 1990).

The problem of Borjas’ model is that while it supports the notion that socioeconomic achievements of immigrants are associated with the time perspective in general, there are some specific groups of immigrants (e.g., Nordic and Western European immigrants in Norway) whose affluence allows them to integrate into the mainstream no matter how long they have stayed in the host country.

John Rex (1970) argues that successful integration depends upon the history and social structure of the country from which immigrants originate. According to this model, socioeconomic success depends on cultural and social similarity of various groups. This model is derived from Park and Burges’ theory of assimilation (1921), which states that the more similar immigrants are to the host population, the more successful they are likely to become. One of the problems with this model is the fact that in today’s multicultural societies, it has become more difficult for an immigrant group to assimilate (Isbister 1996; Rumbaut 1997; and Schierup 1988). As my formulation of the term integration suggests, the fundamental theoretical question about integration deals with the new ethnic minorities in an ethnically pluralist society with many groups choosing to hold on to their ethnic identities, depend on their own communities and share the welfare
goods among themselves. However, as my own experience shows that the success of immigrant integration depends on the duality of the process based on cooperation and solidarity among different groups, and the assistance of professional institutions in order to solve societal challenges and promote a more equitable system of social order. Accordingly, I believe, the state becomes a very important organ in promoting national integration through measures, which can minimize differences regarding opportunities and living conditions for all groups in the society, irrespective of their origins. However, the state control over life has tended to lock immigrants into welfare dependency in which immigrants have been marginalized from the social and civic sphere of society and, thus, are less integrated into society, as this research will document.

Other theoretical perspectives have also dominated the study of immigrant integration. According to these perspectives, education, professional qualifications, language proficiency, and the like are indicators of successful integration (Portes and Rambout 1996; Portes 95; Rumbaut 97; and Rex 1970). Several sociologists’ claims that such indicators of human capital allow immigrants to advance socioeconomically, and it give the host country a growing source of labor. Regarding educational attainment, Rex argues that “related to the occupational structure is the educational system, through which amongst other things people seek to gain success to the higher occupations and to a position of power” (1970:96). According to this view, education plays a sovereign role in the attainment of occupational and status mobility. Interestingly, immigrants from European and Nordic countries, appear to gain a higher return on the human capital they possess than immigrants with similar qualifications from the non-European countries. In other words, if immigrants are thought of as coming from a society in which, on average, the range of occupational are great (e.g. Nordic and other Western European), their chances of integration are great. But if they come from countries, which are different from the host country (e.g., Asians and Africans), their chances of integration are less. Thus, this model must be differentiated by ethnicity. Further, this model does not say anything about immigrants who don’t have high education and adequate command of the Norwegian language.
Portes and Rambout (1996) add another dimension to the theory of socioeconomic integration. They view skin color or visibility as an important factor in determining the degree of integration of any ethnic group. Physical appearance delays the process of integration more than other factors. They hypothesize that by virtue of moving into a new social environment marked by different values and prejudices, physical features become a stigma or handicap (1996: 248). Herbert Gans argues, “while dark-skinned immigrants from overseas cultures will also integrate, racial discrimination will not encourage their adaptation, at least not into white society” (1992:177). This situation faced by non-Western immigrants is quite consistent with this approach. As data presented in this paper will indicate, the employment situation for non-Western immigrants has remained high throughout the last decade in spite of the fact that the Norwegian economy was booming and the job market was favorable for job seekers.

The data from the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics (NCBS 2001), for example, shows that the unemployment rate of African immigrants was 14.7 percent in August 2001 (15 percent in 2000, 15.3 percent in 1999 and 14.8 percent in 1998), a slight decrease from the previous years), compared to the unemployment rate for the population at large, which was 2.8 percent in 2001 and has been less than 3 percent in the late 1990s. The unemployment rate of Asians was 10.7 percent in 2001 (11.1 percent in 1999 and 10.3% in 1998), and for South and Latin Americans it was 8.9 percent in 2001 (8.9 percent in 2000, 7.9% in 1999 and 7.7 percent in 1998). The figures for other groups such as Western European and Nordic immigrants were 4.1 percent in 2001 (4 percent in 2000 and 3.3 percent in 1999 and 2.5% in 1998). Substantial increases from the previous years, but these figures are substantially lower than those for African and other non-European immigrants.

These facts indicate that non-Western immigrants are more likely to be unemployed irrespective of how good the national economy is and how good the government’s intentions are. And as I interpret it, unemployment robs people not only of income but also of their personal integrity and general contentment. It also forces many immigrants to become social and welfare recipients. The Norwegian welfare system has played a more central role in the lives of many immigrants than has the labor market.
For instance, in some cases, a family with many children could receive more money from the social welfare system than from their employment. This is one of the consequences of unemployment disparity.

In her study of the immigrant population in Norway, Marie-Christine Merametdjian (1995) found that most of her respondents agreed with the statement that “Norwegians makes them responsible for most of the country’s problem.” She argues that the attitudes of the dominant group influence the integration process of the minority group. For instance, those who strive to learn Norwegian might be discouraged when they experience how difficult it is as a “visible” immigrant to be accepted by Norwegians, even those with higher education and good language proficiency. These statistics, as I can see it, reveal an obvious effect of race and color that may hinder immigrants’ overall integration into society.

These findings also suggest that in spite of precious human capital, such as education and language skills, non-European immigrants face a difficult process trying to integrate because they do not share common sociocultural traits with the majority society (Berg 1998; Byrkje, Dyvl, Inkoon, Johannsen, and Jaboch 1991). From this perspective, the integration of particular immigrant groups follow a common path, from the hardships of finding employment to everyday discrimination and to low socioeconomic attainment from their participation in societal institutions. This shared experience highlights the unique struggles of ethnic minorities. We might expect that such realities would problematize the popular ideals of solidarity and equality that are espoused by Norwegian policy makers. After all, how can integration be achieved by immigrants without the host society’s acceptance and tolerance, for all of the various cultures, values and individual interests? Thus, the question that needs in-depth study, especially taking into consideration the national policies, is how the ideologies on immigration and integration emphasizing smooth and successful integration of immigrants into Norwegian society are justified within a society of marginalized minority groups. How does this notion of equal opportunity contradict immigrants’ marginal situation in the labor market and education? Does equality ideology help or hinder integration of immigrants into Norwegian society? Does public opinion regarding
immigration affect the integration process? Is there something about the criteria of citizenship and the use of public welfare that might explain this phenomenon?

In the light of integration models and the questions posed above, I derive the following general statement: to what extent is integration facilitated by socioeconomic mobility, and whether integration possible for immigrants who preserve their own cultural identity within the context of a broader national unity. From this statement, I further derive a hypothesis: the longer the stay in the host country, the higher the chances that immigrant groups will achieve success and upward mobility. I will therefore expect that as time passes by, and immigrants become more familiar to Norwegian socioeconomic infrastructure, the more economically and socially successful they will be.

Finally, integration is thus a matter of active participation in the host country’s social affairs and of possessing or gaining a sense of belonging and satisfaction. It is postulated that integration is achieved through interaction, social consensus and functional participation of all actors and institutions of the society (Durkheim 1984). Integration is the product of interaction among socials groups and their contacts with the public and private sectors that encourage or prohibit participation (Berg 1997; Alba and Nee 19970). The more interaction between different groups, the more likely that mutually favorable attitudes will develop, which will then lead to a greater degree of equality and a lower degree of discrimination and unequal treatment of immigrants.

The following section discusses the methodological approaches in which hypotheses drawn from theories of integration are tested through primary and secondary data pertaining to ethnic relations and ethnic minority politics.

METHODOLOGY

I have chosen to gather my data by using ethnographic techniques centered on narratives of immigration experiences. I characterize this approach as a study of interrelations within the existing norms of modern society, and one that captures the content and context of immigration-related issues through qualitative participant
observation and interviews. This study was conducted over a three-year period (2000-2003). The study is based on unstructured interviews that I conducted with 25 first generation South Asian men and women; questionnaire to 56 second generation immigrants; and gathering of secondary sources, such as newspaper articles, pamphlets, and public documents. These findings are their simple oral stories and the reader is cautioned not to generalize them. Pseudonyms have been given to the subjects to protect their identity.

Most of my first generation immigrants were from Pakistan, few were from India and Bangladesh. Tall of them were from Muslim background. Their ages ranged from 45 to 65 years with a concentration of middle-aged respondents. Most of them had resided in Norway for 20 to 30 years and were from varied socioeconomic background. I interviewed people at their residence, where they themselves felt comfortable and relaxed. In addition, I had the opportunity to observe the life in their houses, the way the houses are decorated, and the living conditions and facilities in the houses and area of residence. Each interview started with a conversation, and my respondents described the details of their lives. All interviews began with the oral consent script that was read to the subjects and their decision on whether or not to participate in the study.

In my interviews with second generation immigrants, I concentrated on youths who had grown up in Norway, and who had completed all or most of the required 10 years of schooling. The second generation children with whom I spoke were sought from targeted schools. They were from 16 to 19 years of age, and they were in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades at the time of the interviews. Before any young person could participate in an interview, written permissions were requested and obtained from the individual schools within the municipality that had young immigrants of these defined categories enrolled as students. If the school agreed to participate in the research, another invitation was extended to the parents of the students who were 16 and 17 years old, as parental permission was required for minors. The research permission form for parental permission was translated into Urdu, and parents or guardians were asked to fill out a slip attached to the letter indicating whether they approved or disapproved of their child’s
participation in the study. Students who had not returned their parents’ written consent to school were excluded from the study.

For the students who were 18 years and above parental consent was not necessary. As adults, they just had to read a consent form for participation in the research. The students also had to fill out a questionnaire before I interviewed them, which also meant that they agreed to participate in the study. In all, 56 interviews were conducted among second generation South Asian immigrants. Among them were 38 females and 18 males. The reason there were more females among this group of respondents was that during the time of the interviews there were always more women in the classes than men. I was told by the school administration that usually the enrollment of men is very low as compared to female students.

The basic objective of these interviews with the first generation immigrants was to find out what their reasons for immigrating were, what language problems had they encountered, and what social connections did they find or make? I was also interested in knowing why they chose to come to Norway in particular, and whether they had had a network of friends or relatives when they came. Was this network instrumental in providing help for adapting to the new environment? And how did the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants affect their integration into Norwegian society? For the second generation my interest was in finding out: How do they feel about growing up in Norwegian society, and what did they experience as the main obstacles to becoming integrated into the Norwegian mainstream? The narratives of first generation immigrants constitute a crucial legacy in shaping the multivalent identities of their children. Therefore, it was interesting to find out where do the allegiances of second generation immigrants lie. How does this younger generation see their lives and professional prospects as compared to those of their parents? What are their hopes and plans for the future, if any? The second generation respondents were also asked to estimate how much contact they wished to have with Norwegians and how much they actually had.

INTEGRATION ISSUES FOR SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS
The First Generation

The South Asian immigration to Norway has been described as a chain migration in which the earliest members of a village facilitated the immigration of others from the same area. Why do they decide to migrate to Norway? I have identified a number of reasons as causative to the migration of these immigrants to Norway. The major reason cited by my respondents was economic betterment for themselves and their families. Thus it suggests that they were dissatisfied with at least some aspects of life in their native country, and saw life in Norway as holding a better chance to satisfy some of their needs. Most of my respondents reported that they themselves had made the decision to migrate to Norway. Only few told me that they followed the decision of others. Among those who migrated were ordinary persons with an ambition to earn money and students who mainly sought further or higher education. These immigrants were more or less homogeneous, predominately farmers and unskilled laborers. There were very few professionals such as engineers and academics among them. Those from Pakistan (who speak Punjabi) were the dominant group among the South Asians in Norway, and their number has continuously increased due to family reunification.

The migration and settlement patterns for South Asian immigrants have followed almost a set pattern. Most came first as single men and thereafter sought to settle down and establish families in Norway. Several of them were not used to big cities, although Oslo is not large when compared to many other European cities. But these immigrants nevertheless found many facilities and opportunities that were helpful; particularly, they were impressed by the role of the government in providing all sorts of assistance to people who were socially disadvantaged. They were impressed by the neat, clean streets and the well-developed structure of Norwegian society. They wrote back home that Norway was beautiful and well organized, and that there was a livelihood for anyone who wanted to work. A couple of respondents told me that they wrote to relatives back home that it sounded as if one could live comfortably in Norway where no one was poor, and the quality of life was excellent. After gaining jobs, learning some Norwegian, and establishing themselves they went back to their respective native countries be
married and brought their wives and families to join them. Most had become naturalized Norwegian citizen; one-third were in the process of naturalizing at the time of the interviews, and a few of them remained uninterested in doing so. The latter explained their reason for maintaining their native citizenship as, “We don’t know yet.” “We are psychologically attached to our native country, our parents’ graves are there, and there we belong,” was another phrase that I heard repeatedly. One early immigrant explained, “Norwegian nationality means nothing to me. I am happy without that. If requiring a Norwegian nationality means good integration, then I would prefer to be left alone. Why should I be integrated by something [a culture] that is itself sliding to become something else?” Thinking along similar lines, most of my respondents were of the opinion that the Norwegian government and people should intensify their efforts to assure equal opportunity to everyone who lives in this country.

Most of my respondents observed their national holidays as Independence Day, and National Day. There are also several cultural activities among these immigrants. Their children usually observe religious holidays such as Eid, but they also prefer to observe Norwegian secular and religious holidays. And the parents encourage their children to observe Norwegian holidays, so they will not be left out and isolated from their Norwegian friends who normally observe these events. Despite this indulgence children were expected to be obedient and to defer to parental wishes. As Syed pointed out, “Our children were born here, and they grew up here. We don’t mind if they have both parents and Norwegian traits in their characters.” But, he added, “Things should be not taken for granted here as well. No matter how high the grades our children achieve, or if they become pilots or doctors, Norwegians will never consider them as equals but will always see them as just immigrants.” For Masroor, “The maintenance of a link with my native country is important especially in the face of uncertainties, difficulties, and fears about eventually not being fully integrated into the Norwegian society.”

This view was shared by many of my respondents, with the possible exception of the few who believed that they were part of both societies. I noted, however, that efforts were made by parents to teach aspects of their culture and traditions to their children. Efforts in this
direction were very visible during private functions and ceremonies, such as at National Day celebrations, religious events, weddings, and child-naming.

A majority of my respondents now married and have children. Mixed marriages are not common. It is not clear whether Norwegians tend to shy away from finding spouses among certain immigrant groups, or the immigrants themselves are not interested in marrying Norwegians. Most of my respondents, however, said that they would prefer to marry within their own group, which shows that there is little apparent interest in merging into the dominant group. I also found the same preference among second generation youth. No one in my sample was in favor of mixed marriage, in spite of the argument that such association promotes the integration of these immigrants into Norwegian society. One of my respondents, whom I met at the wedding of a friend’s daughter, narrated his story as follows, “Although I thought that inter-ethnic marriage would promote integration, in my case it became paradoxical, and I still regret that I was married outside my own group. It was mental torture for us both. I became so isolated and depressed that I even thought of hurting myself, finally, it ended with a divorce.”

Divorce among South Asian immigrants is very rare. Most of their marriages were arranged, and it was considered to be a good tradition, of which they were proud. All of the wives were from the same ethnic backgrounds as their husbands. And, although some of the women worked, the majority of both wives and husbands adhered to the traditional division of household tasks. South Asian immigrants come from a traditional culture where tasks and roles are clearly divided along gender lines. Wives were expected to stay at home to take care of the children, while the husband was the major breadwinner.

Immigration to Norway, however, did somewhat alter the division of labor for many immigrants at home, specifically with regard to the patterns of male authority and female home-centeredness. As my interviews indicated, most of my female respondents wanted to remain housewives. Some of the women I interviewed attended schools, while others absorbed themselves in a variety of odd jobs. They wanted jobs for economic necessity, to learn Norwegian, and to remain in touch with Norwegian society. The wives of Pakistani shopkeepers helped their men in running the stores, such as was seen in the
case of several of my respondents. These women like the ideology of gender equality and freedom and would prefer to stay in Norway. But except for a few liberal individuals, all other first generation immigrants do not encourage their wives to obtain marketable skills or jobs. The cultural antecedents of these relationships center upon the segregation of roles in which, nominally and legally, husbands have ultimate authority, but in reality wives exercise a great deal of power in the home.

Both Masroor and Syed present themselves and their wives as successful role models for the next generation. “Be sure to listen to your children, give them a good education, and take them back home to their home country. Embrace them when they come with their choice of partners, because we are sure their choice is not bad as we think it might be.” Many immigrants were also in favor of seeking marriage partners for their children in their home country. For them “arranged marriage” means an initial introduction that is sponsored by both families, and then the prospective partners are given the freedom to get to know each other for some time before making a decision whether or not to marry.

Religion is a very important institution and a source of inspiration for my respondents. They seemed to be satisfied in practicing their religion, although some of the female respondents were concerned about teaching their children about their religious and cultural heritage through mosques. According to them, the mosques are led by older men, and generational and gender factors prevent them from sponsoring the kinds of activities that the youngsters would prefer to attend. For example, second generation Norwegian Muslims might be more easily be attracted by coeducational activities, but this never finds approval among the elderly Muslim priests who lead the mosque activities. These priests, according to my female respondents, are reluctant to give up the native Urdu language, even though they admit that the language is a barrier to understanding and appreciation of the religious and cultural programs. The mosques however, draw many immigrants to religious, social, and political functions where they socialize and immerse, thus ignoring the fact that such socialization often hinder their ability to integrate into mainstream society. Although second generation youths are not frequent visitors to the holy places, the mosques have become community centers for the
first generation immigrants that symbolize a link to one’s identity and recognition of one’s present affiliation as a member of a Muslim community.

Most of my respondents have had general problems of adjustment to a new way of life and disappointment with the social and cultural life more often than problems with housing. Overall, their feelings ranged from disappointment to resentment about the lack of opportunities for social contacts with Norwegians. Many have tried to establish contact with the local Norwegians, but it has not worked. Hence these immigrants do not and never have had Norwegians in their primary networks. Their interactions with Norwegians have always been very limited, formal, and hindered by such Norwegian cultural values as homogeneity, self-sufficiency, and family-centeredness, as well as their fear of an alien culture.

Mohammed and his wife lived in a two-room flat when they first arrived in Norway, but later they moved to a bigger flat in the same vicinity with their three daughters. Mohammed felt that people of Oslo are rather closed. He said, “I have many good Norwegian friends, but I see that I have to take the initiative myself. If you do not approach people, they may think that you are there temporarily, and you may end up with no contacts. From the perspective of integration, it is important for us to engage with each other. Of course, such a process of interaction will not change our habitual patterns, but it can modify our lifestyles and equip people with the appropriate and necessary means of living together.”

Syed (mentioned earlier) is an active member of the community, and he knows what goes on in his neighborhood. His contact with Norwegians was partly due to his own efforts and partly through his daughter. He finds Norwegians to be friendly when they work together, but as soon as work is finished so is the friendship. He said, “The closed nature of the new society toward immigrants poses difficulties to an immigrant’s integration, particularly when it comes to entering existing social networks. As a result many immigrants feel isolated and have a sense of being left out.” Syed was of the opinion that those who participate more in social organizations as well as cultural and religious ones gain more opportunities for contacts and interactions with others.

Pervaiz and his wife, Sajida, reported that they have had very little contact with Norwegians outside of work. While their Norwegian colleagues were easy-going and good-natured, they did not seem to want to have anything to do with the Pakistanis after
work hours. This attitude was attributed to the Norwegian custom of not having contact with foreigners. According to Pervaiz and Sajida it is difficult to get in touch with Norwegians. Although one meets in the workplace, this is not enough contact to enable people to get acquainted with each other.

Masroor’s experience of feeling isolated in the school cafeteria reflects the situations of many others who told me similar stories about their Norwegian workplaces. They told me that if any interaction whatsoever takes place between themselves and Norwegians, it is normally on the Norwegians’ terms, while the immigrants’ code of behavior is rarely taken into consideration. Such an attitude was perceived as an established structural barrier or obstacle that inhibits social contact in the society. The consequence was, as they put it, “a deepening of the isolation that slowed down their integration process.”

Both South Asian men and women, in general, try to associate mostly with fellow country men. Despite better economic conditions in Norway, they feel more lonely and homesick. The links between them and their home country remain strong. Remittances have been reduced over time, and visits home may decline in frequency, but cultural and familial links remain. Letter writing was the most common type of communication between Norway and their native country in the early 1970s. The introduction of videos in the early 1980s enabled frequent sending of homemade movies back home. In 1990 and beyond the Internet revolution occurred, and many started communicating with their families and relatives through this new medium. The Internet was also used to get news and other information from their home country. “It was a big development, and we were glad to see our parents and other family members on the screen through the Internet,” as one of my respondent reported. The Internet revolution, he continued, “was a pleasant change from the traditional mode of communication to the new way of contacting people around the world.”

Limited social contact between these immigrants and the native Norwegians led to many inherent problems such as loneliness, isolation, and sometimes hostile treatment from the majority population. Even persons with Norwegian skills, qualifications, or with a perfect knowledge of Norwegian experienced discrimination in one way or other. “Are we going to live with that forever?” many asked. Many immigrants perceived the Norwegian attitude in
general to be cold, isolated, and individualistic, which affects Norwegians’ relationships with their own families as well as other groups. Neglect of the elderly and isolation in small nuclear families were considered to be values of which the Norwegians should not be proud.

However, I have a reservation about this perception by many immigrants. Writing as a sociologist educated within Western culture, I would argue that in Norway, too, families emphasize love, affection, and compassion, although they may show them differently. I knew many Norwegian families who had friends and neighbors who were considered to be part of their own families, a gap usually filled by the members of an extended Asian family. Likewise, many Norwegians whom I know had respect for their elders, but this respect meant honoring the person’s own wishes about where they want to live in their old age. Most Norwegians prefer to live in their own homes throughout their life span rather than with their children’s families. There is no doubt that Norwegians believe in individualism and autonomy, and they teach these values to their children. When children have grown up they are encouraged to leave their parents’ home. A Norwegian friend told me that he had to leave his parents’ house when he was 18 years old because his parents wanted him to be self-reliant and independent. Now he is 45, and his parents are in their eighties. His parents do not want to become a burden on him, in spite of their son’s desire to have them move in with him. In other words, the elderly in Norway want to retain a sense of themselves as independent and masters of their own life circumstances. Therefore, I believe that when it comes to aspects of the integration of two very different cultures each one should respect and appreciate the other’s values and try to find the positive in each situation. I hope that the second generation will perceive things differently and try to build bridges between each culture’s values.

One of the most critical areas for evaluating the integration of first generation immigrants is that of occupation and employment. Unemployed people, regardless of skin, color, ethnic origin, or language are very expensive in a society that has the goal of maintaining a certain minimum standard for all of its members. The primary goal of most of my respondents has been to better their economic status; thus, one measure of their success lies in their ability to find jobs and possibilities for promotion.

The standard industrial classification for activity sectors in Norway is divided into
three categories: primary, secondary, and tertiary. The primary sector consists of agriculture, forestry, and fishing, while manufacturing, mining, quarrying, electricity, gas, water supply, and construction are all defined as a secondary sector. Activities such as hotels, restaurants, transport, communication, finance, real estate, health, and social work are defined as a tertiary sector (Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics 2000).

Employed immigrants are more concentrated within specific fields of trade and industry (in the tertiary sector) than Norwegians and other Westerners. One can generally say that many immigrants from non-Western countries are over-represented in labor-intensive industries where many unskilled workers are usually employed. Based on a rough distribution of industries, it appears that non-Western immigrants constitute a great proportion of employees within cleaning work, and hotel, restaurant, and transport services. Western immigrants, on the contrary, are over-represented in industries that, to a larger extent, demand a specialized and highly educated workforce. They are also over-represented within the petroleum sector and business services. Other industries that employ relatively many immigrants are the manufacturing industry, culture, teaching, and health-care services. Many of the non-Western immigrant male employees work in typically female-dominated industries. Here one might also raise the question of gender disparity, but I have no intention of entering this debate in this study.

The distribution of jobs for immigrants in Norway is given as follows by the 1999 Statistics Norway: transport 23%, cleaning and sanitation 17%, hotel and restaurant services 14%, food production 13%, teaching, health care and cultural services 10%, manufacturing industry 5%. These percentages makes up to 87% of total immigrant labor output. This demonstrates the concentration of immigrants in less-skilled manual occupations.

Consistent with these facts and figures, the level and nature of the jobs held by my employed respondents were preponderantly in the lower level of the tertiary sector. Most of them were employed in the service sector and remained in those jobs for several years without any upward mobility. None of my respondents were in senior managerial or supervisory positions, although I knew that some Indian and Pakistani immigrants were
working as managers in the Oslo Transport Agency. The primary reason that they are
hired by this agency as managers might be that public transportation services are
dependent on immigrants both as employees and as consumers. Many immigrants drive
public conveyances, and without them as Fuglurud (1996) point out—Oslo would stop.
Those immigrants (although fewer in number) in supervisory positions usually started
their careers in the agency from scratch. In other words, they started at the bottom and
cleaned trams, buses, and subway cars. They acquired skills and went through a variety
of practical training before starting to drive the vehicles. Gradually, after undergoing
further training, they rose to their present status. Most respondents, however, who work
in other service areas had seldom been promoted or recognized for their contributions to
their workplaces. And only a few others were successful businessmen.

I also found in my study that a smaller proportion of educated immigrants
are employed (also as compared with similarly educated Norwegians). Borjas (1990)
argues that economic activities increase with rising education levels. The hypothesis
drawn from this argument postulates that those immigrants with a higher level of
education will have less of a problem finding employment. All the same, among many
immigrants, economic activity is lower and registered unemployment is higher,
regardless of educational level. Thus my study does not support this hypothesis. The
following stories also offered anecdotal evidence.

Four respondents who had higher educational credentials and professional skills
than the others described conditions in the labor market as biased and a barrier to
integration. The first was Akbar who, despite an innately content nature, had suffered
psychologically from not getting a job that matched his qualifications. I later learned that
he had moved to Canada with his family. The second, Imran, was qualified to be a hotel
manager, but he had spent several years doing odd jobs in Oslo. Finally, eight years ago,
he got a job that had no chance of promotion with a large hotel group. This is how he
summed up his feelings: “Even with my ‘unquestionably’ genuine qualifications [because
they were earned in Norway], I ended up distributing newspapers in the early mornings
and supplementing my earnings with income from a restaurant job. Although I am
satisfied with my present job, I feel sad that I did not get the opportunity to put my
knowledge into practice for all those years.” When I asked him how he felt about the lack of promotion from his present position after so many years doing the same thing, he responded, “As far as promotion goes, everyone has an equal opportunity, I believe. I have seen people promoted from manual to semi-skilled jobs, for example. But above that level, it depends on different things. I would say that the attitude of the employer limits one’s opportunities for promotion. Some employers will accept us at a senior level where our effectiveness depends on our individual professional skills and expertise. For others we are unacceptable in positions that imply authority over Norwegians.

Unfortunately, I am still struggling for advancement, and I hope to get a breakthrough in the near future.”

The third, Amjad, put the matter more bluntly. “You can’t get a good job – the sort of job you are capable of doing. You have to take what you can get. The only job readily available to me was nurse assistant in the hospital. I have been in this job for 15 years. Although the job description was below my previous experience and background as a professionally trained banker, I went after the job because of the enormous pressure on my family’s finances.” He continued, “I am also considering a move to Canada, because I see more possibilities there for myself and for my children.”

Fourth was Musa, a 45-year-old retired electrician. This is how he summed up his feelings: “I was unable to find a job that was consistent with my educational background and my fluency in Norwegian, although I’m not like a native speaker. But I felt that I was sufficiently prepared to earn a living and thereby save my family the humiliation of being dependent on social services.”

Berg and Camilla Vedi (1994) confirm that many Norwegians indeed consider non-Western immigrants to be generally less-educated, and that they have many negative stereotypes and attitudes about such immigrants, in spite of the fact that, on average, immigrants tend to have better educations than Norwegians (NCBS 1998). The European Commission for Racism and Intolerance, in its 1999 report, states that immigrants in Norway, particularly from the non-Western countries, often experience a disparity between their qualifications and their actual opportunities in the labor market. Berg and
Vedi (1994) further argue that racist attitudes in industry and professions contribute to this disparity, fostering resentment and tension.

This pattern of disparity also applies to persons with little or no education. Those respondents who had had little education were mostly non-skilled workers. They were over-represented in low-paying jobs, especially in the service sector, and many are unemployed as well. In many cases the social welfare system came to play a more central role for these immigrants than the labor market. For instance, a family with several children could receive more money from the social agencies than from their employment. The following is a summary of some of their comments:

“Before I came to Norway I had undergone three years of apprenticeship as an auto mechanic in Pakistan. The Norwegian authorities did not recognize my previous training. For this reason I have always found it difficult to find a job that matches my skills. Now I wash the floors of a big hotel in Oslo. Although I make good money now, it is not sufficient enough to maintain an average living standard for my family.”

“I have had jobs in several different companies in the Oslo area during the last 15 years. With a technician’s background it was relatively easy for me to get a job more quickly than others, but it was not easy to get a permanent position, especially for a person who is an immigrant and above 50. For me at this age it is difficult to learn new technical skills. I am not good in the Norwegian language, either. These ‘disabilities’ make my finances insecure, and I cannot plan for the future.”

“A few years back, it was easy to get even a cleaning job. Today, the situation has changed. The cleaning companies are demanding more job-related qualifications. These companies prefer persons with an adequate knowledge of the Norwegian language and a cleaner’s certificate. If I had other qualifications, I would rather look for some sort of skilled job, which I believe would be better paid and give more security.”

“The income from my unskilled job was not enough, and they never gave me a
raise in wages in spite of several requests. I quit my job because I felt that my experience from Pakistan was not appropriate for Norwegian conditions. Today I run my own kiosk [newsstand]. I am my own boss, and I hope to break even in the future. I did not have enough education to compete in the job market” (I interviewed this respondent in 2000). When I interviewed him again in 2003, he owned two more kiosks, one in Oslo and the other in Drammen, a small town 40 miles from downtown Oslo. His annual income amounted to more than half a million dollars, and he donates $1,000 each month to the local mosque where his children go.)

Another respondent who has a college degree and belongs to the business community told me that he had never engaged in manual labor in India. In Norway, he didn’t want to work at a menial job, so he decided to open his own business with an approximate capitalization of $15,000 (Nkr 100,000). “Now my annual revenues run from one million crowns ($100,000+) to five million crowns. I have six employees in my travel agencies.” In answer to my question on how he became successful in business, he said, “I had no business experience from India, but with the help of my friends and local know-how I did not have any problem with proper locations and marketing.” He continued with a smile, “But I am not a rich man, as my business is very modest, and I have no intention of increasing or expanding it into other fields. I am content with the present situation.” His story reflects the fact that owning a small business is another option for those who wish to start their own adventures and may have difficulty finding a job or one in accordance with their education and experience. Persons who have little education also have this possibility if they have start-up capital and the basic knowledge of how to run a business, as we saw in the example of the man with three kiosks. Recently, the Norwegian press praised the Indian as hard-working and diligent and one of the more prosperous groups in comparison to other Oriental groups (Aftenposten March 2000).

I found the most surprising aspect of these interviews to be an apparent unawareness of or unwillingness to acknowledge the presence of job or employment discrimination, despite its obvious occurrence. Riaz explained this phenomenon, “the
experience of discrimination is most widespread among people who, by every criterion of ability, are the most able and best qualified. For example, it happens that if there is a Norwegian and an immigrant with the same qualifications, the Norwegian will get the job, and this also occurs when it comes to promotion.” Riaz gave his own example and said, “Look, people like me who want a better job or reward for their services expose themselves much more frequently to the possibility of discrimination.” He further elaborated, “When these immigrants try to move outside the role that is prescribed for them, by aspiring to jobs other than those for which they were initially recruited and are thought to be best-suited, the issue of discrimination becomes relevant.” Another respondent supported this view, but he added that other factors play a part: many immigrants do not have a working knowledge of Norwegian, and they lack adequate qualifications by Norwegian standards in the degrees and training they acquired in their home country. This respondent works in the local branch of the national Department of Labor in Oslo. He says that between 10 and 20 immigrants file job applications daily, but unfortunately Norwegian employers are less interested in these applicants. So an immigrant, regardless of his or her educational background and experience, must accept a low-status job such as cleaner, dishwasher, or nurse’s aid.

Respondents were questioned about their incomes and how satisfied they are/were with their jobs and working environments. They were also asked if they had or could save something from their incomes and wages. Their responses varied. Some said that they save a little money, while others said they used to save, but now it is difficult to think about setting aside money from expenses. Only a few had an income range between $31,000-$40,000, while the majority of my respondents had an annual income between $16,000-$30,000. Those with disabilities receive a disability pension, which is around $15,000-$20,000 and consists of a basic pension, a supplementary pension, and special supplement (for other special needs).

For the sake of reference, the average annual earnings of full-time public and private employees in Norway amounted to $29,000 as of October 1, 2000, which was an increase of 5.3 percent from the year before. Wage levels are higher for professionals; for example, nurses and physicians had yearly earnings of $45,000 and $55,000 respectively.
Corresponding yearly earnings of full-time employees with executive work positions in the public sector were around $28,000. In other occupations requiring a higher education, full-time employees had yearly earnings of $40,000. At academic institutions, professors had average yearly earnings of about $55,000 and above. The corresponding figure for semi-skilled laborers in the service sector amounted for $27,000 \textit{(Statistics Norway 2001)}. Here I would like to add that according to the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics the average annual cost of living for a family of four persons in Oslo was said to be about $25,000.

Unemployed respondents in my sample received unemployment benefits, around $20,000 annually, from the social services office \textit{(Statistics Norway 2001 confirms this estimate)}. Those who lived on marginal incomes, for example, less than $15,000, also have the possibility of applying for social assistance. The following instance comes from a respondent who applies for social assistance every month. According to him, a social worker calculates the allowance to supplement his income: “I get about $1,100 (Nkr 12,000) each month from my restaurant job. This is not enough, because I have four small children, and my wife stays at home.” According to him, “I get $700 (Nkr 7,000) additional help each month from the social office plus $80 (Nkr 665) for household insurance.” He continued, “Last month I also received $130 (Nkr 1,128) for my son’s glasses and $50 (Nkr 345) for dental work for my other child.” This help, he argued, provided his family with a source of permanent income security. I asked if this dependency could lead to a negative reaction from the Norwegians, and how he thought this help would negatively affect his integration into Norwegian society. In reply he said, “It is quite the opposite. By having a minimum standard of living we can maintain our integrity and integrate more quickly into Norwegian society.” He concluded, “The type of transfer payment that I receive is nationally standardized. If you are unemployed, disabled, or a service employee with a low income, you get the same amount in unemployment insurance or social benefits as Norwegians.”

In cases when the family has a large number of children, the dependency on social assistance becomes more apparent. Majid, a bus driver, has five children, and the norm for the social allowance he received every month was $900 (Nkr 9,000), which
supplemented his salary. His wife is a homemaker, because she has to look after the children, while he works as a bus driver after about eight years of post-secondary study. He observed, “Although we are dependent on social benefits from the state, it does not mean that we are not integrated into the Norwegian system. We also participate in the productive life of this society by contributing our human capital.”

No respondents complained about working hours or working conditions and most replied that they are satisfied with these circumstances. Almost all of my respondents were affiliated with their trade unions. Thus, there is an evident generalization that these immigrants are satisfied with their levels of income and consider Norway to be a secure and safe place to live, although most are concentrated in low-paying jobs with minimal status in the service industry sector.

Nevertheless, the stories told by these respondents illustrate the fact that immigrants occupy a low position in the occupational hierarchy, and that this pattern of employment applies as well to educated immigrants, for instance, those with university educations. This also suggests that the Norwegian welfare system plays a more central role for immigrants than the labor market. As we have observed, in some cases, a family with many children could receive a substantial amount of money as a social benefit. The level of immigrants’ dependency on social allowances is important. A more detailed and thorough examination is necessary to establish how it may affect immigrants’ integration and their overall situation. This subject could be further investigated in the future.

I will now discuss the second generation’s patterns of integration into Norwegian society.

The Second Generation

When asked about the extent of their attachment to the traditional values and cultural norms of their parents’ home country, most of my second generation respondents appeared to be committed to maintaining their cultural identity and heritage. This response was quite similar to those recorded in my interviews with the first generation. The difference appears to be how these youths put their ideas into practice. The respondents characterized their approach as flexible and liberal, stressing the impact of living and
growing up in a new environment, which is quite different from their parents’ home country. They do not reject their parents’ identity and cultural values, nor do they totally reject the norms and values of the Norwegian society. As many pointed out, “You do not belong here, you don’t belong there, it is like you have to create your own identity.” Many of them however, were concerned about certain Norwegian values, particularly the poor care given to the elderly and the culture’s acceptance of couples living together without being formally married. The individualism of the Norwegians, combined with the marital norm of the two-income household was interpreted by these youths as egoism and lack of familial responsibility towards their elders. For my respondents, it was unthinkable to allow their parents to live alone, and they questioned, how one could do this to their parents, and how one could let them die alone? They asked me bluntly, do you call this integration? For these youths, it was especially morally wrong that many Norwegians live together and have children outside of marriage. This was a moral issue, and there was no justification for it whatsoever. They wondered, what relationship could you have with these children?

In contrast to their parents, the majority of my respondents said that they are less likely to observe religious rituals, prayers and attend the Mosque on a regular basis. This indicates that, despite a high level of participation among the first generation immigrants in religion, the majority of the second generation youth tend to be less involved in religious affairs. Perhaps this is because they feel a sense of belonging to a society in which religion is not practiced as strongly as it is in their parents’ home country. To sum up, all my respondents appear to show attachment to their ethnic identity and cultural heritage but take a liberal stance towards religion, explaining that because of time constraints and other commitments such as studies it is hard to practice religion on a day-to-day or regular basis.

Second generation youths also differentiated themselves from their parents in terms of their attachment to Norwegian ways of life. Contrary to their parents who resist integration into Norwegian society, they are receptive of the Norwegian culture. For instance, most of those in my sample celebrate Norwegian religious and secular holidays such as Christmas, Easter and the Norwegian national day. Several respondents indicated that they observe these holidays ‘for the sake of integration,’ so they are not left alone and
isolated from the rest of the society. Some of them also indicated that participating in the social festivities has important implications for community relations because it promotes acceptance and integration into Norwegian society. However, according to these respondents, many ethnic and religious holidays recognized by the immigrants may not be observed by the Norwegian society and thus can only be celebrated as a personal matter shared with a limited number of their Norwegian friends.

The practices of forced marriages and to a certain extent arranged marriages are seen as restricting their rights to decisions crucial in regard to their integration and their future. Almost all the respondents, regardless of gender, did not believe in forced marriage and most of them would not like to marry a Norwegian partner because of cultural and religious differences. Since Pakistanis comprise one of the largest ethnic groups in Norway, it is comparatively easy to find a spouse within one's own social circles. Pakistanis and Indians also have good contacts with their home country and therefore can also find spouses there. Male respondents were more interested in marrying a girl from their own ethnic background, while some female respondents would prefer to marry Norwegian men, because they are less dominating of women. Arranged marriages without the consent of the persons involved were mentioned as one of the main sources of intergenerational conflict between second generation South Asian youths and their parents.

The main reasons given by these youths were: a) one should feel free to choose whom he or she likes, and b) because they now live in Western society, they should adapt accordingly to their new environment. When asked what society should do if these marriages are found to be forced or arranged under pressure, they responded, “These marriages should be annulled if there has been lack of consent.” The dilemma for these youths is what should be done to stop such marriages to happen. Because they perceive of this issue as family related, they see the solutions found within the family limits. However, they are also aware of the fact that unless society knows about such marriages, most people will remain ignorant of what goes on behind closed doors.

There was a significant awareness attached to the issue of arranged and forced marriages. In the context of these marriages, my female respondents questioned the attitudes of their parents. How should one be tolerant towards those who themselves are
not tolerant? Their reaction to questions regarding marriage indicated their feelings of distrust and frustration. The strategies of the younger generation were, however, centered on increasing their own influence in this process, rather than obeying parental wishes of intra-ethnic marriages.

Most of the respondents also blame their parents for preventing them from integrating into Norwegian society. As long as they hold on to their traditions and norms, it will be a problem for us to be accepted as Norwegians, they argued. They also criticize their parents for not participating actively in their neighborhood and in society in general. Several of them said that their parents were elected in the local programs such as neighborhood watch and social activities, but they never participated in their meetings. Some of my female respondents blamed their mothers for not mixing with the Norwegian women. They also blamed them for not allow their daughters to make Norwegian friends and take active parts in social activities. This statement was also reflected in the fact that the majority of my respondents, most of them women, claimed that their participation in leisure activities was minimal since parents do not often allow girls to take part in outdoor hobbies and other social and recreational activities.

Many respondents perceive of integration as a reciprocal process with changes occurring in both the dominant and the minority groups. When asked about the problem of integration into Norwegian society, the majority of them listed the following obstacles, which made them feel like outsiders:

“Generational conflicts, teachers who are incapable of dealing with multi-cultural situations, inadequate facilities at schools, textbooks with ethnocentric themes, visibility of their skin color, lack of understanding of foreign cultural norms, intolerance and arrogance of some Norwegians create negative feelings among many people of ethnic backgrounds.”

Some of the narratives arising from this study also contradict previous findings and assumptions. For example, the assumption that parents with negative attitudes towards the society’s values may prevent children from successfully adapting in the host society is not
supported by these interviews. This study suggests that parent’s negative approach towards societal norms and values, as well as their strict upbringing, does not necessarily mean a more restricted integration than those children who are born in liberal environments and have the support of their parents to integrate into Norwegian society. This also suggests that the parents need not discontinue their traditional values in order for their children to learn the host society’s cultural norms.

The present study further shows that the second generation, in contrast to their parents’ generation, tends to have more positive expectations for socioeconomic mobility. Unlike their parents who abandoned their homeland and came to Norway with the expectation of finding new economic opportunities, the second generation students see school as offering the necessary education, competence and skills they will need to have a successful future. In contrast to the previous findings suggesting that there is most commonly a strong ‘pushy parents’ syndrome,” where children are supposed to stay in touch with their parents and remain dependent, these youths saw educational success as an avenue for personal mobility rather than as merely a way to bring honor and success to their families.

It has been argued that school is a fundamental arena for identity work (Schierup 1988; Erikson 1963) and although the identity problem was mentioned by most respondents, the reality of it cannot be over emphasized. As school pupils, the second generation is confronted with two sets of cultural values. On the one hand are the norms and values of their parents, and on the one hand, are those promoted by the host society. In school they are taught to express opinions and ask why, whereas at home their parents want them to be more traditional and do what they are told. While many parents look down on the values and norms of the host society, Norwegian society, in turn, often rejects the parents’ values and cultural practices as a whole. The second generation appears to be more receptive to cultural change. Most of my respondents were, however, torn between these two cultural worlds. When they perceive of their parents as rejecting the norms and values of the host society, they may be compelled to choose between the cultural values of their parents and that of the society.
This study indicates that those children whose parents are flexible towards the host society’s cultural values, perceive integration as an easier process, while integration is much more difficult for those whose parents reject the cultural norms of Norwegian society. This confusion exhibited by some of the respondents suggested frustration which compelled them to make a choice between the values of their parents’ culture and that of their host society during their integration process. Although, the second generation youths were more influenced by the Norwegian society and culture, for many, their allegiance remained with their parents. The youths in this instance identify with both the norms of their parents, and that of the host society. Of course, doing so causes an internal identity crisis. An easy way out may be for these children to develop their own unique sense of identity. Such youths are family oriented and family is the primary social unit for them. At the same time, they are emotionally attached to the place where they were born and grew up, and can never think of going back to live in their parents’ home country.

My study has thus found that the majority of the second generation youths maintain a dual frame of reference: high integration, high ethnic identity. By integrating their experiences in Norwegian society with their experiences at home, they have developed certain characteristics, which they believe will help them attain upward mobility. They want to be taken seriously as a generation on its own and also as mediators between Norwegian authorities and the parent’s generation.

For some of my second generation youth however, it is problematic to be between two worlds. Growing up in a Western society forces these youth to adopt dual roles. One role at home where parents’ values dominate and another outside of the home where values differ considerably from their parents. This situation can be likened to an identity crises or cultural disorientation, which may result in dropping out from school or intergenerational conflicts regarding early and forced marriages as well as other social issues. The phenomenon of identity crisis also sheds light on the question of juvenile delinquency among these children. Identity crisis or “disorientation,” as some writers of ethnic studies (Larsen 1992; Hamburger 1993) have described as affecting youths of minority background, was also noticed among my respondents. But contrary to popular belief that such crisis may lead to delinquency and crime (Ward 1993), this was not found
among the sample of youths in my study. Only a form of adolescent trauma was evident, characterized by confusion and lack of confidence in youths’ demeanor, expression and behavior. This situation is described by Da Fonseca in an article entitled *Indentitetsoken* [In Search of Identity]. According to Da Fonseca, “Immigrant children often have an identity problem. Their parents have low socioeconomic status, many are without jobs and have language problems. Their children have a problem accepting them as their role model” (Cited in Aftenposten November 20, 1996).

In the light of being faced with such difficult situations, these youths may often seek a pattern of identification or role models outside the family, and even from the larger society that marginalizes them. The consequence is that they don’t do well in school and spend much time devoted to leisure activities such as watching movies and listening to music in search of role models. Some times they are successful while other times they are not. They struggle as they are pulled in two directions - by the norms and values that their parents promote, and by those promoted by the larger society. It is this confusion that underlies the bulk of second generation adjustment difficulties. They are low on ethnic identity and low on integration. It is difficult to predict how long this pattern of disorientation will continue as this more acculturated group achieves adulthood.

**Discussion and Analysis of Findings (both generations)**

In the preceding sections I reported the content of my interviews with first generation South Asian immigrants in without much analytical or interpretative approach. I have simply presented a series of stories (few cases) and explored the processes through which they have accommodated to and integrated into Norway. I examined such specific issues as their backgrounds and why they came to Norway. Other issues that came up during these interviews included the early stages of their adaptation, their expectations and aspirations, interaction with Norwegians, language abilities, and cultural distance—with constant reference to the factors of discrimination and identity. Because only portions of the stories were used in each relevant area some of the accounts may appear to be rather fragmented.

What insights have been gained from this study? Overall, I believe that the study
yielded negative findings. The levels of participation of immigrants in the surrounding society (functional participation) and the occupational salary order are functions of the interactions in which the immigrant’s integration into the larger society take place. And, as amply conveyed in the narratives above, both of these functions or factors were notably low for my respondents. This indicates that the overall picture of the integration of first generation immigrants in Norway is not positive. For the second generation the position is mixed.

Three levels below represent the different modes of integration in Norway. Level one (Diagram “A”) shows high integration- high ethnic identity. Individuals and groups in plural societies have a strong sense of ethnic culture and are comfortable with norms and values of the larger society. The individuals in this category are second generation immigrants (as most of my respondents agreed) and their integration depends upon a number of adaptive patterns in the schools, the work place, and among social contacts. The ethnic identity dimension focuses on the retention of ethnic ways and their life styles. This pattern, although not free from generational conflicts and issues like discrimination and exclusion, show a strong bicultural perspective or a dual frame of personality, as I would like to call it. One can easily move in and out of both these domains, although it will probably be difficult to maintain an even balance between the two. Now the question is whether the existence of this bicultural life style or cultural ways can lead to a successful adjustment or to marginality, conflict and isolation. My findings suggest that there are other factors such as acceptance by the larger society and a number of adaptive patterns that will determine successful integration into the larger society. I predict that most of the second generation when reaching adulthood and beyond (in the next 5 to 10 years) will be integrated in the mainstream (high integration). Whether they will opt for low ethnic identity or relinquish their cultural identity is a question remained to be seen. But regardless of their own efforts of integration, how outsiders respond to these immigrants’ children must also be taken into account. After all, the color of their skin will undoubtedly remain a visible stigma.

Level two (Diagram B), portrays high ethnic identity and low integration, a situation where a majority of individuals from ethnic background maintain their ethnic
characteristics and are not motivated or inspired by the larger society’s norms and values. They consider the larger society to be self-centered and highly individualistic. The immigrants emphasize groups’ goals in their daily living and describe themselves as collectivists. Mostly first generation immigrants in Norway, especially those who migrated at an advanced age, are likely to be in this category. In my interviews with the first generation, many felt that the Norwegian society will never treat them equally regardless how much they try to adapt their norms. They are less receptive to Norwegian norms and values. Because of this, they are subjected to more discrimination and racism, although this phenomenon could also be found with the second generation as well.

Those of my respondents who answer, “yes” to maintaining a relationship with the host society and to maintaining cultural identity is illustrated by diagram A (high integration, high ethnic identity). This diagram implies some maintenance of the cultural integrity of the group as well as the desire to become an integral part of the host society’s framework. This pattern is most representative of second generation immigrants. Most of the first generation respondents fit into the pattern illustrated in Diagram B. My study shows that most first generation immigrants have achieved a functional level of integration into Norwegian society but are more comfortable within their ethnic domain.

Patterns of Integration

Diagram A

This model pulls second generation youth directions – they retain their ethnic identity while simultaneously attempting to join the larger society. Outcome: dual or bicultural frame

Diagram B

First generation immigrants belong to this category. These immigrants are less receptive to host society norms and values. The overlapping indicates that individuals have achieved a functional level of integration.
Thus, each of these two classifications (high integration-high ethnic identity and high ethnic identity-low integration) reflects an integration model available to individuals and groups in multicultural society. In the second generation narratives, I focus on the first option, or diagram “A” high integration-high ethnicity, which is more applicable to my respondents’ situations. Therefore in the case of integration, the option taken is to retain cultural identity and move to join the dominant society. The ethnic identity dimension essentially focuses on a dual frame of reference for better integration and upward mobility. In other words, second generation youth try to retain some of their parents’ ethnic customs, while adopting many of the host society’s norms and values. This pattern is a bicultural one and includes second generation immigrants who are brought up with a multicultural perspective. Also some first generation individuals who emigrated at very young age (such as myself) may fit under this category.

The third level of integration patterns is the cultural disorientation, which some of my second generation youth face. Being a product of two different cultures and often being pulled in opposite directions, the second generation foster a unique mix cultural self identity by developing a strategy of “inclusion” and “exclusion” whenever they feel appropriate. This pattern reflects low integration and low identity. The question here is whether in future, will they adopt a “Norwegian identity” and reduce ties to ethnic identity or will ethnic identity be revived in this generation. This will worth investigating more closely.

Norwegian immigration policy is often summarized by three terms; equality, opportunity, and solidarity. The underlying assumption of these ideals is that the Norwegian mainstream has the power to pull all groups in its direction and thus facilitate a harmonious and multicultural society. Ethnic minorities are welcome, although a “visibility factor” and generational conflicts plays an important role in their integration process. Thus, it is no accident that retaining a separate cultural identity, while at the same time adopting certain norms and values of the Norwegian society, is a desired
option for the second generation ethnic youths in my sample. The ethnic identity dimension essentially focuses on a dual frame of reference for better integration and upward mobility. How these youth will succeed in achieving these goals may well be a matter of successful integration. Second generation children are still in their youth and many are of school age. However, in a few years their presence will be felt to a greater extent in colleges and universities and in the labor and housing market.

This is thus an extremely important factor that must be taken into account to a greater degree than previously in order to achieve positive integration of youth of ethnic background and their parents in host society. Many of the theories used in this study originated from traditional countries of immigration for example, United States and England. The Norwegian situation is still recent. Future research will need to develop clear theoretical models to account for the causation of integration problems endured by ethnic minorities.

And finally, I hope that this study will serve as a starting point for more extensive studies of immigration and integration issues than I have been able to offer here.


Title: Managing Growth with the K-12 Public School System: from the point of view of the immediate housing market and overall long-term sustainability.

Topic: Urban and Regional Planning / Sustainable Development

Presentation format: paper sessions

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ABSTRACT

Research objectives:
The research objectives of the proposed paper are to investigate the housing market – school relationship within growth management communities in terms of overall sustainability (environmental, economical and equitable).

It is recognized that there are a multitude of variables involved in an individual’s decision for purchasing housing (Jud and Watts 1981). However, it has long been thought that the importance of public K-12 school quality (or perceived quality) has an especially significant influence on the housing market (Jud and Watts 1981; Tiebout 1956). Additionally, there is often the perceived notion that newer schools are higher in quality compared to older schools (Baum 2004). The newer (and perceived ‘better’) schools are often located in the exurban peripherals of an area due to land costs, and this perpetuates the motion of ‘sprawl’ (greenfield development) from the reciprocal relationship between schools and housing (Gurwitt 2004).

The housing market for the growing population of Florida is particularly reciprocally related to available and needed capacity for public schools (K-12) per state mandated growth management requirements. New housing requires available public services (schools, etc) and public services (schools, etc) with available capacity allow new housing.

Proposed methodology:
The theoretical framework of the proposed paper will be set in the context of Tiebout’s notion that households make choices based on the balance of individual costs and provision of local government services (Tiebout 1956). The paper will be an investigative case study of the education elements from multiple local growth management programs in Florida from the point of view of the immediate housing market and overall long-term sustainability. The paper will take a comparative look at various school interlocal agreements, comprehensives plans (school facility element) and concurrency policies (including impact fees) from around the state. The paper will then access the policy impacts to the current housing market and measure all policies against the three Es (environment, economy and equity) of sustainability.

Expected outcome:
The findings from the paper are intended to aid with ‘best practice’ recommendations for future policy decisions. This subject is part of my dissertation proposal and while I will have a completed paper for the conference, this work will also be part of a larger incomplete research project with hope to generate discussion and feedback. This is a subject, because of the housing market relationship, that is of interest for all citizens of a community whether or not they utilize public schools.
Key References:


TITLE: Physical Patterns of Urban Sprawl and Levels of Air Pollution in the Atlanta Metropolitan Region

PRESENTATION FORMAT: Paper Session

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**INTRODUCTION**

When it comes to urban development, many US metropolitan cities are struggling to cope with undesirable consequences of urban sprawl. These impacts include air and water pollution, loss of open space, and increased traffic congestion (Moglen, Gabriel and Faria, 2003). The widely dispersed patterns of development associated with sprawl also increases levels of pavement, with concomitant increases in urban runoff and nonpoint pollution of waterways (Lassila, 1999; Wasserman, 2000). Sprawling development not only decreases the amount of forest area (Macie and Moll, 1989), farmland, woodlots, and open space but also disrupts ecosystems and fragments habitats (Lassila, 1999). Especially with regard to air quality, sprawl is cited as a primary cause of pollution because the car-dependent lifestyle imposed by sprawl leads to increases in fuel consumption and emissions of greenhouse gases (Stoel, 1999).

Many previous studies identified the Atlanta metropolitan area a region with extensive urban sprawl (Bertaud, 2003). Therefore, reduction of sprawl seems an important issue for Atlanta’s urban environmental planning. In particular, given that sprawl is one of the primary causes of air pollution, an appropriate way to reduce sprawl is needed.

However, although many researchers have written about urban sprawl, few have sought to measure it (Song and Knaap, 2004). Specifically, previous measures of urban sprawl failed to apply indicators of sprawl spatially. The research reported in this paper uses GIS mapping and land cover change analysis to estimate and classify patterns of urban sprawl. Based on this classification, the research analyzes the relationship between physical patterns of urban sprawl and air pollution level in the Atlanta metropolitan region. Each pattern is estimated within every county which composes the 2000 Atlanta Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). Based on data availability, estimates of ozone are used as a proxy for air pollution levels. Changes in levels of ozone are based on 1995 and 2001 data.

The research underlying this paper is exploratory. The study primarily seeks to test a method for analyzing types of sprawl in order to extend the technique to other metropolitan regions. This method will enable researchers to identify more desirable patterns of suburban growth to abate the negative environmental effects of urban sprawl.

**CATEGORIZATION OF THE SPRAWL PATTERNS**

**Literature Review**

In this section, we will review three previous studies of urban sprawl in order to define concepts, confirm characteristics, categorize types, and identify measurements of sprawl. In particular, the first one is to identify the definition of sprawl. Through the review of the next article, this study obtains implications on physical measurement of sprawl. The last paper shows a way to categorize sprawl types, which is applicable to GIS.

The primary goal of Ewing’s study (1997) is to rebut Peter Gordon and Harry Richardson’s advocacy of urban sprawl. They think its proliferation is brought about by the healthy market: people and companies prefer outlying locations where the land value is relatively low and congestion is mild. In order to refute their errors, Ewing clarifies characteristics, causes and impacts of sprawl through substantial literature review. His answer is simple—sprawl is undesirable. In order to recognize urban sprawl, this study reviews his article: “Is Los Angeles-Style Sprawl Desirable?”

First, Ewing describes characteristics of urban sprawl. Gordon and Richardson consider that compact development can be accomplished only under conditions of high density and monocentric development. According to Ewing, however, compact development only requires some concentration of employment, some clustering of housing, and some mixing of land uses. Ewing also criticizes that Gordon and Richardson’s concept of sprawl is roving among “low density,” “dispersed,” “decentralized,” “polycentric,” and “suburban” development. To constitute the concept of sprawl, he elucidates the forms of sprawl: (1) leapfrog or scattered development, (2) commercial strip development, and (3) large expanses of low-density or single-use development. This list contributed to the identification of types of sprawl in my study. That is, we accepted studies of Ewing (1997) and Wilson et al. (2003) to categorize the types of sprawl.

Second, Ewing shows sprawl indicators. He considers that the most important indicator is “poor accessibility” because this indicator reflects real-world development patterns, and is readily operationalized. In addition, he indicates “lack of functional open space” as another primary indicator.

Third, he differentiates his idea on compact pattern from Gordon and Richardson’s one. He insists that Gordon and Richardson’s compact pattern stands not for American but for European one which represents very high central densities (monocentric development), high average densities, and abrupt urban-rural boundaries. According to him, the American sprawl pattern has few significant centers, low average density, and wide gaps in the urban fabric due to leapfrogging. Especially, a growth pattern by the “wide gaps in the urban fabric” is multicentered, and thus clearly differentiates his concept from Gordon and Richardson’s one. And he highlights that monocentric development is an anachronism, as downtowns have become just one of many centers in large metropolitan areas.

Fourth, at the “causes of sprawl” section, Ewing (1997) shows a basic disagreement about the role of market. Gordon and Richardson believe the market works just fine, and thus consumers and businesses prefer outlying locations where land is inexpensive and congestion moderate. However, unlike them, Ewing views land markets as fraught with imperfections that induce sprawl. Perfectly functioning markets require many prerequisites including many buyers and sellers, good information about prices and quality, homogeneous products in each market, no external costs or benefits. Land markets do not meet any of these requirements.

Last, through literature review on impacts of urban sprawl, Ewing confirms that sprawl is not a beneficial pattern. He describes that urban sprawl has negative effects on US cities as follows. It increases VMT (vehicle miles traveled), energy consumption and air pollution. Due to sprawl, infrastructure deteriorates, and thus governments should

Sudhira et al. (2004) estimates the extent of sprawl taking place over a period of nearly three decades using GIS and remote sensing. First of all, they assume that the built-up is a parameter for quantifying urban sprawl. Under this assumption, they analyze the land cover of Indian metropolitan areas with toposheets and satellite images. The reason why they use these two types of data is based on data inaccessibility. That is, remote sensing imagery is used as a proxy for toposheets.

Data collecting and editing process is as follows. First, in order to fathom the dynamic urban sprawl, they consider and compute landscape metrics such as drainage network, roads, railway network and the administrative boundaries. These features are identified through the toposheets, and transformed as individual layers. Second, they create buffer region of 4 km (2.5 miles) on either side of the highway. Third, they do land cover and land use analysis for the study region. As to remote sensing, they use multispectral satellite imagery of the Indian Remote Sensing (IRS) satellite. The image is obtained in three bands: green, red and near infrared. Fourth, from census record, they gather data on population density, distance to the cities, etc.

Although they do not clarify type of sprawl, it appears that they regard sprawl as (1) less “mixed land use” and (2) low “density.” In addition, they use (3) “Shannon’s entropy (\( H_n \))” as an indicator of sprawl. (3) Shannon’s entropy is computed to detect the urban sprawl phenomenon. The formula is given by,

\[
H_n = - \sum_{i} P_i \log_e (P_i)
\]

where, \( P_i \) = the proportion of the variable in the \( i \)th zone

\( n \) = the total number of zones

This value ranges from 0 to \( \log n \), indicating very compact distribution for values closer to 0. The values closer to \( \log n \) indicates that the distribution is very dispersed. Larger value of entropy reveals the occurrence of urban sprawl.

Sudhira et al. (2004) introduce “patchiness” to calculate the degree of (1) “mixed land use.” According to them, patchiness or number of different classes (NDC) is the measurement of the density of patches of all types or the number of clusters within the \( n \times n \) window. That is, it is a measure of the number of heterogeneous polygons over a particular area.

Map density values, which appear to stand for compact land use or (2) “density,” are computed by dividing number of built up pixels to the total number of pixels in a kernel. It needs to note that depending on the density levels, they grouped the “continuous” density values as low, medium and high density.

Their study has a small number of limitations. First, the study area is defined as two cities (Mangalore and Udupi in India) and the highway passing between the cities (National Highway 17). They then create a 2.5 mile (4 km) buffer zone on either side of the highway for detailed investigation. Land cover analysis is applied only to this region. However, they do not elucidate why they use a buffering value of 2.5 miles in gauging built-up. Previous studies usually use various values based on the research goal and the researcher’s individual intuition and discretion. Next, they try to measure urban sprawl with several indicators such as land use density and mixed land use. Especially, the
degree of mixed land use is measured by two techniques (Shannon’s entropy and patchiness). But, they do not try to classify the sprawl types or integrate the indicators. At the very least, they could have compared among the results from each measurement.

Nonetheless, their study advances urban sprawl research. First, they tried to estimate urban sprawl spatially. Moreover, they confirmed that land cover maps or toposheets can be a good source analyzing urban sprawl. Last but not least, we can find the possibility to classify the types of sprawl (mixed land use and land use density).


Wilson et al. (2003) develop an urban growth model. The model is utilized for the purpose of visual and quantitative assessment of urban growth types, and based on land cover derived from satellite imagery. The input data consists of two dates of land cover data. The original classes of the input data are converted to three categories: developed, non-developed, and water. This kind of simplification and recategorization is also shown at the above-stated Sudhira’s research (2004).

Through GIS analysis, the researchers find the patterns of urban growth on the landscape. The model identifies three categories of urban growth: infill, expansion, and outlying with outlying urban growth further separated into isolated, linear branch, and clustered branch growth. For measurement of the abstract, dynamic phenomenon of sprawl, they operationalize main terms forming their concepts. That is, they regard “urban” as synonymous with “developed land” that result in a developed or built landscape. As to sprawl types, they implement an operationalization as follows.

First, “an infill growth” is characterized by a non-developed pixel being converted to urban use and surrounded by at least 40% existing developed pixels. It means development of vacant land in already built-up areas.

Second, “an expansion growth” is characterized by a non-developed pixel being converted to developed and surrounded by no more than 40% existing developed pixels. Expansion-type development has often been called metropolitan fringe development or urban fringe development (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001; Wasserman, 2000). The analogous land transformation class is shrinkage, defined as the decrease in size of objects, such as patches (Forman, 1995). That is, the researchers use “40%” as a dividing point in differentiating between infill and expansion growth.

Third, outlying growth is characterized by “a change from nondeveloped to developed land cover” occurring beyond existing developed areas. This type of growth has been called development beyond the urban fringe (Heimlich and Anderson, 2001). Moreover, the outlying growth designation is broken down into the following three classes: isolated, linear and clustered branch. (1) Isolated growth is characterized by one or several nondeveloped pixels some distance from an existing developed area. (2) A Linear branch is defined as the growth connected with a new road, corridor, or a new linear development. Forman (1995) defines corridor as a new corridor such as a road that bisects the initial land type. Harvey and Clark (1965) discuss ribbon development, defined as “segments compact within themselves but which extend axially and leave interstices undeveloped.” Last, (3) clustered growth is defined as a new urban growth that is neither linear nor isolated, but instead, a cluster or a group.

We accepted the concept of urban sprawl and growth patterns introduced by Wilson et al. (2003). That is, this study identified “urban area” with “developed land” or
“built-up region.” In addition, this study considered that sprawl area can be divided into three classes which are included in the “outlying growth.”

Despite the contribution to clarifying types of sprawl, Wilson et al. (2003) has a limitation that they do not quantify the degree or area of each sprawl type. However, they showed the ability to quantify it.

**Types of Sprawl**

Despite active research on urban sprawl, there is not a universally accepted definition of sprawl (Wilson *et al*., 2003). Researchers still try to describe sprawl using quantitative measures, qualitative terms, attitudinal explanations, and landscape patterns. Definitions include (1) land use density (Galster *et al*., 2001), (2) leap-frog development (Galster *et al*., 2001), (3) segregated land use development (Galster *et al*., 2001), (4) highway strip development (Benfield *et al*., 1999), (5) new road network efficiency (Southworth and Owens, 1993), (6) alternate transportation mode accessibility (Ewing, 1997), (7) community node inaccessibility (Galster *et al*., 2001), (8) damage to meaningful land resources (Burchell, 1999), and (9) encroachment on preserved open space (Benfield *et al*., 1999).

This study considered the definition Wilson et al. (2003) used. They indicated that urban sprawl is a land-consumptive pattern of suburban development that has dominated the American landscape since the advent of the interstate highway system after World War II (Wilson *et al*., 2003). That is, their conceptualization is focused on land use pattern, especially on the physical or landscape pattern.

For spatial measurement of degree and extent of urban sprawl, this study focuses on the land use types. Specifically, operationalization used by Ewing (Ewing, 1997) and Sudhira (Sudhira *et al*., 2004) are consolidated. According to Sudhira, sprawl is urbanization that takes place in either a radial direction around a well-established city or linearly along the highways over a given period of time (Sudhira *et al*., 2004). Ewing (1997) characterizes urban sprawl as “leapfrog land use patterns, strip commercial development along highways, and very low-density single-use developments.” All in all, urban sprawl was characterized by (1) leapfrog land use patterns, (2) linear expansion along the main roads, and (3) low-density growths, in this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Sprawl</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corridor Sprawl</td>
<td>Sprawl which occurs along highways and main roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Sprawl</td>
<td>Sprawl which occurs around existing areas of urban land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leapfrog Sprawl</td>
<td>Sprawl which occurs sparsely (new development which is neither corridor nor cluster sprawl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab 1. Types of Sprawl

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1 Those include (3-1) isolated growth, (3-2) linear growth, (3-3) clustered growth.
DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

First, in this section, we outlined structural characteristics of the research area and its range. As an explanatory study, this work can give spatial criteria for further research. Second, this study described means to collect GIS and air pollution data through the federal or state government websites, and to process and analyze the data. For categorization of the physical patterns of sprawl, definitions of walkable distance were introduced during this step. Last, based on the classification, we analyzed correlation between the degree of each classified sprawl and the ozone level, respectively. All the patterns and their correlations to the air pollution level were estimated within every county.

Site Description

As stated above, this study used Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as a unit of analysis. Amongst the various concepts estimating metropolitan area, MSAs have been usually used. Based on 2000 Census results, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) adopted these new statistical area definitions (ARC, 2003). The new Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta MSA consists of 28 counties, quite a bit larger than the old 20-county Atlanta MSA. This study accepted 28-county MSA because it can cover all the new development area.

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2 Standard definitions of metropolitan areas were first issued in 1949 by OMB, under the designation “standard metropolitan area (SMA).” The term was changed to “standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA)” in 1959, and to “metropolitan statistical area” (MSA) in 1983. The term “metropolitan area (MA)” was adopted in 1990 and referred collectively to metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSAs), and primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs). The term “core based statistical area (CBSA)” became effective in 2000 and refers collectively to metropolitan statistical areas (http://www.census.gov/population/www/estimates/metrodef.html).
Fig 1. Comparison of 20-county 1990 Atlanta MSA with the 28-county 2000 MSA

Tab 2. Atlanta Metropolitan Statistical Area according to 1990 and 2000 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1990 Census</th>
<th>2000 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

That is, in addition to 20 counties according to 1990 Census, the 2000 Atlanta MSA included Dawson, Haralson, Heard, Meriwether, Pike, Lamar, Butts and Jasper counties.

**Data Collection**

To compare the results among the counties, data conformity (units of analysis, operationalization of the concepts, data collection method) is important. The strategy that this study employs was to acquire all the data from federal or state agencies including the Geological Survey, the Census Bureau, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Georgia Environmental Protection Division.
Data Extraction from USGS: Land Cover Data

The process of data collection from the USGS website was as follows. First, this study analyzed urban land cover data of 1992 and 2001 in order to understand sprawl trends during that period. Specifically, USGS National Land Cover Data (NLCD) was used so as to present urbanized area or new built-up region. 1992 NLCD are raster data derived from early to mid 1990’s Landsat Thematic Mapper satellite imagery data. USGS applied a 21-class land cover classification scheme in consistency nationwide. It needs to note that the NLCD for 2001 are still in the development process, and in the case of the Bartow county, the data is under construction.

The NLCD data can be downloaded from USGS, which this study clipped the border of the study area. Concretely, from the Seamless Data Distribution System of USGS, 2 data files were downloaded. This system provides a user-friendly interface to make it easy to display and download GIS data. To download data on the online display map, we drew a box by dragging a mouse. The box embraced all the counties of the 2000 Atlanta MSAs. The coordinates of the area (box size), which stands for the WGS 84 coordinate system, is 34.67237 (north), -85.55102 (west), 332.79505 (south), and 083.45512 (east). Data descriptions are as follows.

### Tab 3. Data Extraction from USGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data*</th>
<th>Output Parameters</th>
<th>Size (MB)</th>
<th>Preview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Land Cover Dataset 1992</td>
<td>Output format: GeoTIFF** NAD 83 Geographic X cell Size: 0.00028° Y cell Size: 0.00028°</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Land Cover Dataset 2001</td>
<td>Output format: GeoTIFF NAD 83 Albers Equal Area Conic X cell Size: 30m Y cell Size: 30m</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* It needs to be noted that main road and boundary data (“Bureau of Transportation Statistics (BTS) Roads,” “National Atlas Roads,” “National Atlas States,” and “National Atlas Counties 2001” files) can be also downloaded. However, this study did not use these files, since previous studies have usually preferred the data collected from the Census Bureau.

** Land cover data can be also downloaded as ArcGRID formatted files instead of GeoTIFF ones. If downloaded, the file size can be decreased (52 MB to 30MB).

The “preview” column shows the data structure. It is important to note that 2001 NLCD for the Bartow county is still under construction. The missing part is presented with dark blue color on the Fig 2.

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3 The base year (1992) and the comparison year (2001) were selected based on data availability.

4 That is, the year of 1992 means the representative year.
Fig 2. 2001 NLCD for the 2000 Atlanta MSA

The classification schemes of 1992 and 2001 are not consistent each other. 1992 land cover classification was based on actual land use or type. In contrast, 2001 land cover classification was based on the impervious cover of the land, which indicated built-up or urban land. Thus, it is necessary to operationalize urban land with 1992 and 2001 NLCD classes. This study followed the strategies Wilson et al. (2003), Sudhira et al. (2004) and Almeida (2005) used. Tab 4. shows the classes which this study regards as components of urban lands.

Tab 4. Reclassification of 1992 and 2001 NLCD Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1992 NLCD Classes</th>
<th>2001 NLCD Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 Low Intensity Residential</td>
<td>21 Developed, Open Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 High Intensity Residential</td>
<td>22 Developed, Low Intensity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Commercial, Industrial, Transportation</td>
<td>23 Developed, Medium Intensity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 Urban, Recreational Grasses</td>
<td>24 Developed, High Intensity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Acquisition from EPA: Air Quality Data ($O_3$)

Depending on the location, several websites report air quality based on ozone and particulate levels, however many of the sites also monitor for carbon monoxide, SOx, NOx, lead and other air toxics.

In the case of the federal agency’s websites, EPA AIRNow (http://airnow.gov/) plays a role of a clearinghouse for local air quality monitoring sites across the US. However, more detailed reports spanning longer time periods can be obtained from the EPA Office of Air and Radiation’s AirData Program (http://epa.gov/air/data/reports.html). One of the strong points of this program is that although a majority of websites are still providing Atlanta MSA air quality data based on the 20-county criterion, AirData offers
an option that allows users to select and unselect counties in order to obtain data which meets their needs.\(^5\) Thus, this study composed 28-county MSA air quality data.

However, this data has three problems. First, the website provides annual data since 1995. That is, there is no 1992 data. Second, only O\(_3\) data is collected throughout the study site. Third, some counties do not have even 1995 data. All in all, given that this study use 1995 data as a substitute for 1992 data,\(^6\) and only uses the value of O\(_3\), counties which can be used for analysis are limited to Dawson, DeKalb, Douglas, Fulton, Gwinnett, Paulding and Rockdale. That is, we can get data from “7 counties.”

In the case of Georgia-based systems, Georgia Department of Natural Resources’ Ambient Monitoring Program (http://www.air.dnr.state.ga.us/amp/index.html) measures levels of air pollutants throughout the State. The data are used to determine compliance with air standards established for five compounds (O\(_3\), SO\(_2\), CO, NO\(_2\), and particulate matter, \textit{i.e.} PM\(_{10}\) and PM\(_{2.5}\)), and to evaluate the need for any special controls for various other pollutants. All these data are also used to calculate the Air Quality Index (AQI) which is a simple value standing for a region’s air quality.\(^7\)

However, this program also has several limitations. First, the first available record is not from 1992, but differs depending on the monitor location. Second, only O\(_3\) data is collected throughout the region.\(^8\) Those two problems are what EPA AirData Program also has. Third, several counties which are included in my study area do not have air quality data. Upon the whole, given that this study uses data collected after 1992 as a substitute for 1992 data, and only uses the value of O\(_3\), the counties which can be used for analysis are limited to DeKalb, Douglas, Fulton, Gwinnett, Paulding and Rockdale.\(^9\) That is, we can get data from 10 monitors within “6 counties.”

When comparing between EPA’s AirData Program and Georgia DNR’s Ambient Monitoring Program, AirData seems superior to the latter because it provides the data of 7 counties including Dawson as well as Ambient Monitoring Program’s 6 counties. Thus, this study used the air quality data provided by AirData Program (see “Appendix”).

**Data Acquisition from the Census Bureau: Vector Data (Boundaries and Main Roads) and Population**

In this study, raster-vector integration is implemented by buffering from the vector roads and by estimating raster area contained within the buffered zone. Corridor sprawl is estimated based on this area. Vector-formatted boundary and road data can be downloaded from the Census Bureau website.

First, according to Census 1990 and 2000, the bureau produced and provides cartographic boundary files of county and county equivalent areas via the website (http://www.census.gov/geo/www/cob/bdy_files.html). The files are both in ArcView

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\(^5\) AirData Program also provides 20-county MSA air quality data as a default.

\(^6\) 1992 NLCD was constructed between 1990-1995. Thus, we can use 1995 air quality data.

\(^7\) It provides data at a daily basis.

\(^8\) Ozone is currently monitored from March 1 to October 31.

\(^9\) In fact, Ambient Monitoring Program provides air quality data based on the monitor locations, available monitors are SDEKALB and TUCKER (in Dekalb), SWTWTRCK (in Douglas), CONFDAVE and MLK (in Fulton), GWINNETT (in Gwinett), DALLAS (in Paulding), and CONYERS (in Rockdale).
Shapefile (.shp) and ARC/INFO Export (.e00) formats.

Second, vector-formatted road files were obtained in the form of the TIGER/Line files (http://www2.census.gov/geo/tiger/tgrcd108/GA/). The files which were used in this study are the Georgia section data of the 108th CD Census 2000 TIGER/Line® files. The TIGER/Line files were created from the Census Bureau’s TIGER (Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing) database of selected geographic and cartographic information (Census Bureau, 2003). The data for each county is provided in ASCII text format only, but the bureau does not provide a means to transform the data into GIS formatted data. Thus, we downloaded a “transformation script” which one ArcGIS user uploaded on the ESRI website, and used it. The TIGER/Line files are rt1, rt2, …, rt8, rta, rtc, rth, rti, rtp, rtr, rts and rtz files, and the last character of the extension is the record type (rt means “Record Type”). This study used total 28 zip files from 13013.zip (Barrow) to 13225.zip (Spalding) (see “Appendix”). Road data is included in the “rt1 file” of each zip files.

Third, population data of 1990 and 2000 based on the 2000 Atlanta MSA criterion (28 counties) was gained from the Census Bureau website. Default MSA statistics which are provided by the bureau were not used because the two MSAs are not identified.

Tab 5. Data Types and Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1992 Data</th>
<th>2001 Data</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>County Population (A)</td>
<td>County Population (B)</td>
<td>Census Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built-up Area (x)</td>
<td>Built-up Area (y)</td>
<td>USGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-based Atlanta MSA’s Air Quality (P&lt;sub&gt;1995&lt;/sub&gt;)</td>
<td>2000-based Atlanta MSA’s Air Quality (P&lt;sub&gt;2001&lt;/sub&gt;)</td>
<td>EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 County Boundary</td>
<td></td>
<td>Census Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Roads in the MSA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Census Bureau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis Procedure: Data Processing and Analysis

Process of analysis was as follows. First three steps are for data processing, and the last step is for analysis. First, “the area of the new built-up land per head of increased population” was gauged as a following function. This variable means “sprawl area per capita (=S).”

\[
S = \frac{y - x}{B - A}
\]

where, \(x\)=the built-up area in 1992
\(y\)=the built-up area in 2001
\(A\)=county population in the 1990 Census
\(B\)= county population in the 2000 Census

Next, “the ratio of increment of air pollutant emission per S unit (=Ps)” is as follows. This variable means “air pollution increment per sprawl unit.” With Ps, we can tell how much air pollution increases in the new built-up region.
\[
P_s = \frac{P_{2001} - P_{1995}}{S} = \frac{P_{2001} - P_{1995}}{B - A} = \frac{P_{2001} - P_{1995}}{y - x}
\]

where, \(S\) = the sprawl area per capita
\(P_{1995}\) = 2000-based (28-county based) Atlanta MSA’s air quality in 1995
\(P_{2001}\) = 2000-based (28-county based) Atlanta MSA’s air quality in 2001

Third, this study is supposed to divide urban sprawl into three types: (1) corridor (type-A), (2) cluster (type-B), and (3) leapfrog (type-C). Thus, this study needs to operationalize each sprawl type to differentiate one from the others. The criteria, which will be employed, are as follows. (1) Corridor growth will be obtained by one-mile buffering from the main road. (2) If the new development area’s fringe is attached to existing area, the expansion is regarded as cluster growth. (3) Leapfrog growth means all the new development except for (1) and (2). Because the road file is vector-formatted data and NLCD is raster-formatted one, vector-raster integration is to be implemented in this process.

Some new development area, however, can be duplicated. Therefore, this study needs to set up priority to differentiate three types of sprawl. (1) Distinction between corridor and cluster growth (type-A vs. type-B): corridor growth is prior to cluster growth. Thus, all the new development within 1 mile of the road is regarded as corridor growth. (2) Distinction between corridor and leapfrog growth (type-A vs. type-C): corridor growth is prior to cluster growth. Thus, all the new development within 1 mile of the road is regarded as corridor growth. (3) Distinction between cluster and leapfrog growth (type-B vs. type-C): if the edge of the new development area is cling to the existent area, the growth is regarded as cluster growth.

Last, this study explored the relationship between \(P_s\) and the ratio of each type of new development area.

**Introduction of “Walkable Distance”**

In the case of cluster sprawl, it needs to consider integrated pixels, which are adjacent to each other. Thus, this study used a concept of “walkable distance” as a consolidation criterion. If a new development pixel is located outside walkable distance of another pixel, it can provoke vehicle use. Mileage of walkable distance is various according to research goals. For an obesity research, Larsen et al. (2005) uses “1 mile” as a clearly walkable distance. For the scenarios analysis, NOAA (2004) indicates that a walkable distance is defined as “1/4 mile,” which equates to a walk of less than 10 minutes. NOAA applies this distance to exploring an alternative pattern of coastal development among conventional, conservation, new urbanist design. While investigating walking and bicycling patterns nationwide, Federal Highway Administration (1994) indicates “1 mile” and “1.5 mile” as walkable distances, and 5 miles as a bikable distance. And, for transportation research, Sallis et al. (2004) used “1/2 mile” as a walkable distance and 5 miles as a bikable distance. This study followed Sallis et al. (2004), and operationalized 1/2 mile as a walkable distance. This distance is equal to a walk of around 20 minutes. In short, neighboring pixels within 1/2 mile were integrated in
measuring cluster sprawl.

Fig 3. Operationalization and Differentiation of Three Urban Sprawl Patterns
Analysis

Preprocessing

First, the spatial reference of 2001 NLCD (NAD_1983_Albers) was different from the others’ (GCS_North_American_1983). Thus, this study transformed the coordinate system. The ArcGIS Arc Toolbox was used to reproject georeferenced raster (image) files from one projection to another (i.e. NAD_1983_Albers to GCS_North_American_1983) using.

Next, the TIGER/Line files are provided in ASCII text format only. Thus, this study transformed the file in the shape format. On the ESRI website (http://www.esri.com), this study downloaded the “tiger reader.avx” extension to import the interchange files into ArcView. This extension can convert TIGER/Line files to shapefiles, and adds them as themes to a view. As stated above, the “.rt1” files contain information about line feature such as roads, waterways, boundaries. This study used major five types of road data. That is, the main roads of this study include “Highways,” “Interstates,” “State Route,” “State Highway,” and “United States Highway.”

Third, as stated at “Tab 4. Reclassification of 1992 and 2001 NLCD Classes,” this study manipulated original land cover classes in order to extract built-up area.

![Fig 4. Built-up Area of 1992 and 2001.]

To extract the newly urbanized area between 1992 and 2001, this study excluded the urbanized area of 1992 from the urbanized area of 2001. In this process, this study found “stayed urban” and “non-urban to urban” areas. That is, the “non-urban to urban” area means the newly built-up region.

10 The spatial references of 1992 NLCD, county boundaries and main roads are consistent with one another.
This study divided this “non-urban to urban” region into three types.

**Corridor Sprawl**

First, in order to extract the corridor sprawl area, this study composed main roads with “Highways,” “Interstates,” “State Route,” “State Highway,” and “United States Highway.” Next, 1-mile buffer zone was created. This study regarded the “non-urban to urban” region which is included in this zone as the corridor sprawl area.
**Cluster Sprawl**

As mentioned above, this study extracted the “non-urban to urban” area which is located within 1/2 mile of the “stay urban” area. That is, 1/2-mile buffer zone was created based on “stay urban” area. This study considered the region within the zone the cluster sprawl area.

![Fig 7. Stay Urban Area, Buffer Zone, and Cluster Sprawl Area](image)

**Leapfrog Sprawl**

This study regarded all the other “non-urban to urban” areas, which does not belong to corridor or cluster sprawl areas, the leapfrog sprawl area.

![Fig 8. Leapfrog Sprawl Area](image)
Upon the whole, all the new development comes under one of the three sprawl type.

Fig 9. Three types of urban sprawl

In the case of Bartow, new development was not computed because of absence of the 2001 NLCD data. Thus, the Bartow county was not included in the following analysis.
Comparison among the Three Types of Sprawl

First, this study found the size of each sprawl per capita (ft²/person). The table is presented in the “Appendix.”

Irrespective of sprawl type, Meriwether County has a serious sprawl problem. In the case of Haralson, corridor and leapfrog sprawl is dominant sprawl types. Corridor sprawl is a main type of sprawl in Dawson, Jasper and Lamar counties. Carroll, Douglas, Cobb, Spalding experience cluster sprawl. As to leapfrog sprawl, Heard county has a problem connected with this type of urban sprawl.

This results represent the “absolute” size of each sprawl per capita. Next, this study computed “relative” portion of each sprawl per capita. The table is also presented in the “Appendix.”
That is, although Meriwether experiences all of three types of sprawl, especially has a problem related to leapfrog sprawl. In the case of Haralson, corridor sprawl is a more dominant sprawl type in this county more than leapfrog. It needs to note that the relative degree of sprawl is of no use if the absolute value appears not significant. For example, Forsyth and Gwinnett do not have a sprawl problem.

This relative sprawl degree is used to understand each sprawl type’s influence on O₃ level. Fig 12 shows O₃ emission increments per capita of each country during the study period.
Fig 12. O₃ Level Per Capita of Each County
That is, the second max 1-hour O₃ level increased most prominently in Rockdale, and the fourth max 8-hour O₃ level most increased in Dawson11 According to relative degree of sprawl, these two counties has corridor sprawl problem. And, this analysis is also significant based on absolute sprawl level.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzed a relationship between the sprawl types and the degree of ozone increments. Primarily, a corridor-type sprawl contributed air pollution. Corridor sprawl was the dominant sprawl type in Rockdale and Dawson. Rockdale is near Atlanta, but Dawson is far from this core area. Therefore, air pollution provoked by sprawl seems not related to distance from the core city. In Atlanta, a corridor-type sprawl problem needs to be settled in order to abate ozone emissions.

Upon the whole, the method, which was used in this paper, seems to visually identify sprawl area and to clearly classify it into three sprawl types. Thus, this technique has a potential in applying it into other metropolitan regions.

Nonetheless, this study has some limitations. First, while there may be an association with sprawl type and ozone in the counties, there are other causal variables that would need to be incorporated into the analysis including transportation vehicle efficiency (the emissions of each vehicle type), road infrastructure efficiency (the number of intersections and cul-de-sacs), and community node accessibility. Second, as ozone is a secondary pollutant, it is transported regionally, so the areas that exhibit the highest levels may not be associated with high levels of ozone precursors. Besides, this analysis can systematically exaggerate the area of corridor sprawl. Thus, it is more desirable that the analysis is applied at the national level. That is, examining multiple MSAs rather than multiple counties seems more significant.

11 Or, the emission was least decreased.
References


http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GCTTable?_bm=y&-context=gct-&ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U&-mt_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_GCTPH1_ST2&-tree_id=4001&-redoLog=true&-_caller=geoselect&-geo_id=04000US13&-format=ST-2|ST-2S&-_lang=en


### Appendix

*App. Tab 1. County Air Quality Report (from EPA AirData Program)*

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### App. Tab 3. Area of Sprawl Per Capita ($\text{ft}^2/$person)

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Abstract

Selecting Bodies:  
Race-ethnic and Sex Differences in Body Type Preferences among Internet Daters

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Using the Feliciano-Robnett Internet Dating data set, this study examines the dating profiles of 5,180 internet daters to investigate race-ethnic and sex differences among internet daters’ body type preferences for potential dates. The final study population includes 3,000 men and 2,180 women split almost evenly between four race-ethnic categories, including: African American, Asian, Hispanic/ Latino and White. This study explores the relationship between the race-ethnicity and sex of an individual and his or her preference for a partner’s body type. Body type preferences for potential daters includes: Slim, Slender, Average, Athletic, Fit, Thick, A Few Extra, Large, Voluptuous, Curvy and No Preference. I find that women are much more likely than men to express no preference for body type. When body type preferences are expressed, most women prefer muscular, athletic men and most men prefer slim, slender women. For men, these body type preferences are driven by race-ethnicity. African American, Asian and Hispanic/ Latino men are much less likely than White men to exclusively prefer female dates with slim, slender bodies. Race-ethnicity, however, does not drive women’s preference for male dates with muscular athletic bodies. These findings suggest that popular portrayals of the female body may not be as pervasive as once thought and are, perhaps, applicable only to the White population who are portrayed in these images. It also suggests that the body and beauty expectations of males are more pervasive and universal than is currently assumed. Further research should focus not only on the race of the dater, but should also examine the race-ethnic date preference of daters to determine if this affects body type preferences of potential dates.
Title: Integration of the Learning Process: Teaching Pedagogy that Addresses the Strengths of Both Left-Brain (Cognitive) and Right-Brain (Affective) Learners

Topic Area: Education

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OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

Objective 1: Place special emphasis on closing the student achievement gap by reaching all students through their cognitive and emotional intelligence.

Objective 2: Effectively address the issues of boredom and apathy in the classroom through the use of symbolic imagery.

Objective 3: Place special emphasis on eliminating traumatic stress in students through *spiritual networks* (the development meaningful relationships between students and teachers).

Abstract: The presentation proposes to share continuing research that is connected to my book series entitled, *Motivate to Educate*, a learning resource guide which produced a handbook and program entitled, “Success is the Goal.” The “Motivate to Educate” series utilizes the holistic approach to teaching and learning—educating the mind and heart of learners for the purpose of initiating and stimulating growth and development in the five interdependent aspects of human life: physical; mental; spiritual; social; and financial. The presentation will focus on some of the issues that will be addressed in my next book. These issues involve exploring and subsequently integrating the left-brain (*cognitive side*) and right brain (*affective side*) for the purpose of finally integrating the learning process—invariably meeting the needs and learning strengths of all students in a diverse society.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How has the *one-size-fits-all* educational model impacted student achievement in a diverse society?

2. How committed are we as Americans to closing the achievement gap?

3. Is *No Child Left Behind* nothing more than political rhetoric?
1. Title of the submission.

   **Genre Analysis of Legal Provisions in the Real Estate Industry**

   *Presentation Format – Paper Session*

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   - Next page
Abstract

Genre Analysis of Legal Provisions in the Real Estate Industry

Legal language is an unfamiliar genre that entails careful examination and study, especially, for those engaged in the teaching of English for Specific Purposes; its complexity may pose serious problems to most ESP teachers and learners. Of particular interest in this study is the genre of legal provisions. This study aims to provide a framework for a training module that would incorporate knowledge on reading and interpreting laws for the real estate industry. Despite the fact that developers and corporations engage in heavy training, most of the modules are on sales. This study attempts to address this gap by offering insights in the teaching of ESP in the real estate industry, at the same time, equip the real estate practitioners with the knowledge and ability to read and interpret relevant legal provisions. Genre analysis was conducted using a two-step procedure, which includes a linguistic analysis of the lexico-grammatical features, and the interpretation of the cognitive structure of legal provisions. The two-part move of Bhatia (1993) was used as a model in the analysis; to add another dimension, a modification was made by including and analyzing another lexico-grammatical feature, the Verb Group. As corpus of the study, thirteen (13) Philippine legal provisions on property ownership and other real estate related laws were compiled from the Philippine Civil Code. The corpus was analyzed by manually counting and tallying the occurrences of lexico-grammatical features such as the sentence length, nominal character, complex prepositional phrases, multinomial phrases, and syntactic discontinuities. The average sentence length of legal provisions examined is 49.53 words per sentence. The longest sentence is 272 words. These figures are consistent with claims made in previous studies and the general impression about the length of sentence in the language of law. The study also reveals that the corpus exhibits a highly nominal character with an average of 21 nominal structures per sentence. There is a significant number of repetition of lexical terms and almost no occurrence of pronouns and other anaphoric references. This phenomenon may be justified by the fact that the use of anaphora and substitutions entails some risk and may create confusion and ambiguity in a text. To the legal community, much concern is given to being precise, clear, unambiguous, and all-inclusive. The study further reveals that the
total number of occurrences of all Verb Groups is 71 or an equivalent of 5.46 Verb Group per article. This illustrates the robustness of occurrences of Verb Groups in general. The next step in the analysis is the interpretation of the cognitive structure. The two-part move-structure illustrates how easily one can find the essential elements of a legal provision, namely: case description, legal action, and legal subject in the Provisionary Clause; and its conditions in the Qualifications Clause. To the ESP teacher, the language description and genre analysis of legal provisions provide a simplified description of legal provisions that may serve as a tool to understand and explain the complexity and peculiarity of legal language characterized by its length, heavy embeddings, and wordiness.
Climate change has become increasingly accepted as a real environmental threat by both the public and the scientific community, especially during the past three decades. According to Mazur and Lee (1993), “perhaps no environmental issue has become as important to the public mind or to Washington as quickly as has global warming” (693). Since its initial revelation in an 1896 paper by Swedish chemist Svante Arrhenius, the greenhouse effect has received varying amounts of attention among scientists and the public alike. Trends in salience can be related to various economic, social, and natural occurrences. A study of news reporting and congressional activity related to climate change suggests that the energy crisis of the 1970s was a pivotal turning point for public awareness of and concern about climate change. However, decreasing oil prices in the 1980s led to a lull in activity until the ozone hole was brought to the public’s attention and a heat wave and drought in the late ‘80s again made prominent the issue of climate change and global environmental problems. Although a broad scientific consensus exists regarding the reality of the greenhouse effect, public understanding of the issue and consensus among decision makers is still not uniform.

During the past two decades, weather events such as heat waves, droughts, and hurricanes have been pointed to as either results of or harbingers of global climate change. News media reporting plays an important, but complex role in agenda setting for decision makers as well as shaping public discourse. Every several years, record-breaking weather events raise questions about the impending onset on climate change. The 2005 hurricane season, which included both an unprecedented number of storms as well as massively destructive storms, is a recent example of this phenomenon. Although studies of news reporting of hazards and weather events associated with climate change exist, these studies focus primarily on quantitative methods of analysis and are increasingly becoming outdated. In order to better interpret public understanding and political decision-making regarding climate change, it is an important first step to understand how climate-change related news is reported. Another step is to attempts to understand the processes that influence news reporting through in-depth analyses.

The proposed research will explore, through the employment of cases studies, climate change discourses present in the news media over the past thirty five years. It will reveal themes
in reporting that, based on existing literature regarding the role of the media, are expected to have been influential in setting the climate change agenda as well as public opinions on the issue. Ultimately, this study will provide insight into prominent climate change discourses, how they have changed or stayed the same over time, and the processes through which these changes have (or have not) occurred.

Assessing the Threat of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Terrorism

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The disasters of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, and September 11, 2001 attacks elevated the perceived likelihood of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) terror. Despite this heightened awareness to the possibility of an unconventional attack, the vast majority of terrorist attacks continue to utilize conventional weaponry. This paper argues that the focus on CBRN terrorism has potentially dangerous consequences as it draws media and government attention away from the likelihood of a conventional attack. This paper thus presents the historical record for CBRN incidents before analyzing the religious and secular motivations for and against the employment of CBRN terrorism. In sum, religious and secular motivations make CBRN terrorism possible but not inevitable, and government officials need to become aware of this reality.

**HISTORICAL RECORD**

Since the beginning of modern terrorism, only four significant incidents of CBRN terrorism have been documented. One of the long-standing assumptions about terrorism was that “Terrorists want a lot of people watching and listening and not a lot of people dead.”¹ Even after a series of dramatic sky-jacking and truck bombings, the widely accepted belief was that terrorists operated on the principle of minimum force necessary.² Terrorist scholar Brian Jenkins noted in 1975:

> Scenarios involving the deliberate dispersal of toxic radioactive material… do not appear to fit the pattern of any terrorist actions carried out thus far… Terrorist actions have tended to be aimed at producing immediate dramatic effects, a handful of violent deaths – not lingering illness, and certainly not a population of ill, vengeance-seeking victims… If terrorists were to employ radioactive contaminants, they could not halt the continuing effects of their act,

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² Ibid, 199.
not even long after they had achieved their ultimate political objectives. It has not been the style of terrorists to kill hundreds or thousands. To make hundreds or thousands of persons terminally ill would be even more out of character.\(^3\)

The following incidents, however, heightened the concern that terrorists were moving toward greater lethality and fewer constraints about using CBRN terrorism.

**Rajneeshee Cult**

The first major incident of CBRN terrorism occurred in September 1984 by the Rajneeshee cult in Oregon. The Rajneeshee had established a commune in Wasco County, which was partly incorporated as the city of Rajneeshpuram.\(^4\) Angered by local objections to the commune, cult members adopted a plan to overthrow the county by manipulating the results of the 1984 election. The plan involved making opposing voters sick and unable to vote on Election Day, while busing homeless people onto their commune and registering them to vote for the Rajneeshee candidates.\(^5\) In September, the Rajneeshee contaminated the salad bar of ten restaurants in their town with salmonella, which resulted in 751 cases of salmonellosis, but no deaths.\(^6\) No successive attacks were made, and two members of the cult were later prosecuted for their role in the poisoning plot. The Rajneeshee, however, did not have a particular affinity toward CBRN terrorism. They employed bioterrorism simply to seek a specific and tangible end.

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\(^3\) Ibid.


\(^6\) Ibid.
**Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)**

In 1990, the LTTE attacked a Sri Lankan armed forces base with chlorine gas. More than 60 military personnel were injured and the LTTE were able to take control of the fort.\(^7\)

Similar to the motivations of the Rajneeshee, the LTTE pursued unconventional weapons as a practical means to a desired end. They employed chlorine gas not because of a unique interest in chemical warfare, but because they ran low on conventional weapons and were able to steal chlorine containers from a nearby paper mill.\(^8\)

**Aum Shinrikyo**

The Aum Shinrikyo attack on the Tokyo subway system represented a watershed event in the history of terrorist tactics, as it demonstrated the first large-scale use of a chemical weapon by a non-state actor for the express purpose of causing mass casualties. Under the leadership of the half-blind Shoko Asahara, the Japanese cult placed containers of sarin gas on five subway trains in the Tokyo underground on March 20, 1995. Asahara had convinced his followers that violence was necessary to catalyze the apocalypse in which they would be the only survivors. Though the Aum attack left only 12 people dead, more than 5,500 were injured, and the cult was successful in instilling an atmosphere of vulnerability and fear about the possibility of future chemical attacks.\(^9\)

The possibility of widespread chemical and biological attacks were not significantly considered until Aum Shinrikyo had the knowledge, resources, and will and the resources to

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\(^8\) Ibid, 42.

execute a chemical terrorist attack. Asahara’s fascination with technology led him to recruit an extraordinary brain trust of chemists, physicists, and engineers, specializing in the production of CBRN weapons. His attack signaled that the technological expertise and resources of some terrorists groups was comparable to that of some governments.

Furthermore, Aum had amassed a fortune unparalleled among terrorist organizations due to its extensive membership base and revenue schemes. At the time of its attack on the Tokyo subway system, Aum had more than $1.4 billion in assets, 50,000 members, and offices worldwide. Additionally, Asahara maintained an almost deity-like control over his followers. New recruits were forced to wear helmets to align their brain waves with his, and those who attempted to escape and were caught were often killed.

Some terrorism experts argue that the Aum sarin gas attack destroyed the barrier between conventional and non-conventional weapons, making it easier for future groups to employ non-conventional weapons. Others posit, however, that the Aum attack was aberration and unlikely to be repeated in future terrorist attacks. Despite the debate, Aum remains the singular example of a successful CRBN attack, and stands as a seminal event in the history of terrorist tactics.

**Anthrax Attack**

Following the September 11, 2001 attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the discovery of anthrax powder in the Senate Hart Office Building mailroom

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11 Jerrold M. Post, “Prospects for Chemical/Biological Terrorism: Psychological Incentives and Constraints,” 82.

12 Stern, 65.

triggered hysteria about U.S. vulnerability to CBRN attacks. Unfortunately, the perpetrator was never identified, and details about the attack remain ambiguous almost four years later.

Despite the relative paucity of data, which complicates the task of accurately assessing the scope and magnitude of the CBRN threat, a few general observations can be drawn. First, although Aum Shinrikyo possessed overwhelming financial resources and members with advanced scientific knowledge, even this unusual group was unable to cause a truly widespread chemical attack; it failed in all 10 of its attempts at biological warfare and was only moderately successful in its attempt at chemical warfare.\textsuperscript{14} Given that Aum’s resources surpassed those of most terrorist organizations, it seems unfeasible that a less organized, less wealthy group would be able to effectively disseminate a chemical weapon. Second, the most destructive biological attack involved a rudimentary poison, rather than a complex dissemination of a deadly strain of bacteria or virus. Third, the historical record does not indicate that a religious component necessarily preordains groups toward using CBRN terrorism. Several of the case studies illustrated that terrorist groups often turn to CBRN terrorism simply to capitalize on a perceived opportunity. Lastly, despite growing concerns over proliferation and material control issues, no terrorist group has acquired a nuclear weapon to date.

The historical record thus leans against the inevitability of use of CBRN weapons by any terrorist group. With the exception of the Aum attack, CBRN weapons have been used for limited application against specific individuals or groups.\textsuperscript{15} Despite the rarity of CBRN attacks

\textsuperscript{14} Parachini, 45.

and the few observations that can be drawn from them, the possibility of a terrorist CBRN attack continues to occupy media and government attention.

**MEDIA AND POLITICAL ATTENTION TO CBRN TERRORISM**

The level of media and government attention to the possible terrorist use of CBRN weapons has steadily increased since the 1995 Aum attacks. Presidents Clinton and Bush both emphasized the need for greater federal attention to the possibility of a CBRN terrorist attack against the United States.

*The Clinton Administration*

Following the Aum attack in 1995, President Clinton released the Presidential Decision Directives 39 and 62, which emphasized the importance of reducing U.S. vulnerabilities to terrorism, both domestically and abroad, and unequivocally stated that terrorists would not dictate U.S. policy.\(^\text{16}\) In 1999, President Clinton stated that it was “highly likely” that a terrorist group would threaten a chemical or germ attack on American soil in the next five years.\(^\text{17}\) Congress also responded to the perceived threat of CBRN terrorism. In 1996, Congress passed the Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Act, also known as the Nunn-Lugar Domenici Domestic Preparedness Program, which called attention to the ease of developing and delivering chemical and biological weapons.\(^\text{18}\) The effect of these federal mandates was the facilitation of interagency coordination to deal with CBRN terrorism and increased funding for CBRN preparedness.

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The Bush Administration

In the aftermath of the tragedy of September 11, 2001, President Bush adopted Clinton’s belief about the possibility of a CBRN attack on American soil. He stated, “September the 11th provided a warning of future dangers -- of terror networks aided by outlaw regimes, and ideologies that incite the murder of the innocent, and biological and chemical and nuclear weapons that multiply destructive power.”\(^{19}\) Having made WMD proliferation a cornerstone of his foreign policy, President George W. Bush justified the invasion of Iraq on the recrudescence of Saddam Hussein’s WMD program. He also published the first national strategy on combating Weapons of Mass Destruction. President Bush’s National Security Strategy argues that, “the expertise, technology, and material needed to build the most deadly weapons known to mankind- including chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons – are spreading inexorably.”\(^{20}\)

Despite potential flaws in these intelligence assessments, the American public and U.S. foreign policymakers remain concerned about the capability of a terrorist to launch a CBRN attack against the United States. Aware of U.S. vulnerabilities to unconventional attacks, Congress increased the annual funding for CBRN terrorism to about $1 billion in December 2001.\(^{21}\) In fact, since 2001, the Bush Administration has more than tripled the funding for homeland security and increased defense spending by more than 40% in part to handle the threats of CBRN terrorism.\(^{22}\) In addition to Defense Department and Department of Homeland Security appropriations, the Bush Administration has increased CBRN-related


funding to several other agencies, including the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health and Human Service, and the Department of Energy. Since 2001, more than $5 billion has been allocated to the National Institute of Health for research and development of advanced countermeasures against biological agents. The Department of Energy’s National Nuclear Security Administration has spent more than $343 million in Russia and other regions of concern to secure nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons-usable material and to install detection equipment or overseas border crossings and ports.23

While substantial investment has been dedicated to protecting and preparing society for a CBRN attack, a significant gap still remains in investigating motivations, tactics, constraints, and incentives toward CBRN weapons acquisition and use. The following sections focus upon the possible rationales for and constraints against CBRN terrorism in an attempt to determine whether current the media and government attention to this terrorist tactic is justified and appropriate.

RATIONAL FOR TERRORIST USE OF CBRN WEAPONS

Some academic terrorism experts and policymakers argue that despite the low probability of a CBRN attack, the high consequences of such an attack alone make it a significant security challenge in the 21st century. In particular, these individuals point to both religious and secular explanations for terrorist employment of CBRN weapons.

Religious Motivation

One argument supporting the investment in CBRN preparedness asserts that “new” forms of terrorism will find the use of CBRN acceptable. Since the end of the Cold War and

23 Ibid.
the decline of Marxist-Leninist ideology, more “traditional” types of terrorist groups, such as social revolutionary terrorists, have waned. This trend has been accompanied by the rise of religious fundamentalist terrorism, which is comprised of less cohesive organizational entities, more diffuse structure and membership, and millenarian aims. Some analysts argue that the increase in religious fundamentalist terrorists and its increasing lethality portend greater likelihood of terrorist employment of CBRN weapons.

One explanation for greater lethality in religious fundamentalist terror is that these terrorists often see no “red lines” in their jihad against the Western world. Their different mechanisms of legitimization and justification allow for greater violence and destruction. Mass murder becomes a divine duty and results in desensitization to moral, societal, and cultural constraints. This “systemic desensitization” justifies the need for increasing casualty tolls for the acts of terrorism to shock target audiences. Whereas a secular terrorist might consider indiscriminant violence counter-productive, a religious fundamentalist terrorist finds such violence sanctified and legitimized by God. In addition to the desensitization to increased violence, religious fundamentalist terrorists do not worry about alienating relevant constituencies in the ways that nationalist separatist and social revolutionary terrorists might. The religious terrorist does not perform acts of violence to impact a larger audience, rather he or she seek to divorce himself or herself from modern society and have only God as the ultimate constituency. Indeed, some analysts argue that the overall increase in religious fundamentalist terrorism over the last 20 years of terrorism encapsulates the confluence of

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24 Ibid.


new tactics, motivations, and adversaries affecting terrorist patterns.26 All of these factors of religious fundamentalist terror, some argue, point to the increased likelihood of CBRN weapons.

Secular Motivations

Religion, however, is not the only factor that shapes a group’s propensity to acquire and use CBRN weapons. The academics and analysts who argue for the likelihood of CBRN terrorism cite the several of the following secular motivations: the increase in access due to the information revolution, the cost-effectiveness of CBRN terrorism, the ease of transport of these weapons, and the difficulties in containing the attack.

The Information Revolution

In the past, terrorism demanded the motivation and will to act, as well as the capability to do so. Terrorists needed operational knowledge, access to weaponry, and the requisite training for the terrorist acts.27 Due to the dual phenomenon of globalization and the information revolution, however, a wealth of information about the methods and means of terrorism is now available on the Internet. Some argue that this rapid dissemination of information increases the likelihood of people getting access to critical information about how to produce, develop, and deploy CBRN weapons. Terrorists have proven to exploit the advantages that global communication provides to their goals. Recipes for biological weapons are available on the Internet, and even groups with modest finances could develop biological weapons at minimal cost.28

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Cost-Effectiveness of CBRN Terrorism

The cost-effectiveness of CBRN terrorism might also appeal to some terrorist groups seeking to inflict the most casualties at the cheapest cost. For example, compared with the costs of other modes of warfare, the cost-effectiveness of pursuing chemical and biological weapons is staggering. In 1969, the United Nations estimated that the cost of producing mass causalities per square kilometer was: conventional- $2000/km²; nuclear- $800/km²; chemical- $600/km²; and biological- $1/km².29 While the magnitude of these values might have changed, the extent to which chemical and particularly biological warfare remains relatively cheap has not. Another government study concluded that while a hydrogen bomb with a yield of 1,000,000 tons of TNT could kill 600,000 to 2 million people, a mere 100 kilograms of anthrax could kill 1-3 million people if dispersed under optimal conditions.30 Thus, for a terrorist group with minimal resources, chemical and biological terrorism presents an ideal method of inflicting the greatest amount of fear and devastation with the least amount of investment.

Ease of Transport of CBRN Weapons

Another argument attributing increased terrorist attention to CBRN weapons is that their concealment and transport can be relatively easy. Everyday objects can easily double as containers for chemical and biological agents. Chemical and biological weapons transport is facilitated by public access to Global Positioning Systems that can guide unmanned drones or planes to target areas.31 Other biological weapons can easily be disseminated as an aerosol or

29 Ibid.
31 Schmid, 121.
in a public water supply. Smallpox, for example, is one of the smallest living organisms, and is very easy to prepare as an aerosol for mass dispersion.32

Difficulties in Containing the Attack

Detection of the presence of chemical and biological weapons can be difficult, and there is often no counteragent. Biological agents, for example, can be transmitted easily, unwittingly, and randomly through the population before the source of the attack is located. As they diffuse silently, biological agents can cause a significant number of casualties before it is known that the dissemination was premeditated and not a natural outbreak of the disease. Furthermore, unlike a chemical or nuclear attack, the site of the attack in a biological strike can not be quickly located, the dimensions of the devastation cannot easily be ascertained as symptoms might affect people differently, and efforts can not commence immediately to stabilize the location, due to the disconnect that currently exists between the public health and law enforcement communities. The initial U.S. reaction to bioterrorism would likely be hysteria that would magnify the effect of the attack, a lack of confidence in the government for not fulfilling its role in safeguarding society, and terror that the disease might strike again.33

Coping with a biological terrorist attack is further complicated by the difficulty of assessing the source of the attack. A terrorist biological attack is likely to have several sources of outbreak, which will not be easily or instantaneously known. “Dark Winter”, an exercise created by bioterrorism experts in which U.S. policymakers were confronted with the

possibility of a false smallpox attack, demonstrated the possible devastation wreaked by releasing deadly pathogens such as smallpox in several cities simultaneously. The “terrorists” released the smallpox virus in three different cities simultaneously and by the time public health officials concluded it was not a natural outbreak of the disease, it was too late and a potential 3 million U.S. citizens had been infected. Given the asymmetric strategy of terrorists, and due to religious and secular motivations, some analysts argue that CBRN terrorism is the most effective way to inflict maximum fear into the U.S. population.

**CONSTRAINTS AGAINST TERRORIST USE OF CBRN WEAPONS**

Despite the list of both religious and secular facilitators of CBRN terrorism, there remain various rational and tactical constraints against the use of these weapons.

*Rational Obstacles*

Despite the compelling rationales for terrorist employment of CBRN terrorism, several rational obstacles exist that prevent many terrorist groups from seeking and using CBRN weapons. Constraints such as logical cost-benefit analyses and the fear of alienating relevant constituencies often inhibit CBRN terrorism.

*Logical Cost-Benefit Analyses*

Academic terrorism expert Martha Crenshaw argues that the choice to resort to violence by terrorists is a willful decision made after a careful weighing of the costs, benefits, and unintended consequences of their actions. Terrorism displays a collective rationality and

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35 Ibid.
a deliberate decision-making procedure. According to her theory, terrorists generally act according to a preference order. The projected response of the state attacked, the cost of acquisition and employment, and the personal risk involved in a CBRN attack might lead a terrorist to rationally conclude that the costs of a CBRN attack outweigh the benefits. Terrorists thus understand the possibilities but also the limits of CBRN terrorism and its attendant risks. Furthermore, if one follows Crenshaw’s argument of terrorist choice as inherently rational, it dictates that terrorists would not seek to employ CBRN weapons because they would be counterproductive, triggering excessive state retaliation, or counterintuitive, alienating relevant national or international constituencies.

Fear of Alienating Relevant Constituencies

Groups that are particularly concerned about their constituencies, such as nationalist separatist and social revolutionary terrorists, are unlikely to employ CBRN weapons. Unlike social-revolutionary or nationalist-separatist terror which both seek to influence a constituency, the religious fundamentalist terror and right-wing terror seek to divorce themselves from any constituency and would be more likely to employ a weapon intended to cause mass casualties. Case studies on the IRA, Hamas, and the FARC indicate that political vision, practical military utility, and moral constraints prevented them from seeking unconventional weapons. The matrix listed below by Dr. Jerrold Post is consistent with the historical record listing religious fundamentalist terror and right-wing terror as the groups most likely to consider using CBRN terrorism.

37 Gressang, 87.
39 Parachini, 45.
While some analysts would cite this matrix as proof that religious fundamentalist terror and right-wing extremists groups will employ CBRN terrorism in the future, this categorization merely states that these groups are less constrained about the possibility of catastrophic CBRN use. Therefore this grouping does not make the use of CBRN weapons *ipso facto* either probable or inevitable by any terrorist group.

**Tactical Obstacles**

In addition to these rational constraints against terrorist use of CBRN weapons, tactical constraints also exist. The tactical obstacles that inhibit CBRN terrorism include the difficulty of CBRN weapons’ acquisition and employment, the preference for repetitive tactics, the relative ease of inflicting mass casualties without sophisticated weapons, and the fact that religious terrorists are not uniquely motivated to employ CBRN terrorism.
**Difficulty of Weapons’ Acquisition and Employment**

The policymakers and academic terrorist experts who argue for the likelihood of terrorist use of CBRN terrorism frequently cite the ease of acquisition and delivery of CBRN weapons. In reality, however, CBRN weapons are often difficult to obtain and require exceptional skill to employ effectively. In the case of possible nuclear proliferation and detonation by terrorists, the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and attendant concerns about the vulnerability in Russia to the theft of nuclear material increased the perceived threat of terrorist use of CBRN weapons. Despite the increased possibility of acquisition of nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, the Russian nuclear-weapons complex has proved more stable than initially thought.\footnote{Karl-Heinz Kamp, Joseph F. Pilat, Jessica Stern, and Richard A. Falkenrath, “WMD Terrorism: An Exchange,” *Survival* 40:4 (Winter 1998/1999): 170.} Technical safeguards and self-destruct mechanisms inhibit the likelihood of weapon detonation, and most nuclear material is difficult to transport given its size and related dangers of transportation.\footnote{Ibid.}

Only in a very few cases have groups been able to amass the materials, skills, knowledge, and experience to perpetrate a CBRN attack. To date, only Aum has been able to achieve a scale of operations capable to mount a serious unconventional weapons attack, and it was unsuccessful at achieving the full intent of its destruction. While Aum demonstrated the possibility of terrorist acquisition of sarin gas, most terrorist groups lack the financial reserves of Aum and simply cannot afford to purchase CBRN materials on the black market. Furthermore, while it was successful in producing high quality sarin due to its member base of biologists and chemists, it was not proficient in its sarin delivery.
Preference for Repetitive Tactics

A second tactical constraint against terrorist use of CBRN weapons is that terrorists prefer using tactics and weapons with which they are familiar. The historical record illustrates that terrorist acts have been largely unimaginative and repetitive. Terrorists often repeat the tactics and weapons that have worked for them previously and are cautious about wasting valuable time and resources on an untried and dangerous tactic, such as CBRN weapons. Terrorists, like most people, appear to be afraid of unfamiliar toxins and unstable biological compounds that they do not know how to safely handle, let alone effectively disperse.42 Bruce Hoffman states, “[Terrorists] seem to prefer the assurance of modest success provided by their conventional weapons and traditional tactics to the risk of failure inherent in more complex and complicated operations using CBRN weapons.”43

Mass Casualties Without Sophisticated Weapons

The historical record further illustrates that one does not require sophisticated weaponry to inflict mass casualties. The Indian Thugs strangulated as many as 1,000,000 innocent travelers during their 1,200-year history of sacrifices to the goddess Shiva. In 1346, the Mongol Tartars catapulted plague infested corpses into the city of Caffa, which resulted in millions of deaths.44 Conventional weapons, from airliners to rocket-propelled grenade launchers, can kill as many people as CBRN weapons but without the added cost and risk of a CBRN weapon. In fact, the terrorist incidents in the United States with the two highest casualty rates, the Oklahoma City Bombing and the September 11th attacks, both used conventional weaponry, not CBRN.

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43 Bruce Hoffman, “The Debate Over Future Use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Weapons,” Hype and Reality (Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute, 2000): 215.
44 Schmid, 110-111.
Religious Terrorists Not Uniquely Motivated to Employ CBRN Terrorism

A strong argument supporting terrorist use of CBRN terrorism is the belief that religious fundamentalist terrorists will employ CBRN weapons due to their differing mechanisms of justification and legitimization. Interviews with incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists conducted by Dr. Jerrold Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita Denny seem to belie this conventional wisdom that religious fundamentalist terrorists will embrace the use of CBRN weapons to maximize the number of casualties. The results of these interviews did not indicate a specific propensity to obtaining CBRN weapons, and some interview subjects indicated that there was no reason for these weapons because conventional weapons alone could cause mass casualties.\(^45\) They reiterated the belief that many terrorists are reluctant to experience with unfamiliar weapons because they may backfire and harm either the producer or user.

The interviews conducted by Dr. Post also indicated that Islamic terrorists might be less likely to use chemical weapons because the Koran proscribed the use of poisons.\(^46\) One Islamic Jihad member stated:

As for the question of weapons of mass destruction or non-conventional weapons, the question never arose. All I wanted was a pistol. But we did discuss the subject once. Islam wants to liberate, not kill. Under Islamic law, mass destruction is forbidden. For example, chemical, biological or atomic weapons damage the land and living things, including animals and plants, which are God’s creations. Poisoning wells or rivers is forbidden under Islam.\(^47\)

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\(^46\) Post, “The Terrorists in Their Own Words,” 5-6.
\(^47\) Ibid, 15.
Thus, despite the various religious and secular facilitators of CBRN terrorism, the rational and tactical constraints against their employment indicate that there is no immediate likelihood that terrorist tactics will change to embrace the use of CBRN weapons.

**Conclusion**

For the terrorist, killing is not the end in itself. Constraints such as logical cost-benefit analyses, fears of alienating relevant constituencies, difficulty of CBRN weapons’ acquisition and employment, preferences for repetitive tactics, possibilities of inflicting mass casualties without sophisticated weapons, and the lack of distinct motivations to employ CBRN weapons often inhibit CBRN terrorism. Given the rational and tactical constraints against employing WMD, policymakers need a more nuanced understanding of terrorist tactics and methodologies in order to more effectively direct government policy.
My presentation focuses on a place-based multi-method study of childhood asthma, social vulnerability, and environmental inequity in metropolitan Phoenix, Arizona. I examined asthma because it is a pressing children's environmental health issue. Using quantitative analysis, I investigated the relationships between socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, indoor hazards, ambient environmental hazards and asthma hospitalization rates at the zip code level in metro Phoenix. I found distinct socio-spatial inequalities in asthma hospitalizations. I then explored the nexus of race, class and place by conducting fifty-three in-depth interviews with parents of children with asthma in an upper class Anglo suburban enclave (Ahwatukee) and the poor and minority central city (South Phoenix). Drawing off a vulnerability framework adapted from social studies of natural hazards, I focused on the experiences of households coping with asthma. Two important resources emerged as salient for coping: health care and the environment. Comparing experiences between South Phoenix and Ahwatukee, I investigated how access to, and control over, asthma resources differed between the two areas. My findings highlight the coupling of race/class/health in place and how historical legacies of racism and discrimination shape contemporary experiences with asthma.
1. Title of the Submission: "Comparative Analysis of the Shopping Styles of Young Men"

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6. Submission Abstract
Comparative Analysis of the Shopping Styles of Young Men

By

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Rose Regni, Assistant Professor

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Using forecasting principles such as the long wave phenomenon and the fashion pendulum, we explore the historical implications of the “male peacock” and the evolution to the new male shopper. Factoring in the rapid increase in the movement of fashion predictors and the expansion of technology in our society, we analyze this new male shopper. We ask the questions: 1) Who is he in terms of demographics, psychographics, and geodemographics? 2) Where does he prefer to shop? 3) Is shopping a pleasurable activity for him or a chore? 4) How does he differ from the traditional male shopper of a generation ago? 5) Who or what influences him to shop and to purchase?

“In the past five years, there’s been a radical change with how men approach fashion,” according to Gabriella Forte of Dolce & Gabbana. It appears that young men have shifted dramatically from the traditional 20th century perspective that resulted in a lack of interest in fashion to an active, independent and perhaps even feminine approach to shopping.

Our methods for studying and analyzing this new male shopper include surveys, literature research, observation, and interviews with fashion industry professionals. We seek not only a clear definition and identification of this customer, but also a
determination of his potential impact on retailers and wholesale brands in the 21st century. Will this new male consumer become as important to the fashion industry as his female counterpart? Will retailers and brands need to change their strategies in terms of product, marketing, and visuals to capture him? We will apply our findings to a prediction of the impact that this new customer will have on the world of fashion.
a. Title: Highlighting Diversity in *Resegregated* Classrooms

b. Topic Area: Education

c. Presentation Format: Paper Session

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Abstract: Highlighting Diversity in *Resegregated* Classrooms

This paper begins by highlighting the migration patterns of both immigrants and domestics within the borders of the United States, and how these decades-old patterns are represented in cities around the country. A comparison of White, Black, Asian and Hispanic migration destinations reflect the changing racial and ethnic make-up of America’s schools, and the article espouses that these migratory patterns probably contribute to the growing segregation of our schools. Therefore, teachers and students in schools and classrooms that represent predominately one ethnic group may perceive that there is a lack of diversity among the students. The major goal of the article is to highlight diversity in these seemingly homogeneous classrooms by engaging students in participatory action research. Teachers can engage students in understanding microcultures and having them identify those with which they represent. This process is explorative and informative for both the teacher and students. One strategy is to create pie charts using PowerPoint or paper and colored pencils, followed by an explanation and discussion of students’ diverse representation in microcultures. The objectives of this article are to highlight the resegregation of our schools and present an activity to highlight diversity among students who may appear to represent the same culture. Upon completion of the presentation, all participants should be able to produce a pie chart that represents their microcultures affiliations and share this knowledge with their classes and colleagues.
THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS OF OUR NATION’S SCHOOLS AND THE US

Fifty-one years after Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas, many schools in the United States are significantly segregated by race. In fact, Rojas and Gordon (1999) reported that sixty-three percent of all white students attend schools that are 90% to 100% white, and students of color in rural areas and small towns are much more likely to attend integrated schools than those who live in large cities. Consequently, the southern and southwestern parts of the United States comprise the most integrated schools (Orfield & Lee, 2004). In many urban areas, the classrooms in schools are comprised of predominately students of color from impoverished backgrounds. Furthermore, large inner cities schools in the north represent the most intense school segregation (Rojas & Gordon, 1999). The state of Michigan, for example, has one of the most segregated school systems in the country, with sixty percent of all African American students attending segregated schools (Putnam, 2006). Furthermore, Frankenberg and Lee (2002) pointed out that the problem in part lies in the limiting of desegregation plans by U.S. courts. In fact, the researchers noted that “the Supreme Court desegregation decisions of the 1990s relaxed the judicial standards school districts had to meet to be released from court oversight, ad many school districts are no longer under desegregation plans” (p. 22).

This apparent resegregation of many schools may also be attributed in part to domestic migration patterns. Both domestic and immigrant moving patterns within the United States tend to have interesting contrasts. For example, Frey (2005) noted that “if a place appeals to immigrants, it tends to have the opposite effect on people who choose to move domestically” (p. 43). In other words, people who move to the U.S. from other countries most often pick gateway metropolises such as New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, while people who already reside with the U.S. mostly choose other locations within the country. Overall, the migration
patterns to the U.S. and within the U.S. reflect diverse student populations all over the country. However, little attention has been given to the rising segregation and increasing diversity on the racial composition of our public schools (Frankenberg and Lee, 2002)

The student of color population in many urban schools is comprised of native U.S. English speakers, speakers of English as a Second Language (ESL) as well as limited English proficient (LEP) students. As white students are moving to suburban areas, inner city schools are being faced with the challenge of accommodating students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For example, English language learners (ELLs) in the Grand Rapids Michigan school district represent 24% of the school age population, while they only represent 0.3% in the affluent neighboring East Grand Rapids (Bickel, 2005). In addition, the proportion of the state’s population that speaks a language other than English at home is just under nine percent (The Chronicle of Higher Education, 2005). Most important, today the school population in the United States reflects more diversity than any other time in the history of the U.S. Besides a Hispanic population that is almost fourteen percent and an African American population that is nearly thirteen percent, twenty percent of the children in the U.S. come from a household that is headed by immigrants (“Children of Change,” 2000). Projections indicate by 2015, more than 50 percent of all students in K-12 public schools across the US will not speak English their first language (Pearlman, 2002). Many teachers must be prepared to adopt methods and strategies that accommodate students of color. This is particularly important for teachers in the large urban school districts since they will encounter a vast majority of ELL students.

Teacher and student demographics contrast in that no less than 84% of public school teachers are white and 75% are female (U.S. Department of Education, 2003), whereas a majority of students they teach will be students of color. Moreover, places such as Arizona,
California, the District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, New Mexico, New York, and Texas have non-native English speaking populations that range between 17 and 40 percent (The Chronicle of Higher Education, 2005). The changing demographics undoubtedly reflect diverse populations within our schools. More often than not, the classrooms in a considerable number of schools appear to be racially homogenous. Some researchers contribute the resegregation of the classes and schools to tracking, which is a process of separating students based on their academic performance. Schofield (2004) noted that “when desegregated schools group students on the basis of test scores, they often end up with heavily White high-status accelerated groups and heavily minority lower-status groups” (p. 803). Therefore, an attempt to cope with academic diversity within the schools has caused a resegregation of them. Tracking is not the only issue that is attributed the resegregation of classrooms and schools. The No Child Left Behind Act, school vouchers and ‘white-flight’ have also contributed the resegregation of classrooms and schools. Although the goal of the No Child Left Behind Act is to improve the academic achievement of all students, it allows students in low performing schools to transfer to higher performing schools to improve their chances of passing tests if their school is low performing for three years (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006). The concept of ‘White-flight’ has been around for many years as a significant number of White families continue to move out of urban areas and into more affluent suburban areas. Most suburban schools have districts that are different from metropolitan schools. Since the 1974 Milliken Supreme Court Decision forbids desegregation plans that cross school district lines (Rojas & Gordon, 1999), many schools and classrooms still appear to be homogeneous.
INTRA-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

The resegregation of many classrooms/schools has presented a microcosm of America. That is, separate and unequal environments where both White students and students of color attend different schools, most of which are unparalleled economically, academically and socially. There are many sources that attest to the inequalities in society and in schools. Moreover, any teacher who has taught at either a predominately African American or a predominately White school knows the challenges with finding diversity. One problem in particular is distinguishing ‘intra-group’ differences. Differences within racial and ethnic groups may be greater than intergroup differences on several family factors (Hidalgo, Siu & Epstein, 2004).

One example of intragroup differences is among Latino/as in California. Matute-Bianchi (1991) described the differences between successful Mexican immigrant students and unsuccessful nonimmigrant Chicano students at a California high school. Although both the Mexican immigrant and the Chicano nonimmigrant students could trace their heritage to Mexico, Matute-Bianchi found a range of contrasting characteristics among them; they were comprised of (1) recent Mexican immigrants, (2) Mexican oriented, (3) Mexican American, (4) Chicano and (5) Cholo. The recent immigrants dressed in unstylish clothes, they virtually spoke little to no English and they still considered Mexico as home. The Mexican oriented students, on the other hand, were bilingual, they had lived in the U.S. most of their lives but their parents were Mexican born. In addition, they still maintained strong identity as Mexicanos. The Mexican American students often did not speak Spanish well and preferred to use English as they tend to be predominately U.S. born English speakers. Many were Mexican in last name only, were strongly acculturated, and did not manifest any surface culture symbols. The Chinos were usually the second generation of their family in the US. They were more distinguished as
Americans than the Mexican born and Mexican oriented students. They called themselves “homeboys” or “homegirls” in contrast to academic achievers, whom they called “schoolboys” or “schoolgirls.” They sometimes displayed an attitude of apathy towards or outright defiance of the school culture. The Cholos were frequently identified as gang members by other students. Some of them exhibited stylistic surface culture symbols in the way that they dressed even though many may not have been gang-affiliated.

In another intragroup comparison with African American adults, West (1993) categorized present-day black political leaders into three types such as (1) race-effacing managerial leaders, (2) race-identifying protest leaders, and (3) race-transcending prophetic leaders. The first category would entail a Colin Powell type African American who could appeal to a large number of Whites, while maintaining their loyalty to African Americans. The second categories, race-identifying protest leaders, often confine themselves to the African American community. Louis Farrakhan would fit this category because of his mass appeal to the African American community. The third category, race-transcending prophetic leaders would pertain to black leaders whose influence transcends the African American community in that they can perform with an allegiance to either Whites or African Americans. West claimed that these leaders are rare in contemporary black America, and that they possess “integrity and political savvy, moral vision and prudential judgment, courageous defiance and organizational patience” (p. 40). West further claimed that the present generation has yet to produce such a figure; the former Chicago mayor, Harold Washington was one. In addition, West categorizes black scholars into three basic types such as (1) race-distancing elitists, (2) race-embracing rebels, and (3) race-transcending prophets. A more detailed analysis of the three basic types of black political leaders and black scholars is highlighted in West’s (1993) scholarly book, ‘Race Matters.’
There may be many ways to classify an ethnic group intra-culturally as cultural identity is based on membership in multiple cultural groups that continually interact and influence each other (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006). Since both Latino/a culture and African American culture exist within a larger mainstream culture in which systemic institutions and deep and surface cultural traits are shared, they can be considered microcultures. A microculture is a subculture within the dominant culture. The U.S. dominant culture would be based on White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) values and beliefs. Therefore, an African American gay male within the dominant culture could represent three microcultures (African American, gay and African American male). Likewise, the same person would reflect intracultural differences within the African American, gay and male communities. In fact, Hidalgo, Siu & Epstein (2004) reported that members of every group “vary widely in social class, regency of immigration, English and native-language competencies, family educational background, area of residence, ethnicity of neighborhood, age of parents, intermarriage, family structure, parental employment, level of poverty or prosperity, and other measures of assimilation or acculturation” (p. 644). This intracultural diversity leads researchers like Nieto (2000) to stress that generalizations about any particular group would be wrong.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Gollnick and Chinn (2002) note that members of microcultures have distinct cultural patterns with members of the dominant culture, and that our identity in any single group is influenced by historical and lived experiences as well as memberships in other groups. These cultural affiliations are sometimes shared as well as distinguished from each other. Family members represent different microcultures and they always most often change according to time,
environment, migration, marriage, family, among other factors. Besides the above-mentioned traits, Gollnick and Chinn (2006) reports that cultural identity is based on traits and values learned as part of our ethnicity, religion, gender, age, socioeconomic status, primary language, geographic region, place of residence and abilities or exceptional conditions. Figure 1 displays an adaptation of Gollnick and Chinn’s (2006) cultural patterns that make up one’s cultural traits and values.

![Cultural Identity](image)

**Figure 1: An adaptation of Gollnick and Chinn’s (2006) Cultural Identity Traits**

The cultural traits displayed by Gollnick and Chinn represent demographic traits that are often represented in educational statistics, administrative reports, employment applications, surveys and other forms of use in society. Microcultural groups are dynamic in that they can change with any given time or situation. For example, many cultural groups were affected in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina devastated the city. Many people were displaced geographically (from the south to the north) and ethnicity became more of a salient feature because of the perception from many that the government displayed apathy towards African
Americans. In other words, a person may have viewed themselves as a *southerner* more than an *African American* before the hurricane, but in the aftermath, their ethnicity may have become their most conspicuous cultural trait. A homeowner with hurricane insurance, but without flood insurance may find herself catapulted from middle class to unemployed and homeless. A circumstance such as this may not only change her class, but it may increase her awareness of gender.

Microcultural group association can be achieved through enculturation, assimilation, acculturation and separation. For example, people in the U.S. and in other countries are raised with varying degrees of socialization. *Ways With Words*, Heath’s (1983) ethnographic study of Whites and African Americans in neighboring towns, revealed that boys and girls from each ethnic group were socialized differently. As a result, African American and White children had different experiences in schools. An immigrant who desires to come to the United States and live most likely would achieve assimilation as to increase the quality of her or his life in America, whereas a student on an F-1 visa may acculturate into certain microcultures as to make her or his temporary stay and her or his social life with Americans more amicable. An illegal migrant worker, on the other hand, who speaks no English, may choose to remain culturally fortified in the immigrant community as not to expose herself or himself to U.S. law enforcement authorities. Ogbu (1992) suggested that understanding minorities, their cultures and languages that make crossing cultural boundaries and school learning difficult for some and not for others requires an understanding of ‘*voluntary*’ and ‘*involuntary*’ minorities. Involuntary minorities, as Ogbu suggest, are castelike and voluntary minorities are not. Native Americans and African Americans are considered ‘*involuntary*’ minorities, while Koreans, Japanese and Chinese are considered ‘*voluntary*’ minorities. Interestingly, these two types of minorities are distinguished
by their histories and the degree to which they try to preserve their ethnic identities and distinction from mainstream oppressive culture (Ogbu, 1990, 1992). One could surmise that involuntary minorities are more reticent to assimilate, whereas voluntary minorities see assimilation as a way to improve their quality of life. The latter group, as Ogbu claimed, is more likely to succeed, particularly in academic achievement.

Gollnick and Chinn (2002) noted that “the degree to which individuals identify with their microcultural memberships and the related cultural characteristics determines, to a great extent, their individual cultural identities” (p. 20). The authors give an example of a 25 year-old, middle-class, Catholic, Polish American woman in Chicago, and how her divorce either expanded or minimized these cultural traits. The author of this article provides a display of his wife (Figure 2), who came to the US from Congo Africa and married the author (an African American) several years later. The cultural traits in 1997 chart changed considerably when she came to the U.S. to pursue an education. In the 2005 chart, the student trait is nonexistent, which implies that she has either completed her education or quit school. Fortunately, it refers to the former. Now that she has settled in the U.S., she identifies less with being a foreigner and more with being African. Moreover, she identifies more with being religious and less with being culturally naïve and a party animal. It is interesting to note that she did not choose mother or wife despite being a representative of both microcultures.
Figure 2 Cultural Identities of an African Woman
DIVERSITY IN RESEGREGATED CLASSROOMS

Educators who seek to explore the microcultural affiliations of pre k-12 students should first assess their microcultural affiliations. This approach entails using critical pedagogy, which focuses on the culture of everyday life (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006). Teachers should the model of Gollnick and Chinn (2002) to solicit microcultural affiliations. This is particularly helpful in predominately African American classrooms, predominately Latino classrooms as well as predominately White classrooms, where the classrooms tend to look racially homogeneous. Furthermore, all teachers need to see the diversity in white culture because the “idea that a white culture exists is difficult for many people to grasp… and that White values, attitudes, shared understandings, and behavior patterns- like many aspects of White culture- are often unrealized by group members because they are part of a taken-for-granted world” (Parrillo, 2006, p. 64). Another interesting point espoused by Roediger (1991) is that Whiteness blunts class consciousness among America’s Whites working class, in effect encouraging solidarity among Whites across class differences against all non-Whites. Soliciting microcultural affiliations among females could help clear assumptions about them. Banks (2006) notes that an exploration of differences “among the population of girls by race, ethnicity, or class makes research more complex, but it produces a more finely detailed, accurate portrait of students’ school identities” (p. 257).

Preservice and in-service teachers, like the African woman depicted in Figure 2, might choose microcultural affiliations that extend beyond gender, exceptionality, ethnicity, age, geography, class, language and religion. For example, former preservice and in-service teachers have chosen microcultural affiliations such as single mom, friend, preschool teacher, educator, follower of Jesus, non-Jewish wife, hunter, lesbian, athlete, as well as a host of other affiliations.
Allowing the respondents to choose their microculture affiliations produces some interesting traits and it shows a wide array of microcultural affiliations. Some choices may not represent a microculture, but rather a trait such as smoker, movie lover, party person (one who likes to drink and have fun). The most important goal of a microcultural affiliation exercise is to have students identify entities with which they identify. Therefore, what students choose as a microculture is not as important as their choice. Overall, creating microcultural affiliation charts is an interesting and engaging way to solicit the diversity within a class and to particularly allow those resegregated classes to see the diversity among them.

PROCEDURES

Teachers who conduct a microcultural affiliation exercise should first read Gollnick and Chinn’s (2002) chapter one “Foundations of Multicultural Education.” This chapter will help clarify the concept of microcultures as well as provide visuals of microcultural pie charts for use in class. Furthermore, this chapter helps the educator formulate notes for introducing the topic as the information will increase students’ awareness of each others’ cultural identities. The Microsoft PowerPoint program provides vivid visuals of pie charts (Appendix A, lists instructions). It is important to note that educators and students who lack the technology could use a paper with a large circle in the center and colored pencils/crayons for their microcultural pie charts.

Creating pie charts is a simple three-step process. The first step entails the student writing her or his microcultural affiliations on a sheet of paper and assigning each a percentage of importance until all categories total 100 percent. Moreover, the PowerPoint pie chart displays the chart at 100 percent. Creating a list on paper helps the student organize her or his
microcultural affiliations. Table 1 provides an example of microcultural affiliations on a sheet of paper. Step two is to create a pie chart that represents the student, and step three entails writing a narrative to share with the class (Figure 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim American</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-incarcerated</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Written Microcultural Affiliations

![My Identities Pie Chart]

I identify with five micro cultures, all of which are indicative of the life that I have lived here in America. I am primarily consumed with the struggles of being an African American as well as a male. There are many societal factors that remind me that I not American, but African American, in which I have pride in being. Unlike, most African Americans, I am a Muslim, and I represent 30% of American Muslims in the U.S.

I recently visited the Illinois Department of Corrections website and conducted an inmate search. I was able to view the profiles of at least 25 African American males with whom I was
raised. In fact, I read that African American men are 6% of the US population, but 47% of the US prison population. I am disheartened by the fact that almost all of the men in the African American community are either incarcerated, on parole or on probation. Homicide, aids and intoxicants also plague a significant number of African American males. Being one of the lucky one’s made my maleness more salient. These inimical vices leave African American women and children unprotected, and it makes my maleness more salient since I am one of the lucky ones. I am fortunate despite the racism and discrimination I often encounter. I love my children, I love their souls. I am dedicated to their survival by any means necessary. The thought of my children being discriminated against or harmed in any other way makes my blood boil. Each day my soul is torn more apart because I am not able to be in my son’s life wholly. He lives with my first wife in Chicago and I am haunted by my limited input in his life. I pray each day that I can again have him under my tutelage. The nonincarceration microculture will be self-evident when you visit any state or federal prison in a state that has a considerable African American population.

**Figure 3: Pie Chart with Narrative**

**CONCLUSION**

This study does not seek to eliminate the resegregation of schools/classrooms as many pre k-12 classes are segregated by race. The resegregation is attributed various factors such as the limitation of desegregation polices by the courts, poverty and migration patterns. The goal of this study is to present a strategy for teachers to ascertain cultural diversity within the classroom. Each individual differs in one way or another even if they may share some surface and deep cultural traits, namely those who represent the same ethnic groups. The differences evolve as we become more of a product of our environment and experiences. One’s home life as well as their social life forms their microcultural affiliations as much as incidents in our lives. For example, winning millions of dollars in the lottery could easily change one’s social stratification and filing for bankruptcy could also change one’s social stratification. Microcultures are the cultures of everyday life and addressing them entails exploration under the critical pedagogy paradigm.

Whether an educator is assigned to a predominately African American school in the inner city, a predominately Latino school in the inner city or a predominately White school in the
suburbs, diversity exists and it is multifaceted. Pie chart exercises can be utilized in both ESL and mainstream classrooms whether or not diversity is salient. It is important that educators assess their microcultural affiliations before assessing their students. The educator’s microcultural chart would serve as a model for the students. Furthermore, the openness and honesty of the teacher reflected in her or his pie chart is important for students because the teacher serves a role-model. Students need to see the diversity that exists among them in order to understand microcultures and how they relate to the individual. Discussions of microcultural charts provide students with opportunities to express themselves. In addition, a microcultural pie chart activity gives them a chance to feel empowered and it provides opportunities to share their affiliations. Besides microcultural affiliations, students can create pie charts of their favorite or least favorite occupations, foods, places to live or visit, their favorite movie stars, hobbies, cars and assign them percentages according to importance. This would undoubtedly give insight into students’ aspirations and interests. Educators may not be able to tackle the aggressive resegregation of schools and classrooms, but they can enrich the lives of their students by finding diversity in resegregated classrooms.
Bibliography


APPENDIX A
PowerPoint Pie Chart Directions

1) Open PowerPoint and choose “blank presentation” from the “apply slide layout” section on the right.
2) Stay in the “apply slide layout” section and scroll down until you see “other layouts.”
3) Choose the layout that reads “title and chart” it should be a frame with a title box and chart only. Probably the last frame in that section. The words “apply to selected slides” will appear.
4) A generic chart will appear as a template with the words “double click to add chart. A bar chart and presentation data sheet will appear as a default.
5) Go to “Chart”
6) Choose “Chart Type”
7) Choose “Pie” a pie chart and data sheet should appear. If no data sheet appears, Go to “View” and choose “Data Sheet”
8) This will bring the box with the ABCD (data sheet) Horizontally (stay in row 1 only!)
9) Directly under the ABCD change the 1st quarter, 2nd quarter, 3rd quarter (the horizontally ones) to your microcultures (e.g. mother, student, female).
10) After you have entered the microcultures (e.g. mother, student, female), enter the percentage values in the column directly under the micorcultures (e.g 20, 30, 10, 25, 15 / make sure they all equal 100)

If you’d like to produce a second one, repeat steps (10 -12).

NOTE: In order to view the divisions, there must be a pie icon to the right of the number Row 1 (you should click the #1 until see a small pie icon next to the number)
The same for #2. If do not see a pie next the number, keep clicking the mouse until a mouse appears. Then you will be able to see the divisions. Don’t worry if the graph disappears when you click between the letters. Keep clicking until both the small pie icon and the graph reappears.

To visibly see the percentages on your chart, go to “Chart.”
Choose “Chart Options’
Choose “Data Labels”
Click the “percentage” box OR the “value” box if you do not want this % sign
Your percentages will show on your pie.

To put a title on top (for example Amy’s Life)
Choose “Chart Options’
Choose “Titles”
Type in the title that you prefer.
Then click “OK”

It is always better to play with the chart in order to become familiarized with it.

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ABSTRACT

“MAKING LEMONADE FROM LEMONS: HOW CAN DISADVANTAGED RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP SOCIALIZATION POSITIVELY IMPACT COLLEGE PERFORMANCE?”

This research project proposes that, for racially/ethnically disadvantage students in America, positive racial/ethnic socialization may be a key factor in producing desirable academic outcomes at the college level. While America’s racial/ethnic order has not remained static over the past few hundred years, some racial/ethnic groups have experienced relatively stable positions at the bottom for over 100 years. Nearly all Native and African-American groups, most Latino groups, and some Asian groups can be seen as disadvantaged in America’s racial/ethnic hierarchy. Relative to privileged group members, members of disadvantaged groups are less likely to become assets to their families and communities. In contemporary America, a four-year college degree is typically the prerequisite for becoming a family and community asset. Factors like parental socioeconomic status, parental expectations, peer expectations, student aspirations, and school quality have been linked to academic performance. However, these factors do not account for all of the variation in school performance, and are probably indirect influences by late adolescence/early adulthood. Other factors, like racial/ethnic socialization, could play a key role and therefore should be explored. Racial/ethnic socialization is complex, and depending on the form and content, this socialization might help students to forge supportive in-group, out-group, or mixed – group relationships that facilitate educational excellence from late childhood through college. Yet, there may be some forms and contents that hinder educational performance. A typology of racial/ethnic socialization by form and content, and such typology’s connections to college performance have not yet been identified and studied. A research design, potential measures, and expected results for college-aged students will be described in this presentation.
1. Title of the submission
   Development of the Japanese Version of Hartmann’s Boundary Questionnaire

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Development of the Japanese Version of Hartmann’s Boundary Questionnaire

Naoki Haratani (Kansai University Graduate School)

Introduction

Hartmann (1991) examined nightmare sufferers (Hartmann, Russ, van der Kolk, Falke, & Oldfield, 1981; Hartmann, Russ, Oldfield, Silvan, & Cooper, 1987), and found that a pattern of personality characteristics of them. Hartmann (1991) realized that people who often have nightmares could be described as, “sensitive”, “vulnerable”, “artistic”, and “fluid”. Hartmann (1991) summarized these characteristics as “thin boundary”.

Lewin (1935) had initially and clearly defined boundary. Lewin (1935) defined boundary as borders that differentiate mind system. The concept boundary which Hartmann (1991) argued came from that of Lewin (1935).

Hartmann’s concept of boundary was broader and more comprehensive than those which have previously discussed (Lewin, 1935; Perls, Hefferline, & Goodman, 1951; Federn, 1952). The concept includes boundary in perception, thought, emotion, conscious, unconscious, interpersonal relationships, identity, and decision making (Hartmann, 1991).

Purpose

The first purpose of this study is to develop a Japanese Version of the Hartmann’s boundary questionnaire. Factor analysis and item analysis, and comparison results of these analysis and previous results (Hartmann, Harrison, Bevis, Hurwitz, Halevas, & Dawani, 1987; Hartmann, 1991, 1989; Rawlings, 2002) would examine reliability and validity of the Japanese version.

Rawlings (2002) conducted factor analysis on the Hartmann’s Boundary’s Questionnaire and developed empirically-derived short version. To improve availability in research and clinical practice, the abbreviated version of the Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire is needed. The second purpose of this study is to develop an abbreviated version of the Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire.

Method

Japanese Version of the Boundary Questionnaire

I asked Ernest Hartman, and he permitted me to translate the Boundary Questionnaire (Hartman, 1989; Hartmann, 1991) into Japanese. I initially translated the original version into Japanese. The translated version was checked and revised by a graduate school student who is majoring in clinical psychology. Twenty two graduate students completed the tentative translated version and pointed out items which did not make sense. I corrected and revised those items pointed out. The revised items were checked and revised by a male who are bilingual between English and Japanese. Reviewing the revised items, I
made up the Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire.

**Participants**

Four hundreds and nine (185 males, 224 female, average age = 20.48, S.D. =2.98) students who were taking psychology classes filled up the questionnaire on their usual experiences, thoughts, and emotions. Their ages were ranged from 18 to 50. Males’ mean age was 20.85 (S.D. =3.82) and females’ mean age was 20.17 (S.D. =1.97). Males were older than females (p=0.03<0.05).

**Results**

Reliability and validity of the Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire

The 145 items of the Japanese Version of the Boundary Questionnaire were factor-analyzed. Using the Maximum Likelihood method, four factors were extracted. The first factor was named, “Merger Experience”; the second, “Need for Extrinsic Boundary”; the third, “Sensitive Vulnerability”; the fourth, “Familiarity”. Correlations between these factors were substantially low.

After item analysis to examine uniformity of the 145 items, fourteen items were excluded because these items are not correlated or even reversely correlated with the total score. The sum of 131 items was defined as the sum of the Japanese Version of the Boundary Questionnaire. Cronbach's coefficient alpha of the 131 items was 0.88.

Reliability and validity of the abbreviated version

In order to make an abbreviated version of the Boundary Questionnaire, items of which mean ± standard deviation can not be scored were excluded. To sufficiently maintain uniformity, items which do not correlated with the sum (p>0.01) were excluded. As a result of the factor analysis of the 145 items, items were removed which had low loadings less than 0.25, cross-loadings greater than 0.30. Items which had communality less than 0.20 were removed. Twenty five items which were congruent with these criteria were chosen as an abbreviated Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire. Factor-analysis was conducted on the 25 items. Table 1 is the pattern matrix following Maximum Likelihood extraction and Promax rotation. Four factors were extracted and named “Merger Experience”, “Need for Extrinsic Boundary”, “Vulnerability”, and “Sensitivity”. As I showed in table 2, inter correlation between these factors were substantially low. Alpha coefficient of the 25 items was 0.82. Total score of the abbreviated version of the Boundary Questionnaire was strongly correlated with that of the 131 items(r=0.87).
Table 1-1. Pattern matrix following Maximum Likelihood extraction and Promax rotation items in the abbreviated version of the Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>F3</th>
<th>F4</th>
<th>Commonality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>When I recall a conversation or a piece of music, I hear it just as though it were happening there again right in the front of me.</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>I can visualize something so vividly that it is just as though it were happening right front of me.</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>When I listen to music, I get so involved that it is sometimes difficult to get back to reality.</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>In my dreams, people sometimes merge into each other or become other people.</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>I have had the experience of not knowing whether I was imagining something or it was actually happening.</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>I awake from one dream into another.</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>I have daymares.</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>I believe I am influenced by forces which no one can understand.</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>At times I feel happy and sad all at once.</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Everyone is a little crazy at times.</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137*</td>
<td>I like clear, precise borders.</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122*</td>
<td>I have friends and I have enemies, and I know which are which.</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125*</td>
<td>I know exactly what parts of town are safe and what parts are unsafe.</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48*</td>
<td>There is a place for everything, and everything should be in its place.</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36*</td>
<td>Either you are telling the truth or you are lying; that’s all there is to it.</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139*</td>
<td>I have a very clear and distinct sense of time.</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140*</td>
<td>I like houses where the rooms have definite walls and each room has a definite function.</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 1-2. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>F3</th>
<th>F4</th>
<th>Commonality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors which an item loaded most were underlined. * were added on reversed items. Item numbers were those in the original version (Hartmann, 1991).

### Table 2. Correlation matrix between factors following Maximum Likelihood extraction and Promax rotation of items in the abbreviated version of the Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>F3</th>
<th>F4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Discussion

Although amount of factors was different from previous results (Hartmann, Harrison, Bevis, Hurwitz, Halevas, & Dawani, 1987; Rawlings, 2002), extracted factors were comparable with the previous results. Coefficient alpha of the 131 items was 0.88. Hartmann (1989) reported alpha of 138 items of the Boundary Questionnaire was 0.93. Rawlings (2002) reported alpha of 145 items was 0.88. The alpha of the present study was largely similar to the previous studies (Hartmann, 1989; Rawlings, 2002). Japanese version of the Boundary Questionnaire can reliably measure psychological construct “thinness of the boundary (Hartmann, 1989)”.

As a result of the factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood method, items loading to each factors showed content validity. Rawlings (2002) reported that correlation coefficient between the empirically-derived abbreviated version of 46 items and 145 items was 0.88. In this study, correlation coefficient between sum score of 25 items of the abbreviated version and
that of 141 items was 0.87. The empirically-derived abbreviated Japanese version of Boundary Questionnaire can validly measure thinness of the boundary as well as the longer version.

Bibliography
ABSTRACT

Booker T: A Neighborhood in Transition

The Booker T community is located in the city of Monroe, Louisiana. At one time it was a thriving Black community with many Black businesses. With the advent of integration many of the businesses closed partly due to the fact that they lost patronage as residents utilized services outside this catchment area. Younger people moved away and older people remained often in homes that they were unable to maintain properly due to minimal fixed incomes. Crime also escalated. The discussion and short film documents some of the conditions as well as the changes that have taken place to restore the community and to provide services and to re-establish business under the direction of Ms. Ester Gallow who returned to Booker T, her childhood community. The film allows a tour of an assisted living facility as well as low income housing that has been put in place due to over five million dollars in grant funding.

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ABSTRACT

RACE AND SENTENCING OUTCOMES IN MICHIGAN: A COMPARISON 1996-2001

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This study focused on sentencing outcomes in Michigan Circuit Courts for crimes against the person, drug laws violations, and property crimes. Each crime was analyzed in terms of length of sentence and multiple regression was the statistical technique utilized. Sentencing outcomes for 1996 were compared to sentencing outcomes for 2001. In the analysis of the data, the independent variables of age, race (Black, White, Mexican-American), gender, prior record, and status at time of disposition were viewed to see whether or not the offender’s length of sentence could be affected. There were a number of independent variables that affected sentence length for various crimes and race was one of them. When all crimes as a group were combined, race also was a factor for length of sentence. The focal point of this study was to view each crime to see what changes had transpired over the time period. The Michigan Sentencing Guidelines Manual was used over the time period 1996 to 2001, and this study examined its effects.
Crime has become an increasingly significant concern in the United States. There has been a growing emphasis on locking up individuals to make them pay for their crimes. Crime-prevention efforts have not focused on the youth of America; rather, increased amounts of money are being spent to incarcerate youths. American society has become addicted to punishment. As with any other addiction, money is constantly being made available to satisfy that addiction. In Michigan, an increasing proportion of the overall state budget is being allocated to corrections. In 1988, 3.4% of Michigan’s budget was allocated to corrections; by 2000, the amount had been raised to 15.4% (Michigan Department of Corrections, 2001).

A critical issue that comes to mind when discussing the prison population in Michigan, as well as the nation, is the disproportionate number of blacks who are incarcerated. Blacks constitute slightly less than 12.3% of the total population in the United States and 14.2% in the State of Michigan (U.S. Census of Population, 2000). Yet, blacks make up nearly half of the prison population nationwide, and the discrepancy in Michigan is even more pronounced.

One must wonder whether disproportionate numbers of blacks are incarcerated as a result of racial discrimination, or whether far more blacks than whites are committing crimes. Statistics have indicated that young men commit more serious crimes than women and older individuals do, and it is accepted that crimes, in general, tend to be committed by young men. No one is suggesting that there is a disparity with regard to age because the facts in this area are clear.
However, disproportionate numbers of young black men are incarcerated, as compared to their white counterparts. Is this a result of racial discrimination or disparity in the number of crimes committed by the two groups? Racial discrimination occurs when people in a particular racial group receive a different type of treatment because of their race. Racial disparity occurs when a particular set of sentencing guidelines is followed, and members of one racial group have committed more crimes and been incarcerated as a result. Hence, the question is whether blacks have been singled out and treated differently because of their race, thus accounting for the disproportionate number of blacks being incarcerated today.

*Recent Research*

Numerous researchers have focused on racial discrimination and its relationship to sentencing. Many have suggested that race is an issue in sentencing, whereas others have argued that it is not. In focusing on race and sentence severity, Sidanius (1988) voiced the belief that pure racism accounts for most of the observed correlation between race and severity of punishment in the American criminal justice system. Racism has long been a part of America’s governmental institutions, and racism is a problem in American life. The juvenile justice system has not escaped these negative effects. In viewing the Nebraska Crime Commission data over a 6-year period, Secret and Johnson (1997) found that black youths were more likely to receive harsher treatment than whites, in both pre-hearing detention and final penalty. Further, minorities are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system. This overrepresentation increases dramatically as one moves beyond arrests to later stages in processing (Bishop & Frasier 1996). Collier and Smith (1983) pointed out that disproportionate
numbers of black males are arrested and that criminal charges are different for black males than for their white counterparts. They noted that in absolute numbers, more black males than white males are charged with murder (9,200 blacks, 8,700 whites), approximately as many black as white males are charged with rape (13,600), and that 29,600 more black than white males are charged with robbery.

Keil and Vito (1990) noted that in Kentucky, the race of the victim was directly related to the accused murderer’s being charged with a capital crime and receiving the death penalty. The central issue was the race of the victim. Blacks accused of killing whites had a higher-than-average probability of being charged with a capital crime. Further, the probability of being sentenced to death greatly increased when the victim was white and the offender was black.

Bowers and Pierce (1980) noted that gross differences have been documented in the treatment of potentially capital offenders, according to race of offender and victim. They suggested that the race of a victim is significant, and that people are more shocked and outraged by crimes against members of the dominant racial group, perpetrated by members of a subordinate racial group. In this regard, Paternoster (1983) pointed out that the prosecutor’s decision to seek the death penalty was, indeed, related to the race of the victim. He found that the difference in treatment could not be accounted for by the type of homicide committed or other mitigating circumstances. Likewise, Smith (1987) found that the primary focal point in a decision to seek the death penalty in a homicide case was the race of the victim. The offender’s race was not an issue.
Heaney (1991) said that three factors appear to be salient in the longer sentences given to young black males. The first factor is the weight given to criminal history. Second, a gram of cocaine is given a hundred times the weight of powder cocaine. Third, many communities concentrate their law enforcement activities in the inner city.

To amplify this situation, for an offender who is convicted of selling as little as five grams of crack (approximately a tablespoon), the sentence is a minimum of five years in prison (Isikoff, 1995). The war on drugs that has been promoted by the government has been focused on crack cocaine, which is sold primarily in inner-city neighborhoods, thereby leading to disproportionate incarceration of individuals from those areas (Irwin & Austin, 1994).

The current drug war is increasing the prison population, and thus, leading to further overcrowding of prisons. The drug war is filling up the prisons at unprecedented rates, and this war on drugs has serious racial undertones. Heavier sentences are going to addicts and street dealers who belong to racial minorities. The Federal Sentencing Guidelines, although factually neutral, contribute to this condition in some insidious ways (Aelman, 1992). There is more severe treatment under the guidelines for charges involving crack cocaine, the drug of choice in poor and black urban areas, as compared to charges for cocaine powder, a drug trafficked by a high percentage of nonminorities (Oberdorfer & Banks, 1992).

The claim that mandatory minimum statutes have had an adverse effect on blacks is corroborated by the literature. Research has indicated that blacks are more likely than whites to be convicted of the mandatory minimum provisions in sentencing
guidelines, and are more likely than whites to be sentenced at or above the indicated mandatory minimum. Much of this disparity is apparently a consequence of the differential treatment accorded to crack-cocaine offenders. The disparity between sentencing involving crack and powder cocaine was investigated by the U.S. Sentencing Commission (Free, 1997). It was found that, when blacks were incarcerated for possession of crack, their sentences substantially increased. In another study, it was found that blacks convicted of cocaine offenses and Hispanics convicted of cocaine and marijuana offenses were sentenced more harshly than white offenders (Herbert, 1997).

Whereas blacks constitute approximately 12% of the U.S. population and 13% of drug users, they account for 38% of people arrested for drug offenses, 58% of those convicted of drug offenses, and 63% of those convicted of drug trafficking. Blacks who are convicted of drug offenses are sentenced to prison at a much higher rate and for longer periods of time than whites convicted of the same offenses (Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, 1999).

In line with this situation, the U.S. Sentencing Commission recommended on April 27, 1997, that Congress reduce the wide disparity between federal prison sentences for trafficking in crack and powder cocaine. The Commission suggested that although research and public policy may support higher penalties for crack than for powder cocaine, a hundred-to-one quantity ratio cannot be justified. The Commission pointed out that trafficking in crack cocaine, used mostly by blacks, nets a far stiffer sentence than dealing powder cocaine, which is used mostly by whites and Hispanics (Fields, 1997).
Another drug-related study that focused on the State of Pennsylvania’s sentencing practices and a comparison of sentencing outcomes for white, black, and Hispanic defendants yielded some interesting findings (Steffensmeir & Demuth 2001). Overall, it was found that white defendants received more lenient treatment than blacks or Hispanics. The main finding was that Hispanic defendants were most likely to receive the harshest penalty. This finding held true across all comparisons for both in/out and term-length decisions in drug and nondrug cases.

An August 1991 report by the U.S. Sentencing Commission suggested that mandatory minimum sentences in the federal judicial system have led to increased racial discrimination in sentencing. The report indicated that black defendants received the highest percentage of sentences that were at or above the mandatory minimum, followed by Hispanics and then by whites. White defendants received lesser sentences than both black or Hispanic defendants convicted of similar crimes, while female defendants were less likely than males to be sentenced at or above the mandatory minimum level (McMillion, 1993).

In their study, Spohn, Grahl, and Welch (1989) noted a pattern of discrimination in favor of female defendants of all ethnic groups and against black and Hispanic male defendants. Hispanic males were most likely to be prosecuted fully, followed by black males, then by white males, and then by females of all ethnic groups, in that order. Zatz (1987) observed that bias in a different form arose in the 1980s; that is, bias had become subtle rather than overt. The basic issue was that primarily minorities and lower-class whites found themselves behind bars.
In a later study that focused on Hispanics, Holmes et al. (1993) found that Hispanic judges were not influenced by a defendant’s ethnicity when handing down sentences. The authors also noted that white judges in the same jurisdiction sentenced non-Hispanic defendants less severely than Hispanics, who received sentences similar to those meted out by Hispanic judges. Holmes and Daudistel (1984), focused on defendants who were black or of Mexican origin, pointed out that the greatest disparities in felony sentencing were observed in El Paso, Texas. Blacks, and those of Mexican origin who chose jury trials, were considerably more likely to receive a more severe sentence than otherwise similar white defendants. Likewise, minority defendants in Tucson, Arizona, were treated more harshly than whites were when convicted by a jury. Overall, the authors suggested that race was an issue, and that the interaction of race with other variables led to harsher sentences. Frank (1995) noted that black criminals who were sentenced in federal courts received, on average, were given sentences 10% longer than those sentences received by whites who committed the same or similar crimes.

Another issue that arose is that the possibility of contact with the police is probably higher in urban black neighborhoods than in suburban white neighborhoods. This increased the probability of urban dwellers’ having prior offenses. In line with this thought, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1974 authorized mandatory life sentences for individuals convicted of a third violent or drug felony (Benkos & Merlow, 1995). In addition, 14 states have joined the federal system in passing similar kinds of laws (Turner et al., 1995). The issue of sentence enhancement is referred to as the “three strikes and you’re out” rule. Essentially this means that
those who were convicted of three felonies are eligible to receive life in prison as habitual offenders. Thus, a person in an urban area can be arrested on a drug offense and two burglaries, and upon conviction for the second burglary, can be sentenced to life in prison. It appears that blacks are subjected to this type of sentencing process more than are other individuals in our society.

Jendrek (1984) focused on sentence length as it related to race and court location with a population of 412 male prisoners in Maryland. When the interactions of all variables were considered, she found that blacks received longer sentences than whites. In another study focusing on the State of Washington, the relationship between race and ethnicity to sentencing was examined across county courts (Engen, Gainey, & Steen, 1999). This study provided evidence that race and ethnicity continued to affect the sentencing of drug offenders. Race-specific models have indicated that black youths are likely to receive harsh treatment in urban courts, whereas white youths are not treated differently on the basis of court location (DeJohn & Jackson 1998).

In looking at the other side of the coin in regard to sentencing, Klein, Petersilla, and Turner (1990) noted that the addition of race to the prediction equation for a given crime did not improve the accuracy of the prediction. In addition, there was no evidence that other factors related to imprisonment (for example, number of convictions or going to trial) masked a relationship between race and imprisonment. Klein et al., also found that race was not related to the length of sentence that was imposed for particular crimes. After reviewing 57 studies, Kleck (1985) found that 26 studies contradicted racial discrimination in sentencing and 16 studies had mixed results. Fifteen studies indicated that some bias existed, but in 13 of the 15 studies in which
bias was found, the severity of sentencing did not include the defendant’s prior record. This eliminated the possibility of a severe sentence being based on the individual’s prior record. Only one of the 57 studies showed consistent evidence of racial discrimination in sentencing.

Hawkins (1986) focused on the relationship between rates of arrest and racial disproportionality in the prison population in North Carolina. The data from his study indicated that the racial differences between rates of arrest and imprisonment varied with the type of offense. The level of arrests did not account for a sizable amount of the racial differential in imprisonments for drug offenses, forgery, and driving under the influence. An unexpected finding was a lower-than-expected (by arrest) rate of blacks’ imprisonment for rape and robbery.

Langan (1985) presented results of testing two competing explanations for the relatively large number of blacks in state prisons. The differential-involvement hypothesis states that the high percentage of blacks in prison is because of their more frequent involvement in criminal activity. The racial-discrimination hypothesis attributes the higher percentage of blacks in prison to racial discrimination against blacks. The findings from Langan’s study much more strongly supported differential involvement than racial discrimination.

When Kramer and Steffensmeir (1993) analyzed their data with both additive and interactional models, they found that race had a small effect on judicial sentencing as it pertained to the likelihood of incarceration, but it had a longer measurable effect on the length of imprisonment. The small race effect on the in/out decision was accounted for by dispositional departures in sentencing that favor white defendants.
Offense severity was overwhelmingly the major factor influencing judicial sentencing, followed at some length by prior record.

Overall, black offenders are more likely than nonblack offenders to be sentenced to prison in most jurisdictions in Pennsylvania. However, in most jurisdictions, black offenders who are sentenced to prison tend to receive slightly shorter terms than whites. This difference in the effect of race on the length of sentence is greater than the variation in the effect of race on incarceration. Such a finding suggests that another type of study, using a single jurisdiction or a small number of jurisdictions, may run the risk of focusing on idiosyncratic features that may not actually be representative of other courts in the same state or elsewhere (Britt, 2000).

A study that focused on Pennsylvania’s sentencing guideline data suggested that race had a small effect on judicial decision making as it pertains to the likelihood of incarceration. However, race had a negligible effect on the length-of-imprisonment decision (Cramer & Steffensmeir, 1993).

The body of literature on unwarranted disparities in sentencing outcomes indicated that legal factors have a large effect on sentencing outcomes. In addition, there was little evidence of direct racial discrimination when these legal factors were included in the statistical models (Bushway & Phehl, 2001). Similar findings prompted Sampson and Lauritsen (1997) to conclude that “there is little evidence that racial disparities reflect systematic, overt bias on the part of criminal justice makers as a whole” (p. 362).

In a study conducted in Detroit, prior record and severity of the crime were found to be more important factors than race in sentence severity (Spohn & Cederblom,
1991). Those convicted of more serious offenses received appropriate sentences, and the race of the individual was found to be irrelevant. This was found to be the case for those who were convicted of violent felonies.

Methodology

Arrest data for this study came from sentencing outcomes in Michigan’s 54 circuit courts in 1996 and 2001 for the following crimes: drug offenses; crimes against the person, which include second-degree murder, manslaughter, criminal sexual conduct 1 (CSC1-rape), armed robbery, felonious assault, and assault with intent to do great bodily harm less than murder; and property crimes, which include breaking and entering and larceny. Each crime was analyzed in terms of length of sentence. The multiple regression model was used to determine which of the independent variables of age, race¹ (black and Mexican-American), gender, prior adult probations, prior jail, prior prison, number of felonies, Holmes Youthful Training Act (HYTA),² and parole were statistically significant. The unstandardized coefficients represent months, either plus or minus, for each independent variable. The study focuses upon sentence length for individuals convicted of crimes identified by the author. Essentially I will be examining whether or not the Michigan Sentencing Guidelines Manual (1999) influenced Michigan judges in their sentencing decisions in 2001.

Dependent Variables

In Michigan, judges use the Michigan Sentencing Guidelines Manual (1999) to help them make determinations about the length of sentence for individuals convicted of various crimes in the state. The Sentencing Guidelines Manual categorizes the severity of the crime from I through IV, and prior record is categorized from A to D. In
other words, the severity of the incident is viewed, followed by prior record. Where an offender falls on the overall grid dictates the length of sentence. For example, if the severity of a felony is ranked as category IV, and prior record is ranked as a D, then the offender would be in the IV by D category that would indicate the highest mandatory minimum sentence, given that particular crime and the offender’s past record (see Table 1). In any case, the sentencing judge can give an individual more time for a particular crime than is indicated by the sentencing guidelines, but he/she must indicate in writing why the person would be given less time than the designated mandatory minimum, based on the guidelines for that crime and the severity of crimes committed in the past.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
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<td>0-6</td>
<td>0-12</td>
<td>12-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0-9</td>
<td>0-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>0-12</td>
<td>6-18</td>
<td>18-48</td>
<td>24-56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results

*Length of Sentence 1996*

The unstandardized coefficients and the standardized coefficients\(^3\), which are in parentheses, are reported in Table 2. With regard to length of sentence for all crimes
(15,409), all of the variables, except age, were significant. The additional and reduced lengths of sentences (in months) are as follows: gender, 24.4; prior adult probations 1.71; prior jail, -2.33; prior prison, 4.80; black, 37.8; Mexican-American, 24.2; number of felonies, 2.45; HYTA, 17.5 and parole 21.9. Of special note with regard to differing lengths of sentences are the following: for possession of 50-225 grams, black 100.1. For possession of less than 50 grams age was 4.09, black –75.9, parole –109.5. For breaking and entering prior jail was 3.11, prior prison: 6.75, number of felonies: 3.11 months, HYTA: 22.9, and parole, 33.2 months. For 2nd degree murder prior jail was 46.6, and parole: 189.7 months. For manslaughter age was 3.26, and HYTA: 105.0 months; For criminal sexual conduct, number of felonies was 55.9 additional months. For armed robbery, the figures were: age -3.42, prior prison number of felonies 9.52, HYTA 44.0, and parole, 63.5 additional months. For larceny, the figures were: prior jail was 9.15, HYTA was 22.5 and parole was 70.3. For felonious assault, the figures were: age was -.166, gender was 8.06, prior prison was 5.36 black 2.72, number of felonies 1.92. For assault with intent to do great bodily harm, the figures were: age –1.29, prior adult probations, prior prison 31.6 and blacks received 15.7 additional months.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Crimes</th>
<th>Pos 50-225</th>
<th>Pos less than 50</th>
<th>B &amp; E</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>Manslaughter</th>
<th>CSC1</th>
<th>Armed Robbery</th>
<th>Larceny</th>
<th>Felony Assault</th>
<th>Assault w/ Intent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constant</strong></td>
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<td>-29.512</td>
<td>359.888***</td>
<td>24.446***</td>
<td>443.784***</td>
<td>9.160</td>
<td>155.318</td>
<td>261.921***</td>
<td>46.037*</td>
<td>25.333***</td>
<td>90.509***</td>
</tr>
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<td>2.435</td>
<td>4.090***</td>
<td>-.210</td>
<td>-2.678</td>
<td>3.264*</td>
<td>-1.841</td>
<td>-3.422***</td>
<td>-8.086E-03</td>
<td>-1.166**</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Black</strong></td>
<td>37.804***</td>
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<td>-2.135</td>
<td>-63.800</td>
<td>19.303</td>
<td>12.781</td>
<td>2.852</td>
<td>8.744</td>
<td>2.714*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HYTA</strong></td>
<td>17.540***</td>
<td>(.041)</td>
<td>-2.716</td>
<td>-9.095</td>
<td>22.709***</td>
<td>24.372</td>
<td>105.043*</td>
<td>33.345</td>
<td>44.007**</td>
<td>22.490*</td>
<td>3.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parole</strong></td>
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<td>(.030)</td>
<td>92.800</td>
<td>-109.530</td>
<td>33.224***</td>
<td>189.689**</td>
<td>88.410</td>
<td>48.067</td>
<td>63.516**</td>
<td>70.303***</td>
<td>5.969</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at .05 level  
**Significant at .01 level  
***Significant at .001 level  
Parenthesis equals standardized coefficients
With regard to length of sentence for all crimes (15,409), all of the variables except age and prior adult probations were significant (see Table 3). The additional and reduced lengths of sentences (in months) are as follows: gender, 24.4; prior adult probations 1.71; prior jail, -2.33; prior prison, 4.80; black, 37.8; Mexican-American, 24.2; number of felonies, 2.45; HYTA, 17.5 and parole 21.9. Of special note with regard to differing lengths of sentences are the following: for possession of 50-225 grams black –77.1 and Mexican American 193.2. For possession of less than 50 grams, age was 2.13, black –86.9. For breaking and entering, prior jail was 1.97, prior prison 5.01, black-8.68, number of felonies 5.43, HYTA15.1 and parole, 40.4 months. For 2nd degree murder was blacks –101.9 months. For manslaughter prior prison was 155.8 and HYTA139.4 months. For criminal sexual conduct prior prison was 137.4 and HYTA 343.7. For armed robbery, the figures were: age 2.79 prior jail, 9.31 and HYTA 43.0 additional months. For larceny, the figures were: prior prison10.0, number of felonies 5.84 and parole 45.6 months. For felonious assault, the figures were: age -.204, gender 8.44, black 4.33, number of felonies 1.71 and parole 23.5. For assault with intent to do great bodily harm the figures were: age -.560 sex 29.3, number of felonies 6.98 and parole 45.5 additional months.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Crimes</th>
<th>Pos 50-225</th>
<th>Pos less than 50</th>
<th>B &amp; E</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>Manslaughter</th>
<th>CSC1</th>
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<th>Larceny</th>
<th>Felony Assault</th>
<th>Assault w/ Intent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constant</strong></td>
<td>47.636***</td>
<td>269.252***</td>
<td>418.683***</td>
<td>42.228***</td>
<td>582.889***</td>
<td>106.266</td>
<td>267.533**</td>
<td>139.416***</td>
<td>68.069***</td>
<td>32.446***</td>
<td>89.703***</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>.003 (.000)</td>
<td>.740 (.049)</td>
<td>2.131** (-.053)</td>
<td>-.148 (-.025)</td>
<td>-2.954 (-.128)</td>
<td>-.164 (-.013)</td>
<td>-.377 (-.021)</td>
<td>2.794** (.138)</td>
<td>.042 (.004)</td>
<td>-.204** (-.065)</td>
<td>-.569* (-.084)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td>-22.535*** (-.051)</td>
<td>22.156 (.041)</td>
<td>6.638 (.005)</td>
<td>-14.029* (-.057)</td>
<td>-116.970 (-.118)</td>
<td>53.997 (-.161)</td>
<td>-154.994 (-.107)</td>
<td>17.720 (.017)</td>
<td>-14.088 (-.040)</td>
<td>-8.441*** (-.087)</td>
<td>-29.250** (-.121)</td>
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<td><strong>Prior Adult Probations</strong></td>
<td>.342 (.003)</td>
<td>-13.109 (-.112)</td>
<td>18.512* (.057)</td>
<td>2.116 (.053)</td>
<td>20.747 (.117)</td>
<td>-25.114 (-.227)</td>
<td>32.999 (.176)</td>
<td>-8.841 (-.065)</td>
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<td>.600 (.025)</td>
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<td>-2.042*** (-.029)</td>
<td>7.641 (.088)</td>
<td>2.949 (.014)</td>
<td>1.969** (.078)</td>
<td>17.157 (.120)</td>
<td>17.895 (.166)</td>
<td>-5.870 (-.046)</td>
<td>9.631* (.097)</td>
<td>3.199 (.078)</td>
<td>.401 (.026)</td>
<td>.326 (.010)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Prior Prison</strong></td>
<td>3.726*** (.027)</td>
<td>6.381 (.043)</td>
<td>-16.662 (-.040)</td>
<td>5.012*** (.124)</td>
<td>26.934 (.115)</td>
<td>155.384** (.734)</td>
<td>137.359* (.409)</td>
<td>6.559 (.047)</td>
<td>10.031* (.141)</td>
<td>1.603 (.050)</td>
<td>.566 (.009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black</strong></td>
<td>41.338*** (.129)</td>
<td>-77.141* (-.256)</td>
<td>-86.986*** (-.074)</td>
<td>-8.680** (-.070)</td>
<td>-101.893** (-.203)</td>
<td>-43.840 (-.177)</td>
<td>-58.806 (-.127)</td>
<td>8.071 (.022)</td>
<td>15.004 (.081)</td>
<td>4.328*** (.062)</td>
<td>7.835 (.053)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mexican-American</strong></td>
<td>21.238*** (.020)</td>
<td>-93.161* (-.204)</td>
<td>4.107 (.001)</td>
<td>-4.771 (-.013)</td>
<td>-149.437 (-.096)</td>
<td>-61.263 (-.096)</td>
<td>33.542 (.029)</td>
<td>21.973 (.034)</td>
<td>-6.320 (-.030)</td>
<td>-3.464 (-.009)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NF</strong></td>
<td>2.335*** (.037)</td>
<td>-2.810 (-.045)</td>
<td>-5.788 (-.027)</td>
<td>5.433*** (.236)</td>
<td>7.674 (.055)</td>
<td>12.381 (.134)</td>
<td>-22.538 (-.154)</td>
<td>5.919 (.091)</td>
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<td>1.710*** (.101)</td>
<td>6.970*** (.208)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HYTA</strong></td>
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<td>139.393* (.455)</td>
<td>343.734*** (.482)</td>
<td>43.001* (.099)</td>
<td>19.807 (.077)</td>
<td>3.644 (.037)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Parole</strong></td>
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<td>46.709 (.046)</td>
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<td>27.314 (.024)</td>
<td>5.273 (.014)</td>
<td>19.218 (.019)</td>
<td>13.868 (.025)</td>
<td>48.580*** (.154)</td>
<td>23.508*** (.110)</td>
<td>45.516*** (.151)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at .05 level  
**Significant at .01 level  
***Significant at .001 level  
Parenthesis equals standardized coefficients
Conclusion

Overall, my multiple regression analysis focused on the changes that took place when findings from 2001 were compared to 1996 (see Table 4). When the demographic variables, such as age, gender, and race are viewed, some changes were apparent. With regard to age, older individuals showed a reduction in sentence length in 2001 for possession of 50 grams and manslaughter. On the other hand, for armed robbery and assault with intent, the older an individual, the length of sentence increased. In viewing gender, men received less time for all crimes and more time for breaking and entering and assault with intent. Analysis of race showed that blacks received longer sentences for all crimes, 2nd degree murder, and felonious assault and they received less time for possession of 50-225 grams, possession of less than 50 grams, and assault with intent. For Mexican Americans, they received less time for all crimes and possession of 50-225 grams.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Crimes</th>
<th>Pos 50-225</th>
<th>Pos less than 50</th>
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<td>Mexican-American</td>
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<td>27.314</td>
<td>13.868</td>
<td>48.580***</td>
<td>23.508***</td>
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*Significant at .05 level  
**Significant at .01 level  
***Significant at .001 level
Moreover, it is interesting to note the impact of prior probation, prior jail, prior prison, number of felonies, HYTA, and parole had upon sentencing length. While it stands to reason that offenders possessing these aforementioned characteristics would be perceived to be more dangerous and likely to receive longer sentences, these data showed that prior probation experiences significantly increased sentence lengths for offenders convicted of possession of less than 50 grams and assault with intent. Prior jail showed a big increase for 2nd degree murder, as well as a substantial decrease given for larceny. Prior prison showed large increases for manslaughter and CSCI, and a decrease for assault with intent. Number of felonies had a big reduction for CSC1 and an increase for assault with intent. HYTA shows a massive decease in sentence length for manslaughter and a corresponding increase for CSC1. Parole showed substantial increases for all crimes, breaking and entering, felonious assault, and assault with intent. Additionally, there were large decreases for 2nd degree murder, armed robbery, and larceny.

When attempting to access the affect of the Michigan Sentencing Guidelines on judges, the findings are mixed. It seems that when the offender was under the auspices of the Department of Corrections, the offender received longer sentences especially with crimes against the person. For example, with an HYTA offender, the sentence length was a great deal longer in 2001 for CSC1. Parolees received longer sentences for felonious assault and assault with intent. This was also true for all crimes. However, this phenomenon did not hold true for the number of felonies and
CSC1, but it did hold true for prior prison and CSC1. One area that was clear was that when all crimes across the board were viewed, blacks still received longer sentences.

Another area that would be fruitful ground for further research is the relationship between an offender’s punishment and the race of the victim. Most research has been oriented toward the justice system and its treatment of the offender. Yet, little attention has been given to whether the length of sentence an individual receives is influenced by the race of the victim. What I am suggesting is that, in American society, white life is more highly valued than black life. Consequently, the punishment an offender can expect to receive is commensurate with the race of the victim. This suggests that for identical crimes, the length of sentence is influenced by the race of the victim. This would have been a focal point of this research had the necessary data been available.

REFERENCES


Mauro, T. (1997, April 15). Court won’t review cocaine sentencing. *USA Today*, p. 3A.


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1 White was used as the reference group.

2 The Holmes Youthful Training Act allows an individual to be placed on probation until the age of 21. If the individual fulfills all the requirements of his or her probation, the crime is expunged from the person’s record.

3 Every variable is standardized so the every mean is 0 and the variance is 1. This is done to place each variable in comparable units so that there can be a comparison of the relative contribution of each variable.

4 Males received 30.4 months more than females.

5 A negative figure indicates fewer months received in that particular comparison.
a. Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai'i Sample
b. Cross-disciplinary areas of the above related to each other or other areas
c. Poster session
d. Hu, Allison; Engel, John; Yuen, Sylvia
e. Center on the Family, University of Hawai'i at Manoa
f. 2515 Campus Road, Miller Hall 103, Honolulu, HI 96822
g. hualliso@hawaii.edu
h. 808-225-4740
Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai‘i Sample

By

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*Poster to be presented at the Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, May 2006.
ABSTRACT

The number of adults incarcerated in America’s prisons and related facilities has increased dramatically in recent years, to over two million by 2005. Such change has implications for families and children as well as for individual prisoners and society. As approximately 50% or more of adult prisoners are parents, the number of children separated from parents by incarceration in America has also increased dramatically in recent years, to over 1.8 million. While there is a growing awareness that these children may have special needs, and increasing concern for their welfare, very little is known about what happens to children when their parents are incarcerated, about changes in their family/living situations or about their adjustment, development and welfare. To obtain information about children of incarcerated parents, 51 women incarcerated in a community residential transition program in the State of Hawaii were interviewed extensively about their children. As a result, qualitative and quantitative data were obtained for a sample of 45 children. This paper presents the findings of data analysis to explore various aspects of these children’s school functioning and emotional health and well-being. Varying percentages of these children were reported to have experienced repeating a grade in school, being suspended or expelled, being placed in special classes for learning or behavioral problems, being afraid to go to school, being tardy to school or class, and/or being truant or skipping school. Similarly, varying percentages of these children were reported to be unhappy/depressed, withdrawn, to run away from home, to argue a lot, be cruel/mean to others, to get into fights, to destroy property, to lie or cheat, to swear or use obscene language, and/or to use alcohol or drugs for nonmedical purposes. Though not statistically significant, higher percentages of boys than girls were reported to exhibit behavioral or psychological problems. The findings are discussed from a developmental perspective and have implications for prevention and treatment programs.
Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai‘i Sample

The number of individuals incarcerated in America’s prisons, jails and other facilities has increased dramatically in recent years. By 2005, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), over two million men and women were incarcerated in Federal or State prisons or in local jails. Such numbers have implications for families and children as well as for individual prisoners and society. Not only has the general population of prisoners increased, but along with this increase comes an increase in the numbers of children affected by incarceration. According to Mumola (2000), an estimated 55-63% of incarcerated individuals are parents of minor children. Similarly, it appears that one in 40 children in the U.S. have a parent in prison (Adalist-Estrin & Mustin, 2003). While exact counts do not exist, the estimated number of children separated from parents by incarceration in America increased from 500,000 in 1991 (Mumola, 2000), to over 1.8 million by 2004 (based on extrapolation from U. S. Census Bureau data, 2004). Little is known about these children’s adjustment, development and welfare when their parents are incarcerated.

Hawai‘i’s Incarcerated Parents Population

Lengyel and Harris (2005) reported that, as of August 2005, Hawai‘i had incarcerated 6,152 adults. According to Lengyel and Harris (2005), the Department of Public Safety does not have accurate counts of the numbers of incarcerated adults who are parents. However, extrapolations based on proportions derived from the 1997 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities lead to the following estimates: there are approximately 3,163 parents of 6,665 minor children in Hawai‘i’s correctional system, 1,433 parent-prisoners who lived with their child immediately prior to prison admission, 439 incarcerated mothers of 1,045 children in Hawai‘i, 282 incarcerated mothers who lived with a child immediately prior to their prison admission, 2,755 incarcerated fathers of 5,620 minor children in Hawai‘i, and 1,207 incarcerated fathers who resided with their child immediately prior to their prison admission.

Effects of Incarceration on Children

According to Parke and Clarke-Stewart (2002), in order to consider the general effects of parental incarceration, we need to consider related factors such as the short and long term effects of the arrest and separation from the parent, the short and long-term effects of incarceration on the child, and the positive and negative effects of reunification after the incarceration is over. We may also need to consider children’s developmental stages. Johnston (1995) found that effects on children may differ according to the child’s developmental stages at the times of incarceration. Some examples of such effects may be lack of bonding, social and academic difficulties, difficulties in relating with others, increasingly aggressive behaviors, rejecting behavioral limitations, and increased delinquency.

Casual observation, anecdotal evidence and exploratory research suggest that parental incarceration affects children academically. Simmons (2000) reported that children of
incarcerated parents exhibit behavioral problems such as decreased school performance and increased truancy. Fritsch and Burkhead (1981) reported that two thirds of incarcerated parents believe that their children developed academic problems such as truancy, and poor school performance. Brenner (1998) concluded that suspension and school difficulty rates are higher for adolescents of incarcerated parents than for others. Finally, the Child Welfare League of America (2006) reports that parent incarceration has negative effects on children’s school attendance, classroom behavior and overall academic performance.

There is also a growing body of literature suggesting that parental incarceration affects children emotionally. Baunach (1985) estimates that approximately 70% of children of incarcerated parents experience emotional difficulties. Fritsch and Burkhead (1981) reported that two thirds of incarcerated parents felt that their children developed behavioral problems such as discipline, delinquency, fearfulness, and nightmares after their incarceration. Johnson (1995) reports that young children of incarcerated parents seem to suffer the same behaviors and difficulties as those children defined as having insecure attachments. Seymour (2001) found that children of incarcerated parents may experience many negative symptoms such as anxiety, anger, fear, sadness/depression, and guilt, low self-esteem, emotional withdrawal, and may exhibit anti-social behaviors. Finally, the Child Welfare League of America (2006), reports that children of incarcerated parents may experience psychological disorders such as depression, eating disorders, sleeping disorders, and problems with anxiety.

Incarceration of Parents and the Children of Hawaii

Generally, despite the national findings mentioned above, there is little information about children with parents incarcerated in Hawai’i. For example, there is a dearth of demographic data and an absence of both quantitative and qualitative information regarding the life histories, needs, and personal and family relationships of this population. The purpose of the present report is to present a descriptive profile of a sample of the children of parents who are incarcerated in Hawai’i. We hope this exploratory study will contribute to building the knowledge base that can be used to develop effective prevention and intervention programs for these children.

METHOD

To obtain information about the children of incarcerated parents, 51 women incarcerated in a community residential transition program in the State of Hawai’i were interviewed extensively about their children. As a result, qualitative and quantitative data were obtained for a sample of 45 children, 28 boys and 17 girls, regarding their life histories, development, needs, well-being, personal and family relationships, and family/community resources. The one-on-one interviews generally ran for about two hours. The women who consented to be interviewed did so voluntarily, and they were able to terminate the interview at any time and to refuse to answer any of the questions. As an incentive, the interviewees were given two hours community service credit for their participation.
RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of Children of Incarcerated Mothers in Hawaii

Of the 45 children in the study, 17 (37.8%) were female, while 28 (62.2%) were males. Thirty-nine of the children were born in Hawai‘i, while 6 were born on the mainland. (See Table 1).

Table 1. Sex and Place of Birth of Children of Incarcerated Mothers in Hawaii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study sample</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawai‘i</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-state</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children of Incarcerated Parents and Academic/School Related Problems and Concerns

Incarceration of parents may affect their children’s schooling and academic success. As indicated in Table 2, thirty one (69%) of the children in this study were reported as being in school, while 10 (22%) were not, and 4 (9%) had mothers who didn’t know or chose not to answer the question. Six (13%) of the children were reported to have repeated a grade, while 37 (82%) did not. Additionally, 9 (20%) had experienced special classes or schools for learning disabilities while 4 (9%) experienced special classes or schooling for emotional or behavioral difficulties. Finally, 7 (16%) of the children had been suspended or expelled from school. Thus, it appears that many, though not all of the children of incarcerated mothers experience difficulties in school.

While the differences were not statistically significant, more male children than female children were reported to have repeated a grade, assigned to classes or schools for learning or behavioral/emotional problems, and/or been suspended or expelled from school.

Table 2. Academic/School Problems of Children of Incarcerated Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>currently in school</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>currently in juvenile facility or group home</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever repeated grade</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ever in class for learning problems & 1 & 6 & 8 & 29 & 9 & 20
| ever in class for behavioral problems & 1 & 6 & 3 & 11 & 4 & 9
| ever suspended/expelled & 0 & 0 & 7 & 25 & 7 & 16

Note. No statistically significant difference was found when comparisons were made between female and male children using the chi-square test at $p < .05$.

Behavioral/Psychological Problems of Children of Incarcerated Parents

Results describing the emotional and psychological health of children of incarcerated women are presented in Table 3. More than half (53%) of the children were reported to argue a lot. Additionally, over forty percent (44%) of the children were reported to prefer being with older kids, (42%) to swear or use obscene language, (47%) to have temper tantrums or a hot temper, and/or (49%) to be unhappy, sad, or depressed. Further, a third or more (38%) of the children were reported to feel he/she has to be perfect, (33%) to lie or cheat, and (36%) to have sudden changes in mood or feelings. These findings add support to the conclusion that incarceration of parent does indeed have negative impacts on the lives, behaviors and emotional health of children. Similarly, such findings suggest a need for prevention and treatment programs that deal with the increased behavioral, emotional, and educational risks associated with incarceration of a parent.

Again, though not statistically significant, higher percentages of boys than girls were reported to exhibit behavioral or psychological problems. For example, males were reported more likely to argue a lot, be cruel to animals, be cruel, mean or bully others, to deliberately harm self or attempt suicide, to destroying things belonging to his/her family, to feel he/she has to be perfect, to feel worthless or inferior, to get into many fights, to hang around others who get into trouble, to lie or cheat, to prefer being with older kids, to steal, to have sudden changes in mood or feelings, to swear or use obscene language, to be truant or skip school, to be withdrawn, to not get along with others, and to be tardy to class. Girls were found more likely to have temper tantrums, have a hot temper, and to use alcohol or drugs for nonmedical purposes.

Table 3. Behavioral/Emotional Characteristics of Children of Incarcerated Women
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't seem to feel guilty after misbehaving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feared going to school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feels he/she has to be perfect</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feels worthless or inferior</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gets in many fights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangs around with others who get in trouble</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying or cheating</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefers being with older kids</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runs away from home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steals outside the home</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudden changes in mood or feelings</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swearing or obscene language</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temper tantrums or hot temper</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy, skips school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy, sad, or depressed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uses alcohol or drugs for nonmedical purposes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawn, doesn't get involved with others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is tardy to school or class</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. No statistically significant difference was found when comparisons were made between female and male children using the chi-square test at \( p < .05 \).*

**DISCUSSION**

The present study is based on interview data from a relatively small sample of incarcerated women and, therefore, we should be cautious about generalizing its findings to Hawaii’s total female inmate's children population. Future research needs to include children of incarcerated fathers as well. As this research interviewed parents, results depend upon parents’ keeping in touch and being aware of their children’s well-being. Other research is needed to explore how much contact incarcerated parents have with their children, and how much they know about their children’s daily lives and well-being.

The results of this study indicate that children of incarcerated parents may have difficulty in school and exhibit symptoms of behavioral/emotional problems. As there is no comparative data on children of parents who are/were not incarcerated, we must be cautious about assuming cause and effect relationships. Whether such “symptoms” during childhood predict more serious problems later in life, such as criminal behavior and incarceration, needs to be studied by future research. While it appears that boys may be troubled more than girls by incarceration of their mothers, differences were not found
to be statistically significant. Also, although the above studies do seem to show that incarceration itself has a negative effect on children, we should also discuss the fact that incarceration is one of the related matrix of factors that affects children. Rutter and Quinton (1972) identified six factors that were related to psychiatric disorders in children if two or more factors were present: severe marital discord, low socioeconomic status, the criminality of the children's father, psychiatric difficulties faced by the children's mother, and being placed into state custody for care. Furstenberg et al. (1999) had similar findings showing that mental health, academic risk, and behavioral problems were related to the number of risk factors in a child's family. Additional research is needed, where larger sample sizes are utilized, to clarify this issue.

Although most individuals who experience negative traumatic events as children do not engage in criminal activities that lead to incarceration, some do. The developmental perspective would promote two strategies aimed at stemming the growing rate of incarceration of men and women in America: (1) prevent or reduce the occurrence of negative traumatic life events in the lives of children; and (2) intervene swiftly when the negative experiences do occur. The first strategy focuses on the people in the lives of children and strives to ensure that they provide the care, nurturing, and role models that all young people need to develop into competent and successful adults. The second strategy works toward providing individuals with the assistance needed to overcome acute traumatic stress and avoid risk behaviors that compound problems. The times when intervention is needed have been identified (e.g., when children run away from home, experiment with drugs and alcohol, or encounter academic failure), but the supports are too often lacking at those crucial moments. However, in the long term, keeping children from engaging in criminal behavior is considerable less expensive than the much higher economic and social-emotional costs of imprisonment.
REFERENCES


Abstract

This paper examines the transformation of democratic values over the course of Taiwan’s democratization. Analysis of five island-wide surveys span over 20 years of time (1984-2003) which covers the devolution of authoritarianism to the era of new democracy. The study suggests an upward, stable growth of popular support of democracy during 1984 to 1996, yet the support declined from 1996 to 1999 and further drop in 2003. The most notable decline is found in the core elements of democracy, i.e., individual freedom and social pluralism, in which the level of support in 2003 regressed toward the pre-democratization of 1984. After introducing social cleavages, the study finds that during the years of growing support, the difference between occupational, gender and ethnic groups was diminishing. A deepening democratic support seemed to be taking place. However, the decline in the latter half of 1990s and 2003 indicated a growing mixed feeling toward democracy. Certain social sections, such as farming status, have lost support over time. The study concludes that the deeply divisive and disappointed society explain the declining support of democracy in 2003. The invasive identity crisis, a corruptive government, a declining economy, a chaotic society, and a lost sense of justice explain the demise of the confidence and trust in democracy.
TITLE:
Shouldering the Weight of the World: the Role of Holistic Value Systems and Global Interdependence in the Sustainable Development of the Marshall Islands

Topic Areas:
Anthropology, Political Science, Economics, Cross-disciplinary areas of the above related to each other or other areas.

Presentation Format: Paper Presentation
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Using Poirine’s theory of Aid as Trade, this paper seeks to reflect upon the debates of modernization and globalization with a closer look at the conceptual terms of trade, spatial boundaries, and most importantly, value. The latter in particular is considered across the spectrum of its various definitions through an interdisciplinary matrix based on its connotations in monetary, social, ethical, and ecological terms. Specifically focusing on economic development as a chief component of value, a sample of popular heuristic approaches is comparatively analyzed, with respect paid to pertinent issues such as development assistance, migration and citizenship, technology transfer, strategic military objectives, global warming and sustainability. The basis of this analysis is hinged on the argument that any cogent undertaking of these issues requires a baseline understanding of the dynamic interactions between the world’s largest and smallest countries/economies. That is, the myriad ways in which interdependence manifests between the largest and smallest actors in the modern globalization era, provides for insightful, inductive models in the general study of international political economy.

Through a microcosmic approach, this paper explores a case study of the Marshall Islands, and its relations with the U.S.. Whereas the relationship has often been characterized by analysts as one based on 'dependency', the evidence shows that
the RMI-U.S. partnership is better seen as as an analogue of interdependence. The array of intersecting issues between these two states, particularly those associated with development, is examined according to the value matrix. Special attention is given to the area of strategic military geo-politics, in particular, the influential economic power of militarist activities, seen in big-budget military-base operations and its attendant agreements providing for guaranteed economic rents and licensed migration to the U.S. for RMI-citizens. Such vestiges of modernization rooted in monetary value are counterbalanced with those of preeminent social and ethical value, such as those exhibited in both the indigenous Marshallese modes of subsistence-production and subsequent adaptations to the global economy, as well as ecological value, namely the limits of environmental capacity for economic growth in the archipelago. The analysis explicates the need for mutual cooperation in the setting of development agendas with a purview that reaches beyond the bases of social and monetary value, to a more holistic representation of the entire value matrix. It is concluded that on the path to just and sustainable development around the globe, the calibration of monetary-value decisions necessary for economic development in the region must not be isolated to the stage of the market, but rather expanded to proportionately reflect all components of the value matrix.
This presentation presents findings that suggested there are potential developmental characteristics in the use of African American English features in writing. Results from an investigation into the frequency of occurrence of five African American English features in spoken and written language indicated there may be expected hierarchical skills of acquisition in the development of writing, as it relates to the continual influence of African American English. The African American English features that were examined were verbal –s absence, plural – s absence, possessive – s absence, past tense – ed absence, and copula absence. This presentation is based on results obtained from third- and eighth-grade students, who were speakers of African American English. The results suggested that educators can expect the use of dialectal features not only in speech, but also in the writing of students’ whose heritage language is African American English. The findings suggested which of the five African American English features teachers can expect to be the most prevalent in African
American students’ writing at third-grade and eighth-grade levels. Also, the results revealed which features can be expected to decrease in use as grade level increases. Finally, the results supported the concept of a period when writing is expected to resemble speech, and a period when an expected developmental shift should occur in that children learn to differentiate what is acceptable in speech versus acceptable in writing. These results are important for the acknowledgement of cultural influences on academic learning, and for enhancing educators’ knowledge base to ensure best practices in teaching writing skills to African American students.
To Develop as a Nation is to Speak as a Developed Nation: Constructing Idioms of Transparency and Development in the Political Oratory of Imerina, Madagascar

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Abstract:
This paper discusses ongoing stylistic and contextual variations in the everyday oratorical performance of Malagasy national politics in urban Imerina. It looks to the ways in which these semiotic and linguistic value variations over time reflect and shape shifting social dynamics of political engagement and emerging social formation shaping political process and modes of public participation in democratic process. Working specifically from recordings and transcriptions of conversations concerning American campaign advisors writing campaign and presidential speeches for the Madagascar’s current president, the performance of those political speeches known as kabary politika and talk about those speeches by other political genres such as political cartoonists, this paper furthers notions concerning how stylistic and contextual variations of an otherwise highly presupposed oratorical form are emblematic of larger social processes inculcated in localized projects of global modernity.

Increasingly since the advent of Madagascar’s current president’s campaign and inauguration, transformations in the ways in which national political speakers interactionally engage through new genres of political verbal performance have materialized, while old forms have transformed both referentially and stylistically as indicators of a new political public sphere, an increasingly plurilingual social field mediated by both local and global constituents. Variations in style and context are especially evinced in the linguistic structural and stylistic aspects of political kabary such as shifting syntax from verb-object-subject to subject-verb-object constructions and lexical choice in pronouns and their equivalent verbs; substitution of proverbs for religious scripture; elision of ritual indexes of respect; and, recalibrating the otherwise highly presupposed context of the speech event through metanarratives, or talk about the context of the form within the form itself.

As both iconic and indexical of language use and users, the social event of political kabary presupposes certain semantically-motivated ideologies of language and its tie to constructing social identities, social relations, and the potential of agentive speech in the political public sphere this verbal performance represents and constructs. These interactional genred events, as discursive modes of doing and being, are not only emblematic of the semiosocial matrix in which group and social identity are accomplished and contested, but also shape and reflect a socially and historically contingent politic, referred today by the folk category of democracy. These occurrences of use and variation in political oratory and the dialogic of other political performance

...
genres that shapes and reflects are social phenomena situated in larger social processes of a global and plurilingual modernizing mission localized in these quotidian linguistic practices. In the emergence of Malagasy modernity, local categories of political identity as well as the social relations they imply and construct are negotiated, (re)produced, transformed, and evaluated vis-à-vis the genred communicative practice of Madagascar’s current presidential administration and the epiphenomenal transformations of language epistemologies in the urban Imerina linguistic community.
The Effect of Hegemonic Decline on the Portrayal of Heroism:
Superman 1938-2005

* A work in progress—do not cite without author’s permission *

SOCILOGY
Paper Session

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**Introduction: The World System and the Hero as a Cultural Universal**

*The Hero*

There exist many culturally universal concepts: one such concept that is often overlooked is the hero. Before continuing, it is imperative to first define the concept of the “hero” that will be used in this article: by hero, I refer to the mythical hero. Mythical heroes are cultural artifacts that embody key values from their culture of origin, and are often considered deviant in the sense that they are substantially different from normal people. A hero possesses extraordinary power(s) that may be used to perform heroic actions. Moreover, while heroes embody key traits of their culture of origin, mythical heroes are a cultural constant, and are portrayed in similar fashion across social and ethnic boundaries, and are considered by many psychoanalysts to be a biological structure in the human mind itself (Zhang 2005: 1).

Therefore it is possible to examine the mythical hero as a pure aspect of the human condition: any variation in the mythical (or national) hero will vary only within what is universally appropriate. However, there will be significant differences over time and space due to what may be referred to as cultural relevancy. In order for a hero to conjure appropriate sentiments amongst the populous, he or she must fit the appropriate profile of a hero of the time and place.

Furthermore, in Emile Durkheim’s analysis of “primitive” religion (1995), he wrote of the aborigine’s worship of totemic representations. According to Durkheim, as society becomes more “organic,” the collective spirit of religious
worship remains constant, but the myth surrounding this worship varies greatly. Accordingly, one might expect the myths surrounding national heroes to vary over time and space, too.

While prominent representations of heroes are prevalent in every culture, the idea of the hero as a cultural universal has been examined since around the 1870s (Zhang 2005: 1), this topic is not typically discussed in an international world-systems theoretical context. Specifically, while hero myths exist universally, do such myths vary over time and space in accordance to global level political and economic patterns discussed by world systems theorists?

**World Systems Theory**

World-Systems theory, proposed by one Immanuel Wallerstein (1980), divides the world economy into three distinct and interconnected spheres: the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. This theory is grounded firmly in the Marxist sphere, as the central idea of Wallersteinian world systems theory is that core nations extract surplus labor from other nations. Therefore periphery and semi-periphery nations and regions are akin to middle and working class individuals. The middle class exploits the working class, but the elite class exploits both. Core nations are the global economic elite; the most powerful core nation is typically also the current world hegemon.

Moreover, world systems theorists (for a comprehensive overview see Chase-Dunn and Grimes, 1995) note that the world system operates in hegemonic waves; specifically, for each wave of hegemony the most powerful nation experiences ascent, hegemony, and decline. Currently it is believed that the
United States is in the process of hegemonic descent, with East Asian nations being in the process of ascent. Before the United States ascended into hegemonic power, the world was dominated by the British Empire. The British hegemony ended in the late 1800s, with the United States reaching its hegemonic heights in around 1950; however, by about 1975, the United States was already in a clear pattern of hegemonic decline.

Each of the three periods of hegemony are important to note as one might expect that the national psyche, media, and culture should move in a manner that corresponds with the current phase that the nation resides in, as explained in the next section.

*Culture, the World System and Relevancy*

Antonio Gramsci first developed the concept of hegemony, or power and cultural legitimacy to wield power. By the very definition of hegemony, the hegemon possesses cultural legitimacy over the dominated. In this sense, then if there exists, or at least at some point existed, a global hegemon, then there too must exist a world culture. In this case it is sound practice to examine the impact of the world system on culture. Therefore it should be possible to correlate and plot global cultural trends next to global economic trends.

Indeed, the Modern global self is typically viewed as a rationalized, scientized, equal, and autonomous actor that is both affected by and effects social structure (Meyer and Jepperson 2000; Frank David John, John W. Meyer, and David Miyahara 1995; Frank, David John and John W. Meyer 2002). As such, according to David Frank and John Meyer, “the individual has become
more and more central in both national and world accounts of the operation of society.” (2002: 86). Frank and Meyer are referring to what has popularly been coined the emergence of a world culture; however, in Freudian terms, upon the formation of a global level superego, one will find that depending on social location of an individual in such a global society, this global superego will affect both the subject’s ego and id in varying fashion.

One key component of cultural studies is the idea of the formation of majority opinion via mass media outlets. Naturally, many a theorist has pondered the question of how majority opinion is established; for instance, in Karl Marx’s The German Ideology he states that “The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas…The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it” (Marx in Elster 1986: 302). Furthermore, according to Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The whole world is made to pass through the filter of the culture industry (Adorno and Horkheimer in During 1993: 33).” In fact, people often react automatically to stimulus as a result of the socialization processes; the public has been conditioned so as every thought that runs through an individual’s brain also goes through a cultural filter. Thus, in the case of the United States, the “hero identity” is a product of a particular set of cultural ideologies which are dependent on the current stance of the main mass-media channels that disseminate said ideologies to the masses; as
a result certain central aspects of identity which are deemed heroic remain relatively stable, but other characteristics of a heroic identity remain in flux.

Consequently, since the world system affects culture and mass media is a key component of culture, then it is also possible to plot changes in mass media depiction of heroic figures as correlated with changes in global economic cycles. Moreover, as global position changes, so do cultures, and likewise the individuals within those cultures will change. Simply put, heroic figures of one era will not necessarily be culturally relevant to individuals of another era due to cultural shifts that are directly associated with changes in global position of a nation. Therefore, if any heroic figure is to survive over long periods of time, the figure must adapt to changes in global and local culture.

*The Hero of Hegemony*

This essay will examine change, over time, of an important American cultural artifact, a world-renowned American mythical hero, from the moment of his inception through contemporary times. This hero may, initially, be viewed as a product of hegemony itself, as the imagery in 1938 was particularly appealing and relevant to a burgeoning superpower. The interesting section of the analysis will be the examination of how exactly this figure changes alongside the nation.

Accordingly, periods of hegemony are periods of unparalleled feelings of brazen imperviousness that require any new mythical hero of the era to emulate. Therefore the hero of hegemonic ascent will be bold and carry within his or her being a power capable of dominating the world, but will never misuse this power for evil, as according to Spiderman, one long running superhero comic with roots
in hegemonic ascent, “with great power comes great responsibility.” In this sense the hero serves as a cultural archetype for regular people to emulate: moreover the character is a national hood ornament, a figurehead, a totemic representation of the nation’s power, much like the aboriginal totems represent the power of the tribe (Durkheim, 1995).

The hero of hegemony should be similar to the hero of hegemonic ascent, but perhaps somewhat more complacent. Meaning, the hero has nothing much to prove, no apparent difficult challenges, but still performs heroic deeds as necessary, but does not necessarily need to burst through walls to save those in danger. Specifically, this hero is a figurehead of the unquestioned, most powerful people on the planet: therefore this is a hero of unquestioned power. One might expect this hero to smile, joke around with regular people and to occasionally perform a heroic act, if necessary.

The Hero of Hegemonic Decline

Accordingly the mythical or national heroes of hegemonic decline will be flawed. They will be more human than superhuman; they will be portrayed as a character that has both physical and psychological problems. In this manner they also serve as a relevant representation of both an archetype for regular individuals to emulate and a totemic representation of the nation’s power. Specifically, whilst the hero is imperfect, human, he or she is still capable of greatness worth emulating.

As such, the following table, table 1, depicts the logical hypotheses resulting from the world-systems argument:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HEGEMONIC DECLINE</th>
<th>HEGEMONIC ASCENSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMPERVIOUS HERO</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VULNERABLE HERO</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mass Media, Comic Books, and Heroes in the World System*

There do not exist many examples in our culture of a hero that has been portrayed in popular media over a long enough period of time to examine the changes in depiction of a hero over a complete cycle of hegemonic rule. However, there exists a comic book hero that has been portrayed under a single comic book title, *Action Comics*, since 1938. This hero is the first prototypical comic book fantasy superhero and was an immediate success in 1938 and still remains a national icon today. In fact, this essay argues that it is by no means a random occurrence that such a hero first appears in 1938, both a period of economic depression and a period in which the United States was in the latter stages of hegemonic ascent. Superman was for some reason culturally relevant at this point in time in American history, but not before; moreover, the Superman of today is not exactly the same character as the Superman of 1938. He has evolved. This evolution is a worthwhile topic for social scientific analysis. Therefore it is no stretch to examine the change, over time, of comic art and the depictions of comic book heroes over time, and these changes’ relation to instability in national position in the world system.
Superman: Portrait of an American Hero 1938-2005

Sampling

As noted above the case study presented here is an example of the first superhero comic book character; the first of a now prolific genre. *Action Comics* starring Superman forged the path for many a copycat hero, like Captain Marvel of Marvel Comics, for example. The proliferation of hero-centered comics during the era of hegemonic ascent is no coincidence; Superman’s flagship comic, *Action Comics* was chosen as it is the first example of the genre, Superman is perhaps the most identifiable comic book hero, and the series has been nearly continuously running with Superman on gracing its covers since 1938, with only two brief absences.

Background Material: A Brief Introduction to Action Comics and Superman

The character Superman first appears in *Action Comics* issue number one in 1938. The idea of a superhero fantasy book telling tales of a super-strong, super-intelligent, super-being was an immediate smash hit. At that point a new genre was born and the trajectory of the American hero was forever altered. Amazingly, it appears as if the magazine’s creators, Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster, though still only teenaged high school boys, knew this was the case already in the final frame of issue number one.
Additionally, due to the very real Jewish background of the early comic book industry—in the case of Superman both artists and publisher were Jewish—it is thought that Superman is a modern incarnation of the mythical Golem of Jewish Kabala (Kaplan, 2003). In fact, Superman’s true alien name is of the same roots as the Hebrew words KOL EL, which might be translated in a few different manners, but loosely translated means “all godly” or “all that is god.” Indeed, this notion does fit well with the aforementioned theory of heroes and cultural relevancy: specifically, both mainstream American media and a burgeoning world hegemon would not accept the Golem as a superhero, but a fantastic extraterrestrial protector in bold blue garb who swears to be a “champion of the oppressed” was a perfect fit for a society in recovery from depression and on a continuing trajectory towards global hegemony.
Formal Hypotheses

H1: When the United States declines internationally, Superman changes from an impressionistic god-like character that experiences no problems to a realistic and flawed humanistic character rife with problems over time.

H2: Though Superman’s mythical powers increase over time so does his vulnerability; this notion corresponds with the increased feelings of vulnerability experienced by the people of the United States during times of decline.

H3: Over time and due to hegemonic decline, Superman changes from a champion of the oppressed to just trying to survive to fight another day.

Data

In order to analyze the hypothesis it, specifically that since the representation of the hero is the unit of analysis, the appropriate data are found on the cover of the comic book itself, as it is not necessary to code and analyze the stories or art within the books themselves in order to examine the change in the representation of the hero over time. The data (images of comic book covers) were retrieved from the Grand Comic Book Database located electronically at <http://www.comics.org>.
Methods

I then constructed a simple random sample of Action Comics covers that included 120 numbers between 1 and 833, which was the last issue in print at the time of the study. I then downloaded the randomly selected covers from the database. Some covers were selected twice due to the nature of the random sampling procedure; these covers are weighted as if they are two different covers.

First I divided the covers into three groups based on the year in which the comic book was published. The first group, marked by a “0,” is comprised of comics produced before 1950, before the United States was considered a global hegemon; victory in the Second World War was used as a rough indicator of ascent to hegemony. The second group, marked by a “1,” is composed of comics produced before 1971. The event used to symbolize the end of the United States’ hegemonic power was the OPEC oil embargo of the early 1970s. Clearly by this point it became evident that the United States was no longer a true global hegemon. This division results in 31 covers being from the first period, 37 from the second period, and 52 from the final period.

I then coded the data into type of cover. For instance, a cover in which Superman is bound is assigned a “1” in the appropriate spreadsheet field. After careful examination of the entire sample I created seventeen different variables; should a particular element be visible in a cover, then the cover received a “1” for that variable, otherwise the cover received a “0” for that variable.
Variables

The following table, Table 1, is a list of the seventeen variables coded for, and what must appear on the cover in order for the variable to be counted as a “1.”

Table 1: Coding Scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VAR</th>
<th>Coded 1 if:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BurstingThru</td>
<td>Superman is either physically or metaphorically bursting through something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemy2Weak</td>
<td>Superman’s enemy is no real threat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SavingPerson</td>
<td>Superman is in the act of saving someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leading</td>
<td>Superman is leading others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humor</td>
<td>If there is obvious intended humoristic elements on the cover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>Superman portrayed as a war hero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humiliated</td>
<td>Superman is humiliated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HurtPhys</td>
<td>Superman is physically injured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worried</td>
<td>Superman seems worried or otherwise psychologically injured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EnemyStrg</td>
<td>Superman’s enemy appears at least as strong as he.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CantSave</td>
<td>Superman cannot save someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>Superman is bound.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricked</td>
<td>Superman has been tricked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SupEvil</td>
<td>Superman appears to have done something evil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NotImportant</td>
<td>Superman is not an important element on the cover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totemic</td>
<td>Superman’s emblem is prominent, without his figure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformed</td>
<td>Superman has been physically transformed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results and Discussion

The following table, table 2, displays the counts of each variable in each time period. Notice how the majority of pre-hegemony covers depict Superman in both a humorous and or godly manner. However, the hegemonic period is typified by fear and enemies that appear to be as powerful as the hero. This seems to be Superman’s Cold War face; in this era he is a godly, impervious defender of the “American Way.” Finally, in the post-hegemonic era there
appears to be a decrease in worrying, perhaps late Cold War angst, but an increase in helplessness and physical pain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VAR</th>
<th>ERA 1 Total</th>
<th>% Appearing On</th>
<th>ERA 2 Total</th>
<th>% Appearing On</th>
<th>ERA 3 Total</th>
<th>% Appearing On</th>
<th>Total Counts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BurstingThru</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.13%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.85%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemy2Weak</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32.26%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SavingPerson</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.81%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leading</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.45%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.85%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humor</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>51.61%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.92%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.31%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.13%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humiliated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.45%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.81%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HurtPhys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.23%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.92%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.08%</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worried</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>78.38%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40.38%</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EnemyStrg</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37.84%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32.69%</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CantSave</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.81%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.54%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.81%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.31%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tricked</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.11%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SupEvil</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.81%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.69%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NotImportant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.62%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totemic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.77%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.62%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, the following table, Table 3, displays the representations of the hero in terms of weak versus strong. Counts in BurstingThru, Enemy2Weak, SavingPerson, Leading, Humor, War counted towards strong representations, while Humiliated, HurtPhys, Worried, EnemyStrg, CantSave, Bound, Tricked, SupEvil, NotImportant, and Transformed counted towards weak representations.
Table 3: Strong Vs. Weak Representations by Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VAR</th>
<th>ERA1 Total</th>
<th>ERA2 Total</th>
<th>ERA3 Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STRONG</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEAK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems as if the type of narrative representing the hero substantially changes over time. Specifically, during the era of hegemonic ascension, Superman is portrayed as a playful, happy, god-like individual.

The following picture, Picture 3, is a typical cover from the carefree time period of ascent:

Picture 3: *Action Comics #51*
This cover is typical of the time period as Superman charges through a brick wall at his enemy with reckless abandon—he has nothing to fear from the “Prankster” who’s only hope is to trick Superman. Notice how both hero and villain seem happy, though to different extents. The two characters, by the looks of things could be buddies horsing around.

However, things are quite different during the period of hegemony. It appears as if the key narrative during this phase is fear that things could go wrong. The following picture, Picture 4, is a randomly selected cover from the period of early hegemonic decline:

Picture 4: Action Comics #322
Notice the angst that Superman suffers from; though the robbers are by no means a match for him, he for some reason unbeknownst to him is afraid. This is most certainly a departure from the previous era’s portrayal of a godly figure who strives to be a “champion of the oppressed.”

Additionally, not the departure from an impressionistic portrayal of the superhero fantasy to a more realistic version of fantasy. Whilst the prior era’s villain’s weapon was apparently loaded with milk, these bank robbers are not likely to be carrying toy weapons.

Moreover, not the bank teller assuming Superman will save the day; in the past, he would have without fail. However, this version of Superman is loaded with angst and is poised to flee at any moment, even though he is aware of the robbers’ inability to harm him.

If the previous era’s covers were stacked full of angst, the contemporary era’s covers are full of terror. While early decline is characterized by angst, later decline is characterized by terror. Superman is no longer merely worried about his safety; he is fighting for dear life (and at times failing in that battle). Moreover, he can no longer spare any effort to directly save civilians—rather, he must save himself, as he can barely manage that.

Indeed, the following picture, Picture 5, is a contemporary cover from the age of hegemonic decline. If the past period was exemplified by the worry that things might possibly go wrong, this period is exemplified by the fact that things do go wrong. Therefore the difference between the comic art of hegemony and
post-hegemony is not necessarily the basic idea of the events that are depicted, but rather the severity of them.

For instance, Picture 6 is an example of a book cover from the era of early hegemonic decline that depicts a battle between Superman and the same villain that happened to appear on the cover that was randomly chosen: pay close attention to the fact that in both instances it appears as if Superman has met an equal match. However, the viewer might be led to feel angst for the wellbeing of the hero in the older cover; but the newer cover can leave no question to the viewer as to the true terror of Superman’s situation.

Picture 5: Action Comics #715
Note the significant difference in the severity of Parasite’s attack between the two cases. The old Parasite taunts Superman; the new Parasite is a complete monster and attempts to devour Superman whole. The expression of grim determination and the apparent stress on Superman’s arm and hand muscles tell the complete story: he is not likely to survive.

Picture 6: Action Comics #340
Notice that while Superman does look worried in the above picture, he is by no means fighting for his life like in Picture 5. Additionally, there is still a sense that Superman is fighting for the greater good here in Picture 6. There are no civilians to protect in Picture 5. Today Superman fights for his own life, not to protect ordinary citizens in need.

**Conclusion**

In order to better comprehend the difference in severity between the situations that Superman encounters between periods it is important for me to add additional dimensions to my coding that measure severity. Without these measures, the qualitative differences between, especially the second and third, periods are lost.

It appears as if Superman does weaken over time. He changes from first a bold, godlike champion of the masses, to second, a worried, angst filled hero, to finally, a very humanlike hero just barely able to survive at times.

Even though Superman could be harmed by a “bursting shell” during much of the hegemonic era, he rarely seemed to suffer. However, though Superman gained the power of flight and impervious skin, for instance, his villains’ powers increased exponentially to the point that they became true threats to his existence.

I believe that there are fewer “civilians” or others in the later covers because the focus is more on Superman’s flaws and vulnerabilities rather than his power to save those that need to be. Therefore this dimension should also be coded, perhaps via use of a Likert Scale that codes 1 as not threatened as all and
5 as life is clearly in immediate danger and 6 being death is imminent or has already occurred.
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The Modern World-System I : Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the 
European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century 
(Studies in Social Discontinuity)

a. TITLE OF SUBMISSION:  
“Contemporary Challenge in American Business Schools: Educating ESL Students to Communicate in the Business World”

b. PRESENTATION FORMAT:  
Paper Session

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Contemporary Challenge in American Business Schools: Educating ESL Students to Communicate in the Business World

This paper focuses on the ethical concerns surrounding the potential effect on higher education and on the workplace of ESL (English as a Second Language) business students and employees. These ethical concerns became readily apparent during the process of conducting, analyzing, and comparing extended interviews with 20 business managers for companies operating within the State of California and 20 California State University business school university instructors. The questions asked of university instructors were identical to the questions asked of managers in an effort to explore whether the language competency issues were already present prior to employment—rather than initiating after employment. The common themes that emerged were strikingly similar.

A rapidly increasing number of American business students and employees are born overseas and come to their university or place of employment equipped with the ability to speak at least two languages. This is an impressive ability and is to be applauded. However, this also often means that English is the second language of competency. The influx of this component to the American colleges and the work force is primarily the result of the new waves of immigrants coming to this country to first gain an education, and then garner employment. One consequence of this influx of talent, according to a recent survey of business managers and business school instructors, is an increase in English language challenges for both the managers and the instructors. The concern, on the part of many managers and instructors, is the diminished competency in, and quality of, effective, efficient written and oral communication within the business community. The dilemma these two groups struggle with daily, evident in speaking with both managers and instructors, is the ethics of allowing or not allowing this diminishing English language and communication competency to go unchecked.

Business School Instructors’ Perspective

For instructors, additional time consumed in assessing, evaluating, explaining, and grading assignments are key issues when numerous ESL students are enrolled in their classes. First, they struggle with how to balance the time necessary within classes to explain material in a manner that communicates effectively to both ESL and non-ESL students. Their concern appears to be driven by a need to find the correct language level to use in pitching the material so it is quickly comprehensible to the class as a whole. The second area of concern for instructors is the extended time necessary to grade written assignments that have serious grammatical, structural, and content errors. Based on their observations, many instructors expressed dismay regarding the diminished English competency level of their ESL students. The concern was also how these students, the majority close to graduation, would perform in
communication-based aspects of their jobs when they graduated and sought employment. The third area of concern instructors reported was the self-selection method reflecting preferred separation of ESL and non-ESL students when working on team projects. While instructors report an understanding of the perspectives of both segments of students, their concern was how allowing this separation for student projects might affect or transfer to behavior in the workplace.

**Business Managers’ Perspective**

In speaking with business managers, it appeared the concerns of the business school instructors were well founded and they were correct in their belief that the business school behavior would transfer to the workplace. For business managers, the concerns that surfaced in business schools were similar to those they observed in the workplace. Managers were equally concerned about the additional time consumed when written documents produced by ESL employees needed revision because of grammatical, structural, and content errors.

For managers, the time consumed in correcting miscommunications and incoherent written documents seems enormous. The increased time consumption in the business world creates the concern of costing companies more money in increased employees’ time spent editing these communications. For example, those who have studied business communication within companies in the United States estimate that it takes the average employee about 54 minutes to write a one-page letter and each communication piece costs about $85 if translated into employee time (Guffey, 2004). If you consider that the average company creates approximately 3,000 letters per day, this translates to $252,000—if each letter is written in a comprehensible manner and proofread with the initial attempt.

Unfortunately, managers report that an alarming number of these documents still require intensive reworking and editing. One of the primary indicators of this need for additional improvements to written documents seemed driven by a diminished level of competency in basic English language skills. When managers were asked what they felt was a primary reason for this diminished competency, it was stated that in most cases, English was not the primary language for those employees. Further, it was felt that inferior writing wasted more time on the part of other non-ESL employees. When writing was completed in a semi-coherent manner, the documents took more time to read and more effort to resolve the lack of clarity to determine the content meaning. This lack of clarity resulted in confusing ideas and extended discussions to determine the intention and key points of the communication.
Beyond the time consumed by extended effort to determine the key points, managers also expressed concern that ineffective messages do not get the correct results. At times this created embarrassing situations because the employee reading the communication tried to guess at the meaning. Guessing often led to misunderstandings, further damaging both interpersonal relationships internally, within the company, as well as the image of the company externally. These compounded shortcomings usually surfaced after the ESL employees were employed for six months to one year. However, several managers said a number of areas of potential communication weaknesses were apparent as early as the employment recruitment process.

During the recruitment process, many potential ESL employees, although well-educated individuals, still had difficulty filling out applications correctly and submitting resumes that were grammatically and structurally error-free. Further, potential ESL employees also had more challenges communicating adequately during interviews. Often the proper tenses were not used and incorrect messages conveyed, in addition to an increased need to repeat or further explain interview questions.

Some managers say that non-ESL employees have commented that if there are such salient problems with English during the initial employment process, why don’t companies hire only applicants who already have superior English-language skills? Their response is that the reason for companies’ openness in hiring is that today’s population is so much more diverse—and it is necessary for companies to have employees who come from many different cultures because that diversity will be the makeup of the growing customer population the companies serve. Also, managers say many of their companies are expanding internationally, so having employees who can speak other languages can be a real benefit—if they can also communicate well English. This is often the dilemma faced in selecting employees, much less managing both ESL and non-ESL employees in a manner that feels ethical to managers and employees alike.

**Effects on Work Teams**

A further complication occurred in the educational settings when non-ESL students were required to work on team projects with ESL students. The instructors expressed concern about the number of complaints received from non-ESL students frustrated by the time consumed in having to rewrite incoherent documents. They expressed concern that verbal misunderstandings also occurred between students within student teams as a result of language issues. Further, instructors reported that non-ESL students reported apprehension about working on written business documents with ESL students because of the inferior quality of the ESL students’ writing in English. The non-ESL
students were distressed that as the report was completed as a team, the inferior writing would stand as a representation of their work and they were uncomfortable with that. However, instructors reported that students were equally uncomfortable raising the issue with ESL students about this lack of competency in writing coherently in English. In the end, then, students felt that they either had to go along with submitting inferior written work or create ill feelings among their team members—both strategies leading to an unhappy and dissatisfying team experience.

This breakdown in effective team satisfaction was a theme expressed by the managers as well. Most of the managers with a significant number of ESL employees reported that the issue of some sort of linguistic hierarchy within teams sometimes exists and causes friction from the perspective of both ESL and non-ESL employees. They found that ESL employees less than proficient in English found themselves singled out and confined to lower ranks within a team. Managers also reported that some ESL employees said there are times when they have presented plans within a team, and he or she is rudely dismissed as noncredible by native English-speaking team members. At times, managers felt that ESL employees were also passed over for promotions because of poor team project writing and team communication skills.

The non-ESL employees involved in the same teams reported to managers that they perceived the ideas of ESL employees as noncredible because they came from someone who had trouble communicating in “their” language and they did not understand the ideas presented. Managers hearing both sides of this dilemma reported they constantly wrestled with finding an ethical resolution, while maintaining quality team interpersonal relationships and teamwork quality.

**Increasing Focus on Superior Communication Skills**

In older management models, emphasis was placed more on performance and specific non-language job skills (Moore, 1999). As might be expected, organizations do not typically create work teams to accommodate ESL employees (Gee, 1997). Therefore, cultural and linguistic barriers can immediately become salient. The business school instructors reported, contrary to workplace practices, that they sometimes allowed students to self-select their team members. Even though they had concerns that this would not be reflective of the manner in which teams were organized in the workplace, it seemed like the best solution to the overwhelming dissatisfaction expressed by non-ESL students who felt forced to work with ESL students. Still, instructors struggled with the ethics of allowing students to select teams in this way, knowing that they would often divide themselves based in part on their levels of
linguistic competence. Given the emphasis in the workplace on all employees working cohesively as a team, regardless of linguistic strength, they felt this might be a disservice to students.

Both business school instructors and managers believe that superior English linguistic competence is even more evident in the newer model of management within companies today. The newer model of management demands that ESL employees, as team members, perform a myriad of verbal and written tasks in English, even though many ESL employee language skills are not always commensurate with those of the English-only speaking employees (Gee et al., 1996). This results in ESL employees experiencing disempowerment within the new linguistic hierarchies found in teams. One manager said that several of his employees said they did not always feel confident in writing team reports, as well as correspondence to outside vendors and agents. This lack of confidence and ability sometimes affects both internal and external relations (Hull, 1997). Some managers reported that they feel ESL employees are conditioned to devalue their own first language because negative experiences with coworkers or management demanded assimilation as a result of the team linguistic hierarchies. This is echoed by previous research with second-language learners (Romaine, 1989). In addition to these negative experiences, managers say they find themselves using vocabulary that may be beyond the complete understanding of ESL employees. Some say until this was brought to their attention, they were unaware of the employees’ sensitivity to this. Others, however, frankly admitted they perhaps unconsciously used vocabulary as a tool of dominance.

**Ethical Considerations in Managing ESL Issues**

Many managers agreed that one main part of management is communication and it is in some sense, the manager’s responsibility to break the language barrier and reach all segments of employees. They believe that it has to be a combined effort—stressing that a company’s management philosophy should focus more on teaching and communicating with employees, rather than merely understanding and speaking in a particular language.

Overall, both managers and instructors, wrestled with the ethics of managing these groups—ESL business school students and ESL business employees. In some respects, managers felt that ESL employees should be evaluated lower as their performance in this area was substandard for the skills needed for their position. However, they also struggled with the fact that in the other numerically based areas of job performance, these employees were superior. The business instructors voiced strikingly similar ethical concerns. The instructors struggled with the fact that while many of their ESL students were substandard in terms of language competency needed to execute written assignments in a coherent manner, and seemed to create some misunderstandings and unhappiness on team projects,
their exam-taking ability was often at the top of the class. In many cases, however, the ESL students were reliant on the use of a dictionary to complete those exams. So, as in the case of the managers, the instructors’ responses followed a reoccurring theme of ethical concerns regarding how to fairly assess and evaluate ESL employee and student work.

**Communication Skills Training**

What many companies have done to even the playing field for ESL employees, particularly in the State of California, is to create on-site English writing and language assistance programs for companies and managers with high numbers of ESL employees. In an effort to improve the ability of ESL employees, these on-site English language programs have focused on: 1) pronunciation and conversation; 2) reading and comprehension; 3) writing skills and grammar; 4) proficiency with tenses; and 5) intonation (Stuart, 1994). For a workplace ESL skills program to be successful, however, a company must feel that the long-term benefits of increased productivity and improved employee morale are worth the expenditure of time and money (Gee, et. al., 1996). If language skills programs can enhance employees’ respect for each other, improve ESL employee self-esteem, and improve workplace efficiency, then these factors will translate into a better total workplace environment (Cortes, 1994). Managers say that this kind of training will make employees want to stay within the company and move up, rather than moving to another company. This is an investment that can reduce turnover among valuable employees and may develop a more consistent, cohesive workplace.

The results, managers say, have been positive for ESL employees. English skills programs have resulted in reduced rework, increased productivity, enhanced employee relations, and elevated employee loyalty. By acquiring a more complete command of English, employees have greater confidence and this has meant more movement into different roles, taking on more responsibility. Managers say the general level of morale has increased as well.

**The Future of ESL Students in the American Work Force**

Examination of how to fairly assess and evaluate ESL individuals’ work across the board seems an important issue for managers to consider for the 21st Century. This is especially true because this country is likely to gain far more new immigrants throughout this century, most of whom will speak English as a second language. This new wave is in addition to an American work force that is already comprised of more than 50 percent employees who have English as a second language (Lankshear, et. al., 1997). Most U.S. citizens may take English for granted, but in states like California, where the immigrant population continues to increase, English is a second language for
many. In 1990, the three largest minority groups in the American work force were Blacks, Latinos, and a category that the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics calls Asians and Others (D’Amico & Schnee, 1997). By 2005, the sharpest rise to 11.1 percent from 7.7 percent will be among Latinos. Asians and Others are expected to grow from 3.1 percent in 1990 to 4.3 percent (Maynard, 1993). There are a myriad of employment and management implications of this changing composition of the work force in America.

One implication is that even many small companies who did not previously consider English skills as part of their programs are seeking ways to provide such help to employees, and businesses are drawing on public agencies to help in promoting English as a second language on the job (Cortes, 1994). As attested to by the business school instructors, many universities, community colleges, private training firms, and community agencies now provide on-site ESL instruction. Part of the reason for this is that in more and more U.S. firms, the immigrant population has become one of the engines that drive the business. Accepting that, embracing it, and providing employees with the opportunity to improve their skills, can mean loyalty for the firm and upward mobility for the employees.

Some professionals who have examined this phenomenon of workplace English skills programs, however, say that the programs do not necessarily help employees absorb a better command of English. They claim the programs are unnecessary, discriminatory, divisive, and merely punish employees who have a diminished command of the language. These critics say that these programs and new policies that support them are born out of a backlash against immigration (Petersen, 1994). Despite these criticisms, use of such programs appears to be on the rise and roughly parallels the increase in immigrant population in the United States.

So, while some criticize the effectiveness of enhanced English language program effectiveness, numerous managers express strong support for the virtues of anything that enhances English communication skills. The hope and expectation is that an enhanced grasp of the English language will overcome a host of interpersonal problems in the workplace. They believe that strong communication skills are essential to personal effectiveness and therefore key to the achievement of organizational goals and ultimately, the consistent success of any company.
References


a. TITLE OF SUBMISSION:
“The Unreported Felony Within Domestic Violence: The Missing Piece in Public Communication Campaigns”

b. PRESENTATION FORMAT:
Paper Session

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THE UNREPORTED FELONY WITHIN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: THE MISSING PIECE IN
PUBLIC COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

Current domestic violence campaigns try to accurately represent the complexity of both men and women in abusive relationships. Ideally, what is represented in the public communication should reflect the reported experiences of women affected by domestic violence. This research revealed an area of alarming discrepancies between their experiences and the public service advertising created to represent those experiences.

In the process of researching the accuracy of campaigns publicized in the last decade, sexual assault surfaced as an alarming, dominant piece of domestic violence. Despite an overwhelming percentage of women reporting this, it is the one behavior that appears to be completed omitted from being represented in public communication surrounding the issue. It is also the one behavior within their reported experiences that is, legally speaking, punishable as a felony. Most other domestic violence behaviors that are represented in public communication are merely punishable as misdemeanor.

This paper examined female survivors' response to the lack of the representation of this area as a piece of domestic assault. The previous sexual assault research demonstrates the disturbing effect of this form of assault when inflicted by strangers or mere acquaintances. It seems possible, then, that there may be longer-term effects from longer, more permanent relationships that include this behavior as a piece of domestic assault. If the two parties involved in the intimate relationship are married, the current legal term for this is marital rape. This term, however, seems absent from the radar screen of public communication—much less included as a piece of domestic violence campaigns. However, not acknowledging this as a
piece of domestic assault in public communication campaigns may be especially detrimental to those most victimized.

A sample of ten focus groups of four to six women in two-hour sessions were conducted, including a fairly equal number of African-American, Asian, Latino, and White women in four different geographic areas of the country. Participants were asked to describe their opinions about a sampling of current domestic violence campaign material. A total of 20 hours of audio-taped focus group sessions were transcribed, coded, and analyzed using NVivo qualitative software.

Study finding suggest this segment of the public does not feel that current social campaigns are completely representing their experiences, especially in the area of sexual assault. The purpose of this research was to formulate a base of information to create improved public communication surrounding this issue.

A. Participant Responses

While there was no initial guide question related to sexual assault, focus group moderators were instructed to probe the issue further if it were raised by at least one participant in each group. In all ten groups at least one woman alluded to this, which opened the door for follow-up questioning. Moderators and focus group assistants observed, however, that the way in which women responded to this issue made it one of the most difficult to probe. Participants appeared to be more initially hesitant in describing their experiences than with other areas of questioning. Many appeared to look surprised that this, too, was considered a piece of domestic abuse, and they clearly felt uneasy and disturbed by their experiences in this area. On several occasions, it was this area of their experiences that evoked tears and the most emotional responses as indicated by an upsetting tone in their voice.
It was originally hypothesized that a majority would confirm this as part of the entire pattern of abuse and that most participants would feel this area should be included in public communication surrounding the issue and the percentage of women who indicated at least one experience in the area of forced sexual contact without their consent was 91.66 percent. Also, the final total responses indicated no significant differences as a result of geographic region, ethnicity, age, length of relationship, or length in time since leaving relationship.

However, what was not expected nor anticipated was the degree of hesitancy, uncertainty, and disturbing emotional response exploring this area of assault would have on participants. When the discussions relating to this issue finally ensued and more women began to voice their experiences, there appeared to be nearly unanimous relief at having a forum where these experiences could be shared. In fact, sexual assault was originally intended to be included as one of the several areas included in the general lack of identification to advertising. However, the responses became more distinct, numerous, and impassioned once the conversations began to flow within each group.

**B. Supporting Research**

Examination of other research conducted in the area of sexual assault may provide some insights as to why this area of domestic violence evoked such strong responses from the women who participated in the focus groups assembled for this dissertation study. Many other researchers have concluded that the severity of the mental and emotional scars from sexual assault are comparable to veterans of wars, survivors of natural disasters, and terrorist hostages. It is estimated that at least one incidence of this crime is reported every six minutes in this country, yet those that have researched this area of assault have discovered that this
figure is far below the actual occurrence of the crime. Some have speculated that the number of reports of the crime are probably two to ten times the number that actually occur, and others estimate the that as many as 90 percent of these assaults go unreported (Cwik, 1996). Given these estimates within the population as a whole, it is not surprising that women who view this type of assault within an intimate partner relationship as a crime is virtually unheard of. It is difficult to understand why a crime that can cause such severe effects would go unreported, yet there are many societal, psychological, and social factors that may be responsible for this startling degree of under reporting. Perhaps examining each of these factors separately could provide some understanding of the reasons behind this alarming phenomenon.

It may help to understand that the severe mental trauma of this form of assault almost always affects only women, and that the act involved in the assault is tied in many ways to societal values surrounding male sexual privilege. Although there are many misconceptions and myths surrounding the definition of this crime, the legal definition refers to act as rape (Caringella-MacDonald, 1988). This crime is essentially sex without consent. Although some people make a distinction between rape and sexual assault, they are synonymous terms that can be used interchangeably. It is any non-consensual sexual activity which is obtained through coercion, force, or threat of force (Cwik, 1996). Basically, this means that if a woman considers herself to have been forced to have non-consensual sex, she is a victim of rape. However, thinking solely of this crime as a sexual act, motivated in some way by an overwhelming sexual desire, is a gross misperception. Rape is an act of violence. The only difference between this form of assault and other forms is that sexual contact becomes the weapon. Although this aspect of the crime has become clearer in some ways to many state legal institutions, there is evidence to suggest that the victim-offender relationship has an effect on how the laws are
enforced in each state (Monson, et. al., 1996). What is also clear is that the victim-offender relationship has an effect on how women themselves view this crime (Campbell, 1989; Koss, et. al., 1987). In fact, the closer or more intimate the victim-offender relationship becomes, the less likely women or the law are to view this form of assault as a crime at all (Monson, et. al., 1996). Several situational factors are related to how sexual assault will be viewed, labeled, and experienced by a victim. Sexual assault is far less likely to be seen as rape by women themselves, people close to them, the law, and society, if the victim and the offender have been closely acquainted and have shared prior sexual intimacy (Koss, et.al., 1987).

It is equally clear that society, and the legal system that supports it, may sometimes perceive this form of assault as not only less likely to be rape, but less damaging to the victim. However, when the victim-offender relationship is closer or they have shared prior sexual intimacy, the mental effects of the assault are not less damaging. In fact, some research has indicated that rape within marriage can be one of the more upsetting kinds of rape. A comparison of the degree or intensity of mental upset reported by different kinds of assailant relationships, indicated that 65 percent of women who were raped by a relative other than a husband were in the extreme category, followed by 61 percent for women raped by a stranger, 59 percent for women raped by a husband, 42 percent for women raped by an acquaintance, 41 percent for women raped by an authority figure, and 33 percent raped by a friend, date, or lover (Russell, 1990). In terms of the length of these effects, 52 percent of women assaulted by a husband and 52 percent of women assaulted by a relative other than a husband reported that the rape had an extremely long-term effect on their lives, as compared with 39 percent of women raped by a stranger, 33 percent of women raped by an authority figure, 25 percent by an acquaintance, and 22 percent by a friend, date, or lover (Russell, 1990).

Reviews of these data strongly suggest that perhaps the view of the law, as well as society, may be in error. It does not appear that wife rape is less traumatic than other forms of
rape, either in terms of severity of mental effects experienced, or in terms of the longevity of those effects. When women are asked to describe the mental effects, the responses are often very similar, regardless of the relationship. One study compared women raped by their husbands, to women raped by dates, and others raped by strangers (Riggs, et. al., 1992). They found no differences among the victim groups on measures of the subjective and objective danger of the attack or in the percentage of women who could be diagnosed with major depressive episode, social phobia, or sexual dysfunction.

In fact, the symptoms that victims across the board have described to researchers, psychologists, and medical personnel are so similar that mental health professionals have labeled the combined symptoms as “rape trauma syndrome.” This “syndrome” is not a single occurrence, though, and there are very specific effects that tend to occur at different points in the aftermath of the assault trauma. Recovery from this type of assault can take up to three years or more, with varying intensity and phases of physical, psychological, and sexual effects. Length of time since an assault has occurred, however, has been noted to be a poor predictor of residual impact or the likelihood of resolution. In fact, victims raped years ago may be even less likely than recent victims to have resolved their assaults because of the less accepting social climate they faced and the unavailability of crisis services (Koss, et. al., 1987). Descriptions of the actual combined effects of rape trauma syndrome have usually been divided into two general phases or stages.

The first stage encompasses those effects that are viewed as more short-term, occurring more frequently and intensely in this first “acute crisis” phase (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993). In this acute crisis phase, women are often in a state of shock. The most frequent response during this period is fearfulness and extreme anxiety. The constant feeling of fear becomes so salient and demanding that it often overpowers women’s lives. In this phase, women relive the assault over and over again in their minds. They have difficulty sleeping and when they do
sleep, often have nightmares in which the rape is relived. Research estimates that about 96 percent of women report feeling scared, and 92 percent report feeling terrified and confused. Outside of feeling this persistent, intense fear, blaming oneself is the second most common reaction in this phase. Women report feelings of guilt and hostility, along with feelings of helplessness, a sense of a lack of competence, and self-doubt. Feelings of paranoia also exist, and this often turns the world into a scary place for the women.

Although it sounds as though these mental effects would be easy to observe, sometimes victims do not appear to exhibit clearly visible signs of these symptoms. It is important to note that regardless of how unaffected a woman may appear, few women experience no symptoms after a sexual assault (Koss, et. al., 1987). The victim who denies that she is experiencing or ever experienced any rape-related symptoms may be coping with her experiences by encapsulating them. Postrape symptoms that were not evident or not as severe as prerape suggest a relationship to the rape. Particularly suggestive of unresolved sexual trauma are persistent phobias, guilt feelings, lowered self-esteem, and avoidance of sexuality (Koss & Harvey, 1991). The unobserved response is also sometimes termed a “controlled” response. The “controlled” response can also be driven by denial, disbelief, and a pervasive dazed, numb, emotionless demeanor. During this first phase, regardless of the observed response, symptoms may last for days or weeks, and are usually fairly constant and severe.

After a few months, women may pass from this first phase to the second, long-term phase, also referred to as the “recoil” stage (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993). This phase can last anywhere from a few months to years, if completion and closure ever occurs. During this stage, women begin trying to reinstate a feeling of mastery over their world. They strive to understand what has happened to them and why they are having certain specific feelings. Unfortunately, the feelings they experience are often contradictory. Emotions experienced range from fear, sadness, and guilt, to anger all at the same time. Often women experience irrational fears
during this period that can be characterized as persistent phobias. One study of these phobias included a one-year follow-up and found that even at this point in time after the assault, women often continued to report high levels of anxiety and fear (Riggs, et. al., 1992).

Psychologists have tried to look further into why the fear lasts so long. They say that phobic reactions are learned associations with a painful or unpleasant stimulus, so anything that is associated or a reminder of the incident comes to be feared (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993). A cumulation of fears may be one reason why relatively few victims report a rape to police. As outlined previously, it is estimated that only about 10 percent of all rapes are reported by the victim. Fear of being embarrassed or not believed also contributes to this gross under reporting. Reporting, however, may actually help ascribe some meaning to the rape and the meaning given to an assault by the victim and by her significant others is strongly related to the likelihood of resolution (Koss, et. al., 1987). Resolution is less likely to occur when responsibility for the assault is ascribed to the victim, particularly is she is experiencing guilt and self-blame. Resolution is more likely to be associated with views of rape as a turning point, or a terrible but growth-or-insight-inducing experience.

Other symptoms that characterize the second phase, in addition to the pervasive fears, are disturbances in general functioning, including changes in eating habits and sleep patterns. Changes in sexual enjoyment and behavior are common as well, along with changes in lifestyle. Some women find themselves compulsively taking long and frequent showers, often two or three times a day, and compulsively checking doors and windows periodically to make sure they are locked. Victims often complain that their anxiety and compulsive fear is not understood by family and friends, and they receive little compassion from people close to them. This reaction may be unintentional by people close to the woman, but they often have the same myths and misconceptions about rape as the rest of society and conclude that the woman was responsible in some way (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993).
This lack of consistent social support is one of the many on-going struggles to contend with in this long-term phase, and recovery is not always a continuously improving one. For some victims, improvement comes somewhere between one to three months after the assault, and for others an improvement is not felt until six months to a year afterward. Unfortunately, some still report feeling fearful, anxious, and suspicious well beyond a year afterward. One aspect of the recovery process that can make an enormous difference is the degree of social support the women receives. Social support can make or break self-esteem after a rape. The more social support a woman receives, the greater the buffer to the adverse mental health consequences, while unsupportive relationships can hinder the recovery process (Cwik, 1996).

Networks that can provide forms of social support can include family members, friends, police, emergency personnel, medical staff, and legal and social institutions, but it appears that family support is probably the most important source. For women who are assaulted by husbands or other family members, then, it seems the degree of support from family could be far less because it may be someone within that family that is actually the perpetrator. What can further exacerbate the lack of support for women assaulted by husbands is that often when they display the symptoms associated with the trauma of sexual assault, psychologists label their experiences as “psychosomatic” (Koss & Harvey, 1991; Russell, 1990). This lack of understanding of the underlying cause only results in further damage to the self-esteem of these women.

Poor social support, which these women are likely to have, can result in a form of “revictimization.” Lack of support can be a drawback for women assaulted by strangers or dating partners, as the reaction from society’s institutions may not be very positive either. In either case, psychologists have come to call this phenomenon the “second rape.” This second rape stems from the victim’s perceived rejection by society in general and her belief that nobody will provide the support she needs. This perceived breakdown of her support network
undermines feelings of security and self-worth, which results in a much longer recovery process, with a longer-lasting state of anxiety (Marshall, 1996).

When the recovery process continues, this intense, longer-lasting state of anxiety has often been diagnosed as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The medical definition classifies this disorder as caused by a psychologically distressing event that is outside of the range of usual human experience. Although many types of traumatic events can cause PTSD, such as natural disasters and war, the leading mental health diagnostic reference, the DSM-III-R, states that PTSD symptoms are more severe and long-lasting when the cause of the event or stressor is of human design (Pagelow, 1992). Two of the human design events are sexual assault and domestic assault, which also often co-occur. PTSD symptoms have been reported in victims at 10, 20, and even 30 years after the experience (Riggs, et. al., 1992). Specific symptoms that characterize PTSD appear similar in many respects to those in the supposedly shorter-term phases. Difficulty sleeping or staying awake, irritability or outbursts of anger, difficulty concentrating, hypervigilance, and exaggerated startle response can all be persistent problems. Physiological reactivity upon exposure to events that symbolize or resemble some aspect of the traumatic event is also common. What is also salient about PTSD is the length of time of the symptoms, and the length of these effects seems difficult to trace to either the victim-perpetrator relationship or to the type or severity of the assault. However, there are variations in the level of force or manner in which sexual assaults are carried out. Part of the variation in the level of force used is tied to the motivations of the rapist. All motivational strategies are the end result of an act of violence, however, not sex.

Although all rapes are acts of violence, different types of sexual assault may result in differing levels and forms of violence. These differences may result in variations in the mental effects that result. Brutality indices have been developed in a number of studies to describe the overall severity of an assault and to examine the effect of severity upon the victim’s mental
health (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Some investigators have found neither the presence nor extent of violence to be strongly associated with victim reactions, and others have reported consistent associations. Separating these indices to examine individual assault characteristics has had mixed results. Threats against the victim’s life were found to predict symptomatology within the first three months but not at the six-month point after the assault. Other assault variables that predicted symptoms were the number of assailants, physical threat, injury requiring medical care, and medical complications. Life threat, physical injury, and completed rape were found to contribute significantly to the prediction of severity of posttraumatic stress disorder (Kilpatrick, et. al., 1989; Koss & Harvey, 1991). The possibility exists that the actual violence of an attack is less crucial to victim reaction than the “felt threat.” Subsequent studies that have measured the victim’s perception of threat have found that it predicts the extent of later fear reactions and the degree of posttraumatic symptoms experienced (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Therefore, it seems that it is not necessarily the characteristics of the event alone that determine the reaction, but the event as perceived by the victim.

Another factor that may affect perceptions of the event and post-rape adjustment is the rape victim’s personal history prior to the rape (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993). Victims who have had previous psychiatric treatment or a prior sexual assault were found to have poorer adjustment to the rape than those who had not. These victims reported more negative feelings toward men whom they knew, and a longer period of adjustment. The number of prior life events that were stressors that evoked a change in the individual’s life, even those that were not necessarily negative events, were found to have an effect as well. There appears to be a relationship between the number of life stressor events and one’s ability to cope with future events. The relationship appears to be an inverse one, in that the more life events the person reports, the more vulnerable that person will be to both mental and physical illness. In applying this to women who have been raped, it was found that women who had experienced moderate
levels of life changes prior to the rape were the least traumatized. Those who had experienced many other major life changes suffered the greatest amount of rape trauma. Those who reported no other life changes were between these two groups on the amount of trauma suffered.

Still other researchers have found that for all cases of rape, elements of power, anger, and sexuality are present and how the assault is executed may be driven by these factors and have an additional effect (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993; Russell, 1990). This research has attempted to classify the assaults according to which elements were the most salient when the acts were perpetrated. The first category is the “anger rape” and this assault is characterized by brutal force, in which the level of violence is usually much more than is necessary to overcome the victim. Victims of anger rapes are often forced to perform sexual acts that are particularly demeaning, such as oral or anal sex. Although these assaults tend to be quite violent, the duration of the assault from beginning to end is relatively short in comparison to other types. The second category is the “power rape” and this tends to be the most common form of assault. Many marital rapes fall into this category, as this is often one more part of the power and control violence that occurs within domestic assault. These rapists use only as much force or threat of harm as necessary to accomplish the act. The goal is usually not to harm the victim in any obvious way, merely to possess her physically. The level of violence may be less severe in that often verbal threats and intimidation are the extent of the force, but physical force is used when necessary. The third category is the “sadistic rape” and this has been by far the least common type found among those reported. This type usually carries with it the most brutal and frightening level of violence. This attacker finds gratification in tormenting his victim, and she is most likely to endure torment that involves bondage and torture. Stranger rapes are slightly more likely to fall into this category, but there is evidence to suggest that some maritally abusive men will perpetrate this level of sexual assault as well. Men who demonstrate psychopathic
traits in their other forms of domestic violence may be more prone to engage in this form of sexual assault, and the victim in this case will be his wife.

Outside of the psychopathic group of men, a review the potential differences in the mental health consequences of the varying degrees of violence used indicates that the most severe violence is more likely to occur with stranger rapes, compared to most of the rapes in which the perpetrator is known to the victim (Koss, 1988). The only known exceptions to this are women who have been physically and sexually abused by their spouses. In fact, research has indicated that the psychological consequences found to present as a result of the combination of wife rape and battering together, are at least as serious and traumatic as those present following a severely violent stranger rape (Campbell, 1989; Koss, et. al., 1988). In many wife assaults, the attacks occur under conditions that have been found less likely to occur in other victim-offender relationships (Campbell & Alford, 1989). It is estimated that more than half of all women assaulted within marital relationships were forced to do so when they were ill. A nearly equal number were forced to engage in sexual intercourse immediately after discharge from the hospital, often after childbirth. Because of the repeated nature of assaults within marital relationships, many of these women also report severe vaginal trauma, which has further traumatizing mental effects.

If you consider that it has been estimated that at least half of all battered women are also sexually assaulted, this seems to indicate a significant number women suffering traumatic mental effects for sexual assaults that usually go unreported and undetected. Particularly with battered women, the focus has been almost entirely on the trauma of the other obvious physical injuries. Yet, the potential dual impact on the mental health of this group of women seems largely overlooked. With both this group of women and those violently raped by strangers, one of the major general differences in mental effects observed with these two groups is in the intensity of the fear experienced and the length of time the fear is experienced (Koss, 1988).
Outside of this, there are few differences in the amount of anger or depression experienced by victims of stranger-attacks verses victims of acquaintance-attacks (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993). There are also few differences in how much self-responsibility is felt. However, these conclusions were drawn only from rapes that were reported, and are based on offenders who were prosecuted. As the statistics indicate, less than half of rapes that occur are reported. Given the extremely high percentage that go unreported, it might be useful to examine whether the mental effects differ for victims who do not report.

Those who never report their assault have been called the “hidden rape victims” (Koss, 1985). Much of the earliest rape research only looked at samples from official sources, and the hidden victims were overlooked. A comparison of the results of earlier studies to more recent research with the hidden victims reveals the psychological variables related to this characteristic of victims. One of the major differences between reported and unreported rapes is the level of acquaintance between victim and offender. Unacknowledged rape victims were the most highly acquainted with their offender, while acknowledged rape victims were least acquainted with him (Koss, 1985). Most hidden rape victims were assaulted by an acquaintance or intimate romantic partner. A second major difference was the amount of pre-victimization consensual sexual intimacy shared with the offender. Highly unacknowledged rape victims reported much greater prior intimacy than moderately victimized or acknowledged rape victims. A third difference was in the forms of verbal pressure used, as well as the intensity of the violence. Acknowledged rape victims experienced more forms of verbal pressure and more different types of physically violent acts. The unacknowledged victims reported fewer types of physical force, and more moderate force than extreme violence. Acknowledged rape victims reported an intensity of violence that was significantly greater than the unacknowledged victims.

In view of these differences, it might be useful to examine whether there are any psychological variables related to acknowledged or unacknowledged victimization. The victim
precipitation model of rape victimization suggests that a woman’s likelihood of rape may be increased by certain personality characteristics (Koss, 1985). However, more recent research found no significant differences on personality scales between stranger rape victims verses non-stranger rape victims, or acknowledged verses unacknowledged victims. These results failed to support the contention that certain personality characteristics are more typical of type of victimization or unacknowledged victim status (Koss, 1985). However, although there appear to be no obvious personality differences, there may be social attitude differences.

The social control model of rape victimization suggests that a woman may be vulnerable to rape to the extent that she accepts rape supportive beliefs. Although this has not been studied as much, there is some evidence to suggest that the unacknowledged rape victim may be more likely to hold rape supportive beliefs in terms of appropriate gender roles, male sexual privilege, etc. In fact, this type of women has been considered the ultimate “safe victim” in that she is less likely to categorize or label her experiences as rape (Koss, 1985). Sexual assault, in this context, is less unlikely to be seen as rape when the victim and offender are closely acquainted and when they have shared prior sexual intimacy. However, how much prior sexual intimacy has been shared can vary greatly even for what has often been labeled “acquaintance” rape.

Generally, there have been three categories of rape, primarily divided by victim-perpetrator relationship. Stranger, spousal, or acquaintance have been the three major categories used to examine the mental health effects on women. However, the category labeled “acquaintance” can really be broken down even further to more carefully examine the potential for differing effects (Ward, et. al., 1991). In the less intimate category, “acquaintance” might more appropriately by identified by distinguishing this type of assault as the “party” rape, in which the victim and perpetrator are essentially strangers, but are part of the same social situation. True “acquaintance” rape is more a situation in which the victim and perpetrator are
actually acquainted as friends, co-workers, dormmates, or classmates. The “date” rape is a situation in which the victim and perpetrator are actually seeing one another in a dating relationship, which can range from a first date to boyfriend-girlfriend.

Beyond these categories, there are even higher intimacy relationships, prior to a marital relationship. These are often termed levels of “courtship” stages and can range from first dates to steady dating, engaged, and co-habitating. A sexual assault that occurs at any of these stages of intimacy has its own characteristics and precipitating factors. Although all of the assaults in these categories cause psychological harm, actual physical injury appears to be less frequent and less severe for the relationships in the courtship stages and in most of the acquaintance stages (Ward, et. al., 1991). However, there appears to be a similar, and higher, percentage of psychological impact felt by women assaulted in the “party” context. The impact is nearly equivalent to that of a stranger attack (Ward, et. al., 1991). Perhaps this is because, as suggested before, the individuals in the “party” scenario are essentially strangers – rather than acquaintances. Breaking down the larger categories, like acquaintance and date rape, can provide a clearer distinction between the mental consequences of each form of assault. Although marital rape has also tended to be classified as one large category, this area of sexual assault can be classified more distinctly as well.

Women who are victims of marital sexual assault can be separated further into three categories (Whatley, 1993). The first category involves women who are subjected to an extensive amount of all forms of abuse -- physical, verbal, and sexual. However, for this group of women, a significant amount of the abuse is unrelated to sex as well, and their spouses are more likely to have a substance abuse problem. The second category involves women who experience limited nonsexual physical violence. The sexual assaults for this group were reported as more likely to begin out of specific conflicts involving sex and are characterized by long standing disagreements over a specific sexual issue, such as the infrequency of sex or
what sexual activities are appropriate. This type of forced sexual contact is not usually accompanied by a high level of violence in the relationship as a whole, but the assault is an act of control that is accomplished through verbal threat or force. The third category is sometimes connected to battering, but not always. Men in this category may suffer from sexual dysfunction and have difficulty becoming aroused outside of forced sexual contact. The characteristics of this type of male have also been associated with men who perpetrate stranger rape. The rape is essentially an act to assert his dominance and masculinity. Overall, the wives demonstrate some differences in mental effects, depending on the category of sexual assault that occurs within marriage, but more often, there are similarities in the mental effects for all of these women.

Although there is a myth that marital rape is somehow less traumatic than stranger rape, the effects on wives are often more traumatic (Whatley, 1993). Women who are victims of marital rape have a difficult time trusting men, an increased phobia of intimacy and sex, lingering fear, intrusive flashbacks, and a lasting fear of being sexually assaulted again. Unlike many other sexual assault victims, this group must continue to live and be surrounded by reminders of the environment in which the assault occurred. Consequently, this group is more likely to have many more daily environmental cues that can trigger flashbacks. These women are more likely than any of the others to have low self-esteem and a poorer image of their bodies than women who were not raped. Some victims of marital rape are more likely than other victim groups to turn to drugs or alcohol, attempt suicide, and have an increased incidence of mental illnesses (Whatley, 1993). About a quarter of these women report feeling dirty and degraded, and many report feelings of guilt and self-blame. This effect parallels the feelings of women in almost all of the other victim-relationship categories, in which female rape victims blame themselves in some for the attack. In the case of wives, they report believing that if they had been better wives or if they had worked harder at the marriage, the rape would not have
occurred. What is one of the worst mental effects for marital rape, in addition to this, is that these victims have few ways to ventilate their feelings about this specific type of violent assault (Cwik, 1996). Part of this is due to the lack of social support they receive from either rape crisis centers or shelter support services, even if other forms of domestic abuse are present.

Although some shelters are aware of the fact that sexual assault is very often a major part of the entire domestic assault package, its importance is often minimized (Russell, 1990; Whatley, 1993). This is alarming in view of the fact that research in this area has demonstrated that although marital sexual assault is rarely reported, the occurrence of marital sexual assault is almost always accompanied by nonsexual violence, or what the media refers to as “domestic violence” (Hanneke, et. al., 1986). Basically, the occurrence of sexual violence in the absence of domestic violence is extremely rare. Several studies have confirmed what women who are survivors of domestic violence have said -- that many of the workers in rape crisis centers and battered women’s shelters simply do not want to deal with marital rape. They claim this is because they do not view marital rape as severely injurious or “life threatening.” Some admit they do not want to deal with this issue because they do not feel they are sufficiently trained to deal with marital rape (Russell, 1990). Women who have sought refuge in shelters for the other acts of violence report that they are often asked not to discuss the sexual assault aspects of their ordeal in group therapy sessions (Whatley, 1993). This severe neglect, and lack of acknowledgement and validation of their experiences, stands to have devastating mental health consequences for this group of women. Somehow it seems as though even those working closest to the issue are in need of heightened awareness concerning the seriousness of marital rape. One tool that could help in reaching that segment of the public, along with women who are the victims of sexual assault, is the media.

So far, however, the media has been one of the prime tools used to minimize and trivialize the seriousness of marital rape, foster rape myths, and degrade rape victims.
Considering this, it should not be surprising at all that so many rapes, particularly marital rapes, go unreported. The media has done much damage in subtle ways that only serve to reinforce societal support of the idea that a marriage license is, essentially, a raping license. The promotion of these myths is similar to the promotion of myths surrounding family violence, which tends to hinder understanding of the dynamics of both. What is most important for women to know who are victims of any kind of assault is that: (1) the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim is irrelevant in defining an act as assault; (2) women are far more likely to be sexually assaulted by someone they know or live with than by a stranger on the street; (3) a sexual assault perpetrated by an intimate partner can be at least as damaging as sexual assault by a stranger; (4) prior consensual sexual history is irrelevant in defining an act as sexual assault; (5) sexual assault is an act of violence that is not driven by sexual desire; (6) sexual assault is one of the major abusive acts within domestic violence; (7) marital rape often causes more intense and long-lasting injury to women than many of the more visible acts of domestic violence; and (8) the type of force, threat, or coercion used in an act of sexual assault is irrelevant—the weapon is sexual contact.

Finally, the media and public communication campaigns must be careful about instigating or reinforcing what they think they know about assault against women. The public has much more to learn about all forms of violence against women and the media is often the major vehicle they use to acquire information and education in this area. Women who are victims of assault are a part of that public, and the “common sense assumptions” promoted are incorrect and can exacerbate existing mental duress for those women. The newer controversial issues like “learned helplessness” and “battered woman syndrome” and “rape trauma syndrome” and “posttraumatic stress disorder” receive a fair amount of press coverage already. A topic that needs more attention is the fact that marital sexual assault is a significant piece of domestic assault. It may not be as graphically powerful or as linguistically sensational, but it is
certainly as damaging to the health of women. Women, as well as the general public, need to understand that simply because you cannot see the injuries suffered from sexual assault does not diminish their severity. As the literature reviewed previously indicates, the effects can last indefinitely. It is encouraging that now more women seem to be able to receive personal and legal validation, sympathy, and social support for visible outer scars than in past decades. As the research suggests, these forms of personal and social validation speed the recovery process. However, if women are not allowed this same validation and support for inner scars, the damage to their health will be enormous. Sexual assault, like many other forms of domestic assault, is often an “invisible” injury. Still, it is an act of violence—and a felony that occurs more frequently than any other in this country.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


resistence: A contextual and longitudinal analysis of women’s responses to battering. 


23
Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China*

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The era of global competition necessitates having personnel knowledgeable in general about global markets as well as competent for day-to-day operations. While considerable progress has been made, “internationalization efforts continue to fall short of fulfilling the need of businesses for personnel who can think and act in a global context (Kwok, Arpan, & Folks, 1994, p. 607).” This insufficient international competence has affected firms in several ways, such as missed marketing/business opportunities (21%), a bias toward the U.S. point of view (15%), and a failure to anticipate the needs of international customers (13%), etc. (Kedia & Daniel, 2003). In preparing globally competent personnel, this study posits that a country-specific approach is more effective than general international education. Specifically, China, with nearly one-third of world’s land, one-fourth of world’s population, and world’s fastest economic growth rate, offers enormous market opportunities for the U.S. firms. Accordingly, preparing college students for this emerging market is extremely critical.

**Purpose and Literature Review:** The purpose of this paper is to report on innovative instructional methods for enhancing college students’ understanding in doing business with China. Through literature reviews and researchers’ insights, effective innovative instruction is conceptualized based on followings.
- Both general and subject-specific international understanding is required for effective learning than general approach.
- Both cognitive and experiential learning is required for effective learning (Ahlawat & Ahlawat, 2006).
- Integration (infusion) of the international dimensions across the curriculum, rather than creation of an international course, is the most effective and sustainable (Cant, 2004).

**Method:** Based on the above conceptualizations, this study develops six educational modules (three general and three subject-specific) that can be easily implemented into existing courses (infusion method). Each module is consisted of both cognitive (powerpoint lecture notes and newspaper articles for class
reading) and experiential (multimedia and specialized intercultural training) learning tools. For a specialized intercultural training tool, this paper chose “cultural assimilator” method as it is versatile, efficient, effective and easy to apply. The instrument consists of several episodes depicting potentially problematic situations. Each episode has critical incidents (short stories depicting situations), attributions (one or two questions with possible responses), and feedback and explanations.

For the development of the cultural assimilator, the research team conducted two sets of interviews, one in the U.S. (Fall 04-Spring 05) and the other in China (Summer 05), to select possible critical incidents. For the development of multimedia (videos and photos), the team visited four Chinese cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Hong Kong) during summer 05.

**Expected Outcomes:** The six educational modules are currently being developed and will be implemented into existing courses during Spring 06. The research team will evaluate students’ learning and expect to see students’ enhanced understanding of Chinese market and culture.

Reference:


*This study is funded by the U.S. Department of Education.*
Key Success Factors for Doing Business with China: Small U.S. Company’s Perspectives*

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With nearly one-fourth of the world’s population and one-third of world’s land, China offers tremendous economic opportunities for both large and small U.S. firms (firms with fewer than 500 employees). Success, however, in developing these opportunities will depend on the identification of key success factors for doing business with China. Most prior studies (e.g., Yang, 1998) have mainly focused on large multinational firms. Such findings may not be relevant for small companies that lack resources and capabilities. Considering that in the U.S., small businesses represent over 99% of all employer firms and account for 97 percent of U.S. exporters (United States Chamber of Commerce Statistics and Research Center, 2002), knowing key success factors of small firm is more critical.

**Purpose**: The objective of this study is to identify key factors critical to the success of small business in doing business with China. This study is a preliminary study to develop a solid foundation for a quantitative survey of these issues in the future and to develop training modules for small business that are interested in entering Chinese market.

**Method**: This study utilized face-to-face in-depth interviews to delineate essential factors unique for small company success in doing business with China. A list of successful Oklahoma businesses that are involved in China was developed with the assistance of Oklahoma Department of Commerce and State Chamber. Seven companies agreed to participate in 90-minute interviews held in mutually agreed upon locations. Each interview was taped with permission and transcribed for content analysis. The interviewees were either vice president or owner of a company from diverse industry such as machinery, biotechnology, service, and food. The firm’s experiences with China ranged from less than two years to fourteen years. The businesses with China were also diverse from exporting services and finished products to importing parts and finished goods. The interviewees were asked how they started business with China and successful strategies in China.

**Results**: Careful examinations of the interview results revealed nine commonalities critical for success in doing business with China. Among the nine critical factors, four commonalities correspond to prior studies with large multinational companies (Yang, 1998). This includes 1) Finding right partner through careful examinations and diverse sources and cultivating the relationship are important, 2) Patience and persistence are critical, 3) Effective use of intermediaries of Chinese origin is vital, and 4) Acknowledge cultural differences and respect their cultures.
The other five critical factors represent unique challenges for small companies including: 5) Steady and thorough preparation are essential, 6) Decide amount you can comfortably invest and invest small amount at the beginning, 7) Fully utilize assistance of government authorities, such as local department of commerce, Chinese embassy, etc., 8) Hire an interpreter who is specialized in your business area, and 9) Sign a contract after your and your partner’s attorney reviewed. One interviewee’s remark epitomizes small firm’s perspective: “I just would say, do a lot of research, talk to lots of people who have had experiences over there, and be very cautious. Take baby steps and walk slowly, don’t take large steps and run because you can get into a lot of trouble very quickly.” Implications for small companies are discussed based on the findings.

**Limitations and Future Studies:** The findings are from one state, Oklahoma, without industry focus, which limits its generalizability. Therefore, national-wide study with industry focus is highly recommended for future studies.

Reference:

* This study is funded by the U.S. Department of Education
Conference Proceedings Submission

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ABSTRACT

Substantive research has underscored the important role of the communicative therapist-patient relationship, commonly called the *therapeutic alliance*, in generating change during and after psychotherapy. This interpersonal bond has demonstrated to be a predictor of treatment outcome across a number of psychosocial interventions, including cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), one of the most popularly employed psychotherapeutic treatments. Although the association between patient-therapist communication and psychotherapeutic outcome has been well documented, scant attention has focused on the factors necessary for a fruitful therapeutic alliance in CBT treatment specifically for social anxiety disorder (SA; also called social phobia), the third most common psychological disorder in the nation. Extrapolating from previous discourse in the area of therapist-patient relationships in both CBT and other psychotherapeutic approaches—replete with relevant concessions that take into account the unique nature of individuals with SA—this paper advances several conceptual principles deemed applicable to CBT treatment for SA in terms of trust and openness; warmth, genuineness, and unconditional positive regard; empathic understanding; and therapist self-disclosure. The reality that approximately half of all patients with SA who receive CBT do not significantly benefit also warrants this investigation. Findings suggest that it is critical that therapists and researchers alike further explore the association between key elements of the therapeutic alliance and outcome specifically in the context of CBT in treating SA. Since this issue has been virtually uncharted, it is hoped that the preliminary guidelines presented in this paper stimulate a promising
avenue of inquiry that may vastly improve the efficacy of this treatment modality as a remedy for SA.
Introduction

Communication between healer and sick person is always of importance. Yet nowhere may this interaction be more salient than during psychosocial treatment of psychological disorders in the clinical setting. The interpersonal bond established between patient and therapist, conceptualized as the *therapeutic alliance*, has been well documented as an essential component in the efficacy of a variety of psychotherapeutic interventions (Ackerman & Hilsenroth, 2003; Anderson, Ogles, & Weis, 1999; Hilliard, Henry, & Strupp, 2000; Lambert & Barley, 2001; Quayle, 2001). However, less attention has been given to a specific form of time-limited psychotherapy known as cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), a treatment protocol predicated on the notion that thoughts (cognitions) influence feelings and behavior. Lamentably, a dearth of research has focused on the impact of the therapeutic alliance in CBT treatment on outcome exclusively for social anxiety disorder (SA; also called social phobia). Still under-recognized in society at large despite being the third most prevalent psychological disorder and most common anxiety disorder in the nation, SA is characterized by anxiety and distress stemming from irrationally intense fears of being negatively judged or rejected by others as well as corresponding hypersensitivity to criticism and scrutiny (Butler, 1999; Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003). Given that at least 13% of the general population is affected at some point in their lives (Kessler et al., 2005), SA clearly represents a significant mental health problem. Once developed, SA usually follows a chronic course in the absence of treatment. As a result, individuals with SA experience significant impairment in everyday social, occupational, and school functioning (Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Overholser, 2002).
The very nature of this disabling condition undeniably warrants more attention to maximizing the role of the interpersonal patient-therapist bond during CBT treatment. Unfortunately, despite its scope and severity, promoting awareness of treatment options for SA (and recognition of the disorder itself) often goes overlooked largely due to the fact that sufferers of SA tend to keep their feelings of anxiety and distress concealed from others and are understandably hesitant to seek help from mental health services (Coles, Turk, Jindra, & Heimberg, 2004; Collins, Wang et al., 2005; Westra, Dozois, & Burns, 2004; Olfson et al., 2000). Therefore, once an individual with symptoms of SA attains access to these psychotherapeutic treatment services, creating a positive and engaging therapist-patient relationship is of the essence.

To improve everyday social functioning by reducing anxious arousal and the accompanying effects on emotion and behavior, the eight-to-twelve-week CBT treatment package, as tailored for patients with SA, targets a combination of affective, behavioral, and cognitive aspects implicated in the maintenance of the disorder (Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Heimberg, 2002; Overholser, 2002). The main components of its treatment approach are cognitive restructuring and exposure. The former technique strives to identify the patients’ dysfunctional cognitive patterns and inaccurate beliefs so as to replace them with alternative, more adaptive ways of thinking while encouraging them to challenge the veracity of their anxiety-inducing thoughts and beliefs (Taylor et. al, 1997). The exposure approach augments these cognitive modification exercises by encouraging patients to condition themselves to gradually reduce their symptoms of anxiety and stifling behavioral effects during the actual situations they typically fear.
(such as strategizing ways that induce calmness and assuage excessive self-monitoring) (Heimberg, 2002).

Although CBT is empirically validated and arguably the most popular psychosocial intervention for treating SA to date (Heimberg, 2002), the reality is that on average, according to Hughes (2002) and Scholing and Emmelkamp (1999), only half of patients significantly benefit from it. Thus, there is clearly room for improvement. Since part of this deficit perhaps may be due to poor interpersonal therapist-patient relationships, the purpose of this paper is to briefly review relevant literature and to extend this discussion by highlighting and delineating the key components of the communicative bond between cognitive-behavioral therapist and socially anxious patient that may potentially enhance treatment efficacy of this serious and alarmingly under-treated disorder.

Research review on the therapeutic alliance in general psychotherapy and CBT

In general, clinicians and empiricists alike concur that a fruitful therapeutic alliance is critical in promoting change via the psychotherapeutic process (Lambert & Barley, 2001). While numerous studies have discerned the strength of the therapeutic alliance as a predictor of treatment outcome across a variety of psychotherapies (e.g., see Anderson, Ogles, & Weis, 1999; Bourgeois, Sabourin, & Wright, 1990; Hilliard, Henry, & Strupp, 2000), research on this alliance in CBT thus far has focused almost entirely on treatment for depression (e.g., Klein et al., 2003; Raue, Goldfried, & Barkham, 1997) and panic disorder (e.g., Huppert et al., 2001). Nonetheless, drawing on these previous and relatively consistent findings proffers invaluable insight that may be readily applied to
CBT treatment explicitly for SA, with the addition of supplementary extensions considered pertinent to the current analysis.

Surprisingly, the bulk of studies attempting to identify the various predictors of outcome in CBT for depression and panic disorder have largely neglected the role of the therapeutic alliance as one of those determinants (domains typically addressed include patients’ expectancy of treatment, severity of impairment, and comorbid presence of personality disorder traits) (Chambless, Tran, & Glass, 1997; Safren, Heimberg, & Juster, 1997; Scholing & Emmelkamp, 1999). A few exceptions include Keijsers, Schaap, and Hoogduin’s (2000) study, which affirmed that an effective interpersonal bond between cognitive-behavioral therapist and patient does in fact positively influence the outcome of CBT in the case of treating depression. Similarly regarding depression treatment, Hardy et al. (2001) and Raue, Goldfried, and Barkham (1997) found a positive therapeutic relationship to be a potent influence in cognitive therapy outcome. Additionally, the therapeutic alliance has been widely touted as a positive mediator in a variety of group-oriented psychotherapies (e.g., Abouguendia, Joyce, Piper, & Ogrodniczuk, 2004; Quayle, 2001).

Conversely, the handful of extant studies exploring possible predictors of treatment success in response to CBT specifically for SA (e.g., Chambless, Tran, & Glass, 1997; Hope, Heimberg, & Bruch, 1995; Safren, Heimberg, & Juster, 1997; Scholing & Emmelkamp, 1999) have not acknowledged the potential role of therapeutic alliance factors either as mechanisms by which CBT generates change or as potential mediating influences on the more systematic, manual-based techniques of cognitive restructuring and exposure.
Wagner and Reinecker (2003) coined the term *partnership-like therapist-patient relationship* to reflect the collaborative therapist-patient bond that is often underestimated as a catalyst for patient motivation. Within this framework, both therapist and patient mutually agree on the step-by-step process of psychosocial therapy that will progress along the road to success; that is, the ultimate goals of symptom reduction and enhancing everyday social and vocational functioning through maintenance of treatment gains. By virtue of this bond, patient motivation is a pivotal aspect in psychosocial treatment—especially when low self-esteem and impairment in social functioning are among the presenting problems (Drieschner, Lammers, & van der Staak, 2004). As University of California-Santa Barbara psychologist Larry E. Butler (cited in Feller & Cottone, 2003) summed it up, “therapeutic change is greatest when the therapist is skillful and provides trust, acceptance, acknowledgment, collaboration, and respect for the patient in an environment that stimulates motivation for change [in cognitions and behavior]” (p. 59).

Integrating these previous findings and opinions bodes well for applying similar principles that may potentially optimize treatment outcome for SA by means of CBT.

*Applying an integrative therapeutic alliance model to CBT for social anxiety disorder*

What, then, are the specific communicative alliance factors crucial and distinct to the CBT approach in treating SA? This burning question seems central to the efficacy of CBT as it relates to enduring therapeutic change. Bearing in mind that SA is a condition unlike other psychological disorders because of its strong cognitive component and negative cognitive schema resulting in extreme interpersonal sensitivity and substantive functional impairment across general social and evaluative situations, this disorder can pose complex therapeutic challenges. Since individuals with SA are usually
communicatively apprehensive in general social contexts and presumably even more so in the clinical setting, effective interpersonal communication skills on the part of the therapist seem most essential in the beginning stages of CBT. Although the specificity of interpersonal skills that therapists employ to effectively engage patients are not well understood (Anderson, Ogles, & Weis, 1999), this analysis attempts to navigate through these nebulous waters and provide preliminary lucidity. Extrapolating from previous discourse in the area of therapist-patient relationships in both general psychotherapy and CBT—replete with necessary modifications that take into account the unique nature of individuals with SA—the following conceptual (and interdependent) principles deemed applicable to CBT treatment for SA are advanced:

(i) While the therapist’s job of fostering a strong sense of trust and openness is central to any therapist-patient relationship, it is absolutely essential when communicating with patients with SA, especially considering their interpersonal hypersensitivity and accordingly avoidant nature that usually makes them reluctant to seek treatment in the first place (Coles, Turk, Jindra, & Heimberg, 2004; Collins, Westra, Dozois, & Burns, 2004; Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003). To this extent, the therapists’ immediate task in the preliminary stages of CBT treatment should focus on easing the anxiousness of patients with SA. Although pharmacological intervention (i.e., short-term anti-anxiety medication) is often recommended in providing initial relief so as to allow the socially anxious patient to feel less apprehensive about first meeting with the therapist (Heimberg, 2002; Overholser, 2002), it is nevertheless necessary for the therapist to attend to easing the patient’s social fears, given that medication only provisionally masks the
biases in information processing that contributes to their anxiety. Correspondingly, it is imperative that cognitive-behavioral therapists address in a tactical, sensitive manner their patients’ fears of negative evaluation and dysfunctional beliefs regarding how they appear as a social object.

As a collaborative effort, communicating trust on an interpersonal level with socially anxious clients will most likely motivate them to openly communicate their social fears, many of which can understandably be difficult to divulge otherwise. Hardy et al. (2001) demonstrated that the more avoidant that individuals rated themselves (a notable characteristic of SA), the smaller the gains of symptom improvement subsequent to the treatment period. Since many people with SA have habitual tendencies to avoid meeting new people and attempting to form relationships unless they are highly certain they will be socially accepted, a quality therapeutic alliance founded on trust is particularly important.

Furthermore, establishing a milieu of trust is also likely to encourage patients to comply with the weekly “homework” assignments that constitute a chief role in the CBT treatment package (Heimberg, 2002; Leung & Heimberg, 1996; Overholser, 2002). Homework in CBT refers to goal-oriented tasks whereby patients with SA are directed to experiment with different strategies of behavior while in the actual social situations they fear (Kazantzis, Deane, & Ronan 2004). The ultimate aim of these exercises (known as guided in vivo exposure) is to facilitate change by naturally conditioning patients to reduce their levels of apprehension in the feared social contexts they fear (Heimberg, 2002). For example, a cognitive-behavioral therapist may instruct patients to redirect
their attention to the environment around them when entering a social setting rather than pay full attention to perceptions of themselves or cues from other people to which they are usually attuned and that are inevitably anxiety-provoking.

To work toward this goal, patients are urged to defy and counter their distorted social assumptions while maintaining a log monitoring their thoughts and feelings as well as corresponding progress in gradually discounting their skewed cognitions and irrationally negative beliefs and attitudes about themselves and how they may be perceived by others (Anderson, Ogles, & Weis, 1999; Edelman & Chambless, 1995; Kazantzis, Deane, & Ronan, 2000; Leung & Heimberg, 1996). Leung and Heimberg (1996) demonstrated that socially anxious patients who adhered to homework assignments over the course of cognitive-behavioral group treatment showed greater improvement than those who were less compliant. Hence, much like the doctor-patient bond, which can influence patients’ compliance with taking medication as directed (Klein et al., 2003), an effectual therapeutic alliance should ideally motivate the patient with SA to adhere to the therapist’s instructions concerning ways of modifying and countering their cognitive distortions. Adhering to these assigned tasks can be extremely challenging to the socially anxious patient, given that they are directed to confront some of their greatest fears while in the situations they typically endure with marked distress or otherwise avoid. Patients who are more anxious and fearful prior to treatment might find these instructions demanding or threatening and thus not carry them out as directed or avoid them altogether.
Conceivably, convincing the patient to successfully complete these experimental exercises can be best accomplished by creating a stimulating atmosphere of trust, acceptance, and maximal safety. Bearing in mind the strong the correlational link between client compliance with homework exercises and improved treatment outcome (Edelman & Chambless, 1995), such an atmosphere is likely to inspire the patient’s commitment to carry out these exercises as instructed. Articulating the rationale for these homework exercises amid a firm foundation of trust is equally important in helping the patient achieve enduring effects of CBT once treatment concludes. Therefore, establishing a productive relationship between therapist and communicatively anxious patient will likely maximize patient adherence to these instructional tasks and may prompt patients to try similar exercises when the therapist is no longer present to assign and encourage exposure-related tasks.

(ii) By the same token, cognitive-behavioral therapists must convey warmth, genuineness, and unconditional positive regard so as to establish rapport with the socially anxious patient. This may also inspire the patient to invest effort in accepting and applying the suggestions the therapist imparts regarding ways of identifying and challenging their maladaptive cognitive styles that ultimately cause them anxiety and distress in social interactions and to correspondingly engage in strategies of overcoming them. Through manifest expression of unconditional positive regard (i.e., unqualified acceptance of the socially anxious patients’ fears), the therapist communicates non-evaluative caring and respect (Keijsers, Schaap, & Hoogduin, 2000; Lambert & Barley, 2001). Likewise, a
comforting and supportive atmosphere is most likely to prompt patients to maintain vigilance in identifying their negative thought patterns. This often proves to be another difficult task, given that these patterns of thinking are often unconsciously held (Butler, 2001; Overholser, 2002). However, fostering such an environment may further galvanize their dedication to challenging and becoming more aware of these patterns.

Similarly, according to Lambert and Barley (2001), congruence is also obligatory in an efficient therapeutic alliance, whereby the therapist relays a sense of warmth and genuineness so as to further foster collaborative mutuality. As incentives, these factors may prove conducive to persuading patients with SA to accept and apply alternatively healthier and more adaptive ways of thinking as well as encourage more open communication on the part of the client.

Empathic understanding (e.g., see Feller & Cottone, 2003) also seems an essential ingredient in CBT, in which the therapist earnestly identifies with, shares in, validates, and conveys an open understanding of the socially anxious individual’s circumstances, experiences, feelings, and fears. This cannot be emphasized enough as it applies to treating SA through a CBT framework, in which communicating mutual affirmation can reflect a deep, cooperative understanding that may further engage patients in combating their negative social beliefs in addition to bolstering their sense that treatment is being conducted in a milieu of mutual respect. Quayle (2001) stressed that creating a meaningful therapist-patient relationship based on mutual respect can be “a powerful therapeutic tool in and of itself” (p. 310). In applying this to therapists’ treatment of SA, sharing in
the experiences of the patients’ self-defeating social fears (e.g., I’ll probably sound stupid if I speak up and people will make fun of me”) and consequent, maladaptive patterns of behavior (e.g., persistent avoidance of social encounters) may be an impetus in solidifying a strong interpersonal therapeutic alliance. Prior to meeting with the therapist, individuals with SA tend to feel initially apprehensive about communicating with the therapist and whether the therapist will truly understand them (Overholser, 2002). Thus, it is vital is that the client feels understood, accepted, and respected in a way that is meaningful to the particular client.

Moreover, Coombs, Coleman, and Jones (2002) underscored the magnitude of attending to patients’ expressions of emotional experiences, deemed collaborative emotional exploration, during CBT, in which the therapist imparts a sense of nonjudgmental regard and is consistently attuned to the patient’s feelings and experiences. In this view, empathic understanding as applied to SA treatment also necessitates that cognitive-behavioral therapists pay particular attention to being supportive of patients’ accomplishments of assigned guided exposure tasks. It also calls for candidly addressing patients’ distinct fears, social behaviors, and concerns while developing a shared understanding of the disorder.

Additionally, Bohart and Greenberg (1997) posited three stages of empathy that seem particularly germane concerning CBT treatment of SA:

1. Empathic rapport refers to therapist kindliness and acceptance of the client’s feelings and frame of reference.
2. *Experience-near understanding of the client’s world* is accomplished through the therapist’s investigation of the client’s relationships and life history.

3. *Communicative attunement* helps the client symbolize, organize, and make sense of inner experiences (pp. 13-14).

In the case of treating SA, stage three relates to the socially anxious client in coming to understand his or her irrational fears and skewed cognitive processes that generate and ultimately maintain anxiety experienced across general social contexts.

(iv) Despite realizing their fears are real while the danger is not, many individuals with SA desperately desire to spontaneously engage in group conversations and other social situations but find their inability to do so beyond their control—a reflection of the paradoxical nature of the disorder. Since individuals with high levels of social anxiety are particularly sensitive to other people, it is up to the cognitive-behavioral therapist to be a source of comfort. Specifically, therapists should attend to promoting and heightening patients’ sense as a social being and that they are indeed capable of managing their condition and enjoying fulfilling social interactions, friendships, and romantic relationships. One potentially effective way to accomplish this is for therapists to regularly engage in *self-disclosure* with their socially anxious patients.

Serving as yet another function of metacommunication, therapist self-disclosure is contingent upon the therapists’ coming to share their own emotional and relational experiences and perspectives in relation with the patients’. Although therapists’ disclosing information about themselves in clinical sessions
is, at best, a delicate and often controversial topic area, self-disclosing can be a compelling tool in strengthening the therapeutic alliance, provided that suitable boundaries are observed (Goldfried, Burckell, & Eubanks-Carter, 2003). Likewise, it has shown to be conducive to creating an environment in which clients feel not only comforted, but empowered to take a more proactive role in accepting therapists’ insights and applying their instructions in real-life situations (Bridges, 2001; Goldfried, Burckell, & Eubanks-Carter, 2003). For example, a therapist treating a client with SA may describe an embarrassing incident during a public speaking event, how other people reacted, and how dealing with it by keeping his or her thought processes in check (e.g., not exaggerating the meaning or magnitude of the mishap) led to a positive outcome (e.g., not experiencing lingering distress or anxious rumination after the event). In other words, rather than exclusively discussing examples and strategies that illustrate ways of modifying thinking and behavior in social interactions based on the patients’ life experiences, cognitive-behavioral therapists should perhaps strive to occasionally disclose their own pertinent experiences and fittingly link them with the patient’s—with an emphasis on therapist articulating his or her efforts in overcoming difficulties in social situations.

Relevant self disclosure in the context of CBT for SA carries the potential to foster the socially anxious patient’s sense that the therapist comes across as “real” by relaying personal accounts that reflect how most people experience a certain degree of fear or anxiety in social situations from time to time. Through getting to know the person behind the title of cognitive-behavioral therapist, self-
Disclosure may also provide a means of fortifying the socially anxious individual’s ability to become less inhibited and further disclose their own deeply personal fears and experiences, the latter of which may have contributed to the development of the disorder. At the same time, patients with SA may indeed learn how to effectively apply ways of coping, as gleaned through the very techniques that therapists may exemplify through their own personal anecdotes regarding how they have successfully managed and functioned in challenging social situations in the past.

Moreover, a therapist who discloses personal experiences involving fear, anxiety, and social interaction may help the socially phobic patient to feel less alienated from others, especially when realizing that the therapist has experienced similar feelings and difficulties in social moments. Coherent and recurrent self-disclosure during therapeutic sessions can plausibly augment the efficacy of the key elements previously outlined in creating a comfortable environment that maximally eases the patient’s levels of anxiety and discomfort so as to additionally cultivate mutual understanding and respect.

Discussion

The primary aim of this analysis was to emphasize the crucial role of the therapeutic alliance in facilitating treatment efficacy of SA, based on insights and suggestions derived from previous, related research. In summary, effective interpersonal communication (and metacommunication) competence seems integral in the context of therapist-patient dyads in CBT treatment for SA. Conceivably, a tactical therapeutic alliance can be an instrumental mechanism for facilitating change though this treatment
protocol. Trust and openness; warmth, genuineness, and unconditional positive regard; empathic understanding; and therapist self-disclosure are seemingly indispensable ingredients. Accordingly, individuals with SA may become more motivated to accept alternatively healthier and more adaptive ways of viewing the world by challenging their dysfunctional cognitive biases so as to relieve symptoms and improve overall functioning. While all of these aforementioned elements seem collectively fundamental in the success of any psychotherapeutic approach, the current analysis ardently stresses the importance of an effective therapeutic alliance that integrates these elements in CBT treatment outcome for those with SA. This could potentially yield therapeutic breakthroughs and sudden gains in symptom reduction and improved social functioning similar to those explicated by Tang and DeRubeis (2000) in the treatment of depression.

Logically speaking, effective interpersonal communication can be an empowering mechanism in and of itself. Through the development and maintenance of a meaningful therapeutic alliance, socially anxious individuals may come to realize that enjoying fulfilling interpersonal relationships as well as feeling more comfortable in communication-related situations is indeed possible—although translating it from the clinical setting to their daily activities is the ultimate goal of CBT. Since it has been implicated that individuals with SA possess negative automatic thoughts and biased interpretations of how they are coming across to others and what others may be thinking of them (Butler, 1999; Horwitz, 2001), efficient interpersonal communication skills on the part of the therapist are essential in convincing patients to counter their anxious beliefs (e.g., “If others notice how quiet I am during the meeting, they will think I am stupid and not like me”) by recognizing and employing alternatively healthier ways of
thinking and coping (e.g., “people will not think badly of me if I voice a few thoughts and opinions during the meeting, and they may even agree with my points of view”). Only may this be best accomplished through candid, straightforward communication between therapist and patient during therapy sessions. To this extent, treatment sessions in which the therapist collectively exercises the above elements may be especially beneficial in further motivating individuals with SA to apply these suggested strategies in practice outside of the clinical setting. Therefore, being allied with the help of a competent cognitive-behavioral therapist who continually communicates respect and empathy is vital in treating individuals with SA.

As the therapeutic alliance evolves, clients with SA may grow to trust and value the therapists’ suggestions, insights, interpretations, and guidance regarding their biases in the processing of social-evaluative stimuli and their concomitant, maladaptive behaviors. A secure therapist-patient relationship may render those with SA to feel less fearful and anxious simply in the context of a warm and reassuring environment, as established through a therapeutic alliance that is both motivating and mutually involving. Equally important is that such an alliance will likely assuage the attrition rate at which clients prematurely drop out during the treatment period (Safran & Muran, 1996; Safran & Muran, 2000). Although discontinuation of treatment by the patient could very well be due to other factors, the level of quality in the therapeutic alliance seems a particularly influencing factor.

In further lending credence to the elements previously discussed, when patients who completed CBT were asked what had helped them most in overcoming their impairments, the typical, resonating response was “talking with someone who listens,
empathizes, and understands” (Keijsers, Schaap, & Hoogduin, 2002, p. 291). Overholser (2002) echoed similar sentiments in asserting that a therapist who is “warm, attentive, interested, understanding, and respectful” (p. 142) is crucial to cognitive restructuring outcome in SA.

**Directions and priority areas for future research**

Based on the preceding rationale, weaving these key components into the CBT framework (both emphasized in training and continually exercised in clinical practice) may prove especially conducive to improving the efficacy of treatment outcome for individuals with SA. To this extent, it is imperative that therapists and researchers alike investigate the predictive value of the therapeutic alliance while attending to the specific, aforementioned elements in CBT outcome specifically in the context of social anxiety disorder. Prospective development of measurement instruments regarding these components, including self-reports that attend to communicative traits of the therapist as perceived by the patient (e.g., the extent to which the therapist conveys empathic understanding during treatment sessions) is also worthy of future research. Administering such instruments with existing measures, such as that of assessing homework compliance (e.g., the Homework Rating Scale (HRS); Kazantzis, Deane, & Ronan, 2004), may facilitate future investigations into the salience of the specific aspects of the therapeutic alliance.

Since these issues have gone largely uncharted, it is hoped that the preliminary guidelines presented in this paper spark a promising avenue of inquiry that will fill knowledge gaps in this area and may vastly improve the efficacy of this treatment
modality for remedying SA. This is only a beginning step, as there are vital research and conceptual questions still to be addressed.

Several important issues also bear note. Determining the actual strength of the therapeutic alliance as a predictor of treatment outcome in CBT for SA is a complicated task, in that all other variables (e.g., the technical aspects of cognitive modification and exposure as well as non-technical, value laden aspects such as clients’ expectations toward treatment) would have to be held constant. Although many researchers have suggested the potency of the alliance factor in psychotherapy, no published study, to the best of our knowledge, has attempted to perform an experimental project explicitly addressing the matter of isolating these variables.

Equally as important is that CBT treatment of SA largely depends on the actual quality of the therapeutic alliance. While it is widely assumed that seasoned cognitive-behavioral therapists are mindful of the importance the therapeutic alliance and its important elements not all therapists appear to be able to adeptly implement them (Goldfried, Burckell, & Eubanks-Carter, 2003). In much the same vein, given that the concept of the therapeutic alliance is a non-technical, value-laden aspect of CBT, just like in most any psychotherapeutic orientation, there must be room for flexibility on the part of the therapist in addition to systematic clinical skill (Clark, 2004; Lambert & Barley, 2001; Scholing & Emmelcamp, 1996; Tang & DeRubeis, 1999; Wilson, 1996).

Another critical issue concerning the therapeutic alliance is flexibility. Since CBT treatment is, to a significant degree, stringently technical because of its manual-based protocol, the specific elements of the therapeutic alliance in CBT, such as those highlighted in this paper, remain largely unacknowledged outside of the empirical arena
(Clark, 2004; Wilson, 1996). As Clark (2004) astutely suggested, the design of clinical manuals concerning CBT, as well as other psychosocial treatments, should be refined to address the need to be flexible in attending to patients’ varying fears and anxieties in addition to possessing proficiency in specific therapist skills regarding the procedural CBT process. Considering patients with SA vary with respect to their levels of anxiety, avoidance, and other cognitive, behavioral, affective, and physiological reactions to social situations, tailoring the relationships to individual clients seems imperative as well. Clearly, it behooves developers of future psychosocial treatment manuals to address these matters of the therapeutic alliance by augmenting the traditional CBT treatment protocol—factors that should in turn be translated to clinical praxis. This may possibly lead to new cycles of evaluation concerning models of treatment administration for cognitive-behavioral therapists in training.

In addition, the nature of today’s rigid managed health care system may impede cognitive-behavioral therapists’ ability to devote effort and energy in establishing and maintaining effective therapeutic relationships with their clients, given the time and duration often necessary to successfully complete CBT (Dossey, 2002; Safran & Muran, 2000; Sloan & Mizes, 1999). The increasingly constraining demands of cost containment imposed upon healthcare professionals under managed health care nowadays has become ubiquitous and affects all health care practitioners. The reality that primary care settings may compromise the quality of the therapeutic alliance due to time constraints and other stifling restrictions has sparked the more recent emergence of empirically supported short-term cognitive-behavioral interventions (Sloan & Mizes, 1999).
It is nonetheless prudent for cognitive-behavioral therapists to be fully mindful of the salience of the communicative, interpersonal bond established in conjunction with patients suffering from SA. According to Chambless and Gillis (1993), CBT should theoretically lead to the maintenance of treatment gains and, ideally, continued improvement at follow-up periods (e.g., noticeable symptom reduction and facilitative social and occupational adjustment). Fitting together the pieces of the CBT puzzle— including the critical components of the therapeutic alliance discussed in this paper—to both enrich and assist with researchers’ understanding of why CBT is sometimes successful and at other times founders represents a future challenge in CBT process and outcome research. Indeed, a robust and rewarding therapist-patient relationship can be an impetus in overcoming the obstacles faced during the course of CBT as well as in facilitating change in maladaptive cognitions and behaviors in patients with SA. In the end, both sides of the therapeutic alliance will surely benefit.
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Title: They’re not shy, they’re just a little impaired: Rethinking communication apprehension and PRCA-24 from a cognitive-behavioral perspective of social anxiety

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ABSTRACT

Communication apprehension (CA) has long been a commonly studied construct in communication research, while social anxiety disorder (SA) continues to be a substantial focus of psychological research. The two constructs, however, seem to be inherently congruent in terms of their shared empirical ideologies, but remain separately treated. Thus, the purpose of this exploratory study is to reassess CA by questioning why communication researchers have yet to integrate a thorough understanding of SA into their studies in CA, particularly the cognitive models that have provided SA research with a wealth of explanatory insight. Specifically, since CA primarily emphasizes verbal communication, this study aims to equate CA with the verbal dimension of SA (known as social interaction anxiety) on the assumption that the self-report criteria used for measuring both conditions tap into the same factors. In concordance with the hypotheses: (1) the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA-24) was found to have a significant statistical relationship to four self-report questionnaires popularly used in assessing SA; and (2) the relationships possessed considerable strength as indicated by their large effect sizes. Findings suggest that applying a cognitive-behavioral model of SA should provide communication researchers with an enhanced understanding of CA. In turn, the study was deemed beneficial to fostering general awareness of the condition, particularly in the grade school setting where verbal communication inhibitions are commonly detected and when intervention is imperative for both initial relief and long-term efficacy of the condition.
Introduction

Communication apprehension, social anxiety, socio-communicative anxiety, social phobia, communication avoidance, shyness, reticence, unwillingness to communicate...just scouring the throng of terms that have been associated with individuals who appear to have inhibitions in the company of other people is enough to induce dizziness. Yet despite the labels, researchers have made the important assertion that communication apprehension (CA) and social anxiety (SA) should not be confused with ordinary shyness (Butler, 1999; Henderson & Zimbardo, 2001; Horwitz, 2001).

Delineating the definitions

Since McCroskey launched the first line of inquiry in his seminal 1970 article, CA has been conceptualized as “an individual’s level of fear or anxiety with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons” (p. 78), whereas shyness has been distinguished as merely an inherent, observable behavior not necessarily caused or accompanied by factors of anxiety (Chavira, Stein, & Malcarne, 2002; Cole & McCroskey, 2003; Heiser, Turner, & Beidel, 2003; Henderson & Zimbardo, 2001; Leary, 1983a). While shyness is frequently used as a lay term and is generally downplayed in relation to more serious manifestations related to its symptoms, researchers have identified clear associations (i.e., an innate predisposition to develop CA or SA) as well as overlap between shyness and more extreme, clinically relevant conditions (Chavira, Stein, & Malcarne, 2002; Heiser, Turner, & Beidel, 2003; Henderson & Zimbardo, 2001; Horwitz, 2001).

Although symptoms of social anxiousness have been noted since antiquity as a common complaint of individuals, it was only until the 1980s that the formerly nameless affliction made its way into medical books. The term social anxiety disorder (also called social phobia) became
widely documented and essentially re-conceptualized CA and related studies, only this time in the form of a validated psychological disorder. SA is characterized by anxiety and distress stemming from irrationally intense fears of being negatively judged or rejected by others as well as corresponding hypersensitivity to criticism and scrutiny. Consequently, SA leads to significant impairment in everyday social, occupational, and school functioning. Once developed, SA usually follows a chronic course in the absence of treatment. (Bruce & Saeed, 1999; Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003).

Significance of study

Despite the fact that empirical research in SA has surged dramatically in the last two decades, SA remains an alarmingly under-recognized mental-health problem for a sizeable slice of the population (Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003). At least 13% of the general population is affected with the condition at some point in their lives, making it the third most prevalent psychological disorder and most prevalent anxiety disorder in the nation (Kessler, et al., 1994).

Lamentably, promoting awareness of SA often goes overlooked largely due to the fact that sufferers of SA tend to keep their feelings of anxiety and distress concealed from others and, as a result, are hesitant to seek help (understandably, considering the very nature of the disorder) (Butler, 1999; Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Rapee, 2001). Even those with the disorder may accept it as an inherent part of their personality, while others may also view it as such (i.e., “that’s just the way they are”) (Beyond Shyness, 2003; Butler, 1999; Leary, 1983a).

As pharmacological and psychosocial treatments for SA continue to be advanced in response to the high prevalence of SA, mental health professionals have increasingly recognized the seriousness of SA as a condition that can impose a number of detrimental burdens on overall quality of life. Symptoms of SA range from hindered academic achievement and career
development; difficulty with forming and maintaining friendships and romantic relationships; and adverse economic consequences due to vocational instability (Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Hofmann & Barlow, 2002; Lader, 1998; Rapee, 2001; Simon, Otto, Korbly, Peters, Nicolaou, & Pollack, 2002). These findings have apparently become universal across the disciplines, as the adverse correlates of SA are similar to those associated with CA (Daly et al., 1997; Horwitz, 2001; McNeil, 2001). For example, Beatty (1987) found CA to be a significant determinant of avoidant behavior as well as subjective anxiety and distress during performance situations. Similarly, Bourhis and Allen (1992) found high levels of CA to have a significantly negative impact on cognitive appraisal tasks such as memory and attention performance. Moreover, Ayres (1989) discerned a negative relationship between levels of CA and successful interpersonal interactions, as reported by individuals with high CA and independent raters. These findings are virtually parallel to those in psychological research regarding the effects of SA on individuals’ cognition and behavior across general social contexts. In fact, Horwitz (2001) predominantly speaks of CA as if from a psychological standpoint, though the label of social anxiety is employed sparingly in her work rather than transposed interchangeably.

Communication Apprehension versus Social Anxiety: A research review

The present study poses a fundamental research question that appears to have gone previously unaddressed in the literature: Is there a meaningful difference between CA and SA? The evident similarities between the two constructs suggest they are intrinsically the same. By any other name, the two concepts both deal with a basic ideology concerning fear and anxiety experienced across general social contexts. Both lie on a continuum in terms of severity—from low CA/SA to high CA/SA (with high SA constituting social anxiety disorder)—and both are manifestations of inclinations toward shyness that are tied more to cognition than behavior.
(notably, people with higher CA or SA may not appear overtly shy or nervous) (Bruce & Saeed, 1999; Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Leary, 1983a). Furthermore, symptom profiles of somatic, cognitive, and behavioral effects are strikingly similar for both constructs, in that individuals with CA or SA generally experience heightened physiological arousal, tendencies to avoid social situations, and distorted cognitions reflecting irrationally negative beliefs and attitudes about themselves and how they may be perceived by others (Amir & Foa, 2001; Daly et al., 1997; Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Hofmann & Barlow, 2002; Horwitz, 2001; Kelley & Keaten, 2000; Rapee, 1995).

Even though it may seem obvious that CA and SA are extremely similar concepts, no published study, to the best of our knowledge, has directly compared them, perhaps due to the fact that they have been historically anchored in their respective disciplines. However, in order to efficiently conceptualize the homogeneity of CA and SA as congruent constructs, the current study advances a continuum model (Fig. 1) based on previous spectrums paralleling social anxiety and shyness, two relatively distinct constructs (e.g., Chavira, Stein, & Malcarne, 2002; Heisel, Turner, & Beidel, 2003; McNeil, 2001). Conversely, the present continuum model reflects CA and SA as comparable in terms of gradations beginning with low CA and SA (akin

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<th>Minimal or Normative State CA</th>
<th>Moderate State/Trait CA</th>
<th>High Trait CA</th>
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<tr>
<td>Minimal or no SA</td>
<td>Moderate/Nongeneralized SA (context-specific anxiety; e.g., transient performance or public speaking anxiety)</td>
<td>High/generalized SA</td>
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**Fig. 1. Hypothetical spectrum model of communication apprehension (CA) in relation to social anxiety (SA)**
to normal shyness or fleeting stage fright). Distinguishing between state and trait CA is similar to the classification system for SA. State CA is comparable to nongeneralized SA, in which anxiety is experienced only in certain contexts (i.e., situation-specific, such as a job interview). Trait CA is analogous to generalized SA, in which anxiety is experienced enduringly across most social-communicative contexts (Daly et al., 1997; Horwitz, 2001). Since both concepts exist on a continuum, most people experience at least some degree of CA or SA at various times in their lives, most commonly with public speaking and other performance situations (Beyond Shyness, 2003; Butler, 1999; Daly et al., 1997; Henderson & Zimbardo, 2001)...

Anchoring the other end of the spectrum lies high CA and high SA (the latter of which constitutes social anxiety disorder) as well as the most severe form of SA: avoidant personality disorder (APD) (Beyond Shyness, 2003; Hofmann & Barlow, 2002; Horwitz, 2001; McNeil, 2001; Rapee, 1995). Since CA research emphasizes verbal communication, it logically seems parallel with the verbal aspect of SA, known as social interaction anxiety, which, like CA, is similarly defined as “anxiety or distress when meeting and talking with other people” (Mattick & Clarke, 1998, p. 457).

Moreover, developing a maladaptive or dysfunctional response to social-evaluative information in which there is no real threat (e.g., refraining from voicing an opinion during a meeting due to a rigid fear that others may critically respond) in turn causes high levels of CA or SA that are unlikely to remit spontaneously once developed and thereby becomes a perpetuating cycle in communication-related situations (Feldman & Rivas-Vazquez, 2003; Horwitz, 2001)

Cross-disciplinary perspectives

In probing the coverage of constructs across disciplines concerning the phenomenon of social-communicative anxiousness and inhibition, McNeil (2001) recognized that CA, as having originated in the communication field, is “considered less often [across disciplinary boundaries]
but still deals with much of the same subject matter [as social anxiety]” (p. 16). He laments that while the psychological literature may produce the most influential perspectives in understanding communicative fear and anxiety, cross-disciplinary nomenclature has yet to be fully amalgamated. On the other hand, according to Hartley (1999), CA has been “the most studied individual difference” in the interpersonal communication field (p. 151). However, McNeil (2001) suggests that a multidisciplinary approach that coalesces the knowledge base and theoretical viewpoints established thus far by both the psychological and communication branches of learning could contribute immensely to our understanding of this complex and disabling, which is further in line with our assumption that CA and SA are markedly congruous constructs. Since exploring the relationship between these two constructs has previously gone uncharted, however, it is wise to nonetheless acknowledge there may be some differences—quantitative or qualitative—that should be assumed until extensive empirical evidence shows otherwise. It is hoped the present study advances cross-disciplinary knowledge regarding this issue.

The only apparent difference between these two constructs seems to be that the breadth and depth of psychological research in SA greatly overshadows that of CA. In the years that SA research has cultivated a relatively cohesive and comprehensive understanding of SA ranging from insightful cognitive models to clinically effective therapies (e.g., see Clark & Wells, 1995; Heimberg, 2002; Overholser, 2002; Rapee & Heimberg, 1997), concurrent CA discourse appears to have given conflicting theoretical explanations as to why certain people experience anxiety and distress in social contexts and others do not.

So why has CA been treated as its own construct while being seemingly left in the shadow of SA research? Although communication research, as expected, has focused more on
the observable effects of CA as they relate to message behavior (i.e., how CA disrupts the communication process) as opposed to the internal (cognitive) aspects of CA, they have apparently devoted less attention to identifying the specific factors underlying the distress as it relates to communication anxiety and impairment; that is, the degree to which it is uncontrollable. A popular assumption in CA research is that the higher the level of CA a person experiences, the less likely they are to engage in communication (Daly et al., 1997). This reasoning, while valid and logical, does not take into account the cognitive factors contributing to and maintaining communication anxiety that in turn impedes effective communication behavior.

A Cognitive-Behavioral Model of Social Anxiety

As previously noted, the bulk of CA research has given little attention to the psychosocial research in SA, despite the fact that CA is essentially defined in psychological terms. More importantly, few concessions (if any) have been made toward integrating into CA research an understanding of SA with regard to the contemporary cognitive models that have provided a profusion of explanatory insight into the mental processes contributing to communication anxiety.

Contemporary cognitive-behavioral research in SA has largely drawn from Clark and Wells’ (1995) influential model of SA, arguably the paradigm for both empirical research and clinical applications alike. Surprisingly, CA discourse thus far has not fully acknowledged this model. Along with subsequently supportive studies and reviews (e.g., Amir & Foa, 2001; Millings & Alden, 2000; Rapee & Heimberg, 1997; Turk, Lerner, Heimberg, & Rapee, 2001), Clark and Wells’ model posits that anxiety and distress in social situations ultimately stems from distortions and biases in the processing of socially evaluative information. Among these biases
are fears of being negatively evaluated and of not making a desired impression. Social phobics anticipatively tend to appraise social situations as negative. Therefore, within the situation, they are hypersensitive to what they perceive to be threat stimuli, including any indication that others are forming a negative impression of them, such as frowns, “blank” looks, being ignored, or signs of boredom (Butler, 1999; Christensen, Stein, & Christensen, 2003; Clark & Wells, 1995; Creed & Funder, 1998). These automatic and negative cognitive processes are implicated in the maintenance of SA, and, aside from physiological arousal, are often accompanied by affective, behavioral, and cognitive effects (e.g., avoidance of social encounters, lack of assertiveness, impaired informational processing, and excessive rumination) (Butler 1999; Leary, 1983a).

Individuals with SA recognize their interpersonal hypersensitivity as irrational, which is a criterion used for diagnosing SA (American Psychological Association, 2000).

In addition, Clark and Well’s (1995) theory conjectures how individuals with SA automatically engage in intense self-monitoring; as a result, they tend to form mental images of themselves from a perspective of how they think others see them—an image that is often distorted and inaccurate. They may see themselves as conspicuously awkward or unattractive as well as overestimate how tense or nervous they appear and how much others are noticing it—factors that further add to the anxiety and also pervade their rumination subsequent to the social event (Clark & Wells, 1995). Moreover, they typically have difficulty being assertive and rather tend to be overly agreeable so as not to upset other people, which is a correlate of their fears of disapproval from others and desperate desire to be liked (Butler, 1999). These behaviors are known as safety behaviors, which are subtle ways of coping with SA (Butler, 1999; Clark & Wells, 1995; Leary, 1983a). Although these behaviors serve to prevent confirmation of their feared outcomes in social contexts (e.g., avoiding eye contact; mentally rehearsing what to say;
continually steering the conversation toward the other person so as to say as little as possible; or refraining from asking questions or voicing opinions to evade the possibility of being criticized), these coping mechanisms actually prevent socially anxious people from realizing how they might function (as well as how others might respond) otherwise (Butler, 1999; Clark & Wells, 1995). In this regard, safety behaviors also preclude potential realization that their irrational fears truly are erroneous and unfounded (for instance, that simply expressing an opinion or disagreement will not cause others to express disapproval or negatively judge them). They are akin to defensive actions to protect oneself and accordingly feel safer.

The current study challenges some of the alternative theoretical views in CA research attempting to identify the underlying causes of CA. Among those that have seemingly downplayed the phenomenon of CA is Opt and Loffredo’s (2000) study, which suggested that even high levels of CA, when viewed as a function of personality traits, “should not be treated as a ‘problem’ to be overcome but viewed simply as a preference not to communicate” (p. 557). In truth, many people are natural introverts who simply prefer to decline from actively participating in social contexts (Beyond Shyness, 2003; Leary, 1983a). However, in the case of high CA and SA, elevated anxiety levels are not simply an exaggeration of inherent personality traits. Rather, it is normally adaptive anxiety gone disruptively awry, mainly due to irrational cognitive distortions (Clark & Wells, 1995; Horwitz, 2001; Rapee & Heimberg, 1997; Stein, 1998). Despite realizing their fears are real while the danger is not, many socially anxious individuals desperately desire to spontaneously engage in group conversations and other social situations but find their inability to do so beyond their control—a reflection of the paradoxical nature of the condition (Beyond Shyness, 2003; Bruce & Saeed, 1999; Butler, 1999). Otherwise, in reference to Opt and Loffredo’s (2000) study, why would a person have a preference that causes anxiety?
CA and SA Measurement and Specific Aims

While various extant CA inquiries have yielded conflicting theoretical views of CA, one thing is certain: CA and SA both measure anxiety and distress in social situations. The extent to which CA and SA were directly compared in the current study was determined by a battery of empirically derived self-report scales that have been central to assessing CA and SA. Closer inspection reveals symptoms of anxiety across a variety of social contexts as the hallmark of the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA-24), the measure most widely used to assess a person’s degree of CA (McCroskey, 1993) and of focal interest in the present study.

Specifically, the PRCA-24 indicates the degree to which a person experiences fear or anxiety across four general contexts of social interaction: group conversations, meeting new people, dyads, and public speaking. The scale items and Likert-type structure suggest that people who score high for CA (>80) experience considerable distress across these four common contexts of social interaction. CA that is reported as pervasive and persistent over a variety of situations (and to a relatively high degree) suggests that the levels of distress and discomfort are interfering significantly with these common, everyday types of activities. Moreover, high CA appears to be linked to the DSM-IV characterization of social anxiety disorder as “a marked or persistent fear of social interaction to the point where it impairs behavior or functioning in some way”, while “the feared social situations are avoided or else are endured with intense anxiety or distress” (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 253). Similarly, the items on the PRCA-24 are akin to those on one of the most established measure for social interaction anxiety (the SIAS; Mattick & Clarke, 1998), which addresses the same in-context fears and anxieties in addition to tapping cognitive and behavioral factors that typically accompany the anxiety. The same applies to the Liebowitz Social Phobia Scale (LSAS; Liebowitz, 1987), which was also employed in this
study. The LSAS contains two subscales: one assesses anxiety or fear associated with interacting with others or being observed, while the other assesses frequency of avoidance of those same situations. All of these instruments seem to measure the same factors considering that their theoretical underpinnings appear extremely similar. Based on the preceding rationale, the following hypotheses were logically advanced:

H1: The relationship between the PRCA-24 and SIAS should be statistically significant and positive.

H2: The relationship between the PRCA-24 and LSAS subscales should be statistically significant and positive.

Central to cognitive theories of SA in terms of psychological research is fear of negative evaluation (Amir & Foa, 2001; Beck & Emery, 1985; Clark & Wells, 1995; Rapee & Heimberg, 1997). In an adaptive sense, anxiety in any context can usually be traced to distorted cognitive interpretations of external stimuli; that is, a perceived threat (Rapee & Heimberg, 1997). To reiterate, in the case of high levels of communication anxiety, these appraisals are irrational and maladaptive because there is no definite threat. Likewise, we presumed that these specific fear-related cognitions (e.g., worrying about saying the wrong thing; Leary, 1983b) would help provide a causal explanation of the non-specific fears addressed on the PRCA-24, such as why a person may be afraid of speaking up in conversations (McCroskey, 1993). To explore this assumption, we included the Brief Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale (BFNE; Leary, 1983b), perhaps the most prominent measure that attends to maladaptive cognitions typical in socially
anxious individuals in addition to the behavioral manifestations of these specific fears (e.g., “I become tense and jittery if I know someone is sizing me up”; Leary, 1983a, p. 455). Therefore, the following hypothesis was put forth:

H3: The relationship between the PRCA-24 and BFNE should be statistically significant and positive.

In their development of the SIAS, Mattick and Clarke (1998) distinguished between social interaction anxiety and social phobia scrutiny anxiety. The latter deals with fears associated with being observed by others during routine activities (e.g., eating, writing, standing in a line) and is widely assessed using the Social Phobia Scale (SPS; Mattick & Clarke, 1998).

Since the SPS was designed to be administered in conjunction with the SIAS (Mattick & Clarke, 1998; Peters, 2000), we considered it an interesting factor appropriate to the current study. We also suspected the SPS to be positively related with the PRCA-24. However, we could not predict its strength primarily because CA/SIA and fears of scrutiny tap two different aspects of social anxiousness—one verbal, the other comparatively non-verbal. On the other hand, since these two dimensions are theoretically interrelated, the SIAS and SPS have been found to be significantly related to one another (r ≥ .60; Peters, 2000; Mattick & Clarke, 1998).

In addition, the PRCA-24 features several more items compared to the SIAS that exclusively address public speaking anxiety. Since this type of performance anxiety does not necessarily signify anxiety experienced while being observed in contexts that do not entail a verbal component per se, this may influence this relationship, although we posited that partial scores on the PRCA-24 as well as total subscale scores would compensate by yielding further insight. Thus, the following hypothesis and research question was posed:
H4: The relationship between the PRCA-24 and SPS should be statistically significant and positive.

Method

Design

The study employed a correlational methodology comprising a set of historically valid self-report instruments used in measuring CA and SA. All scales employed interval-level data. Prior to reproduction and distribution, all survey instruments were approved by the Institutional Review Board Committee on Human Subjects.

Participants

Both college undergraduates and graduates in a variety of disciplines voluntarily completed the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA-24) along with four other well-established social anxiety-related self-report measures. Additionally, volunteers were asked to give two copies of the packets to family members, friends, co-workers, or other acquaintances. This snowball sample consisted of 318 respondents (n = 318).

Instrumentation

The first instrument used in this study is the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA-24; McCroskey, 1993). The PRCA-24 is applicable across general communication contexts (unlike its original version, which emphasized public speaking) and boasts historically high validity and excellent psychometric properties (McCroskey, Beatty, Kearney, & Plax, 1985). It assesses a person’s levels of CA in four separate communication contexts: small group meeting, dyadic (interpersonal) and public speaking. Six items on the scale represent each of these domains. The five-point Likert-type scale poses such items as “Engaging
in group discussion with new people makes me tense and nervous.” [Meetings/initial encounters]; and “Ordinarily I am very tense and nervous in conversations.” [Dyadic] (p.82).

To assess the relationship of SA-related measurement to the PRCA-24, four SA-related instruments were employed. The first instrument is the Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SAIS; Mattick & Clarke, 1998). The SIAS is a 5-point Likert-type scale that assesses anxiety and distress experienced in general social interactions. This 20-item scale includes items such as “when mixing socially, I am uncomfortable” and “I am tense when mixing in a group” as well as three reverse-coded (positively worded) items, including “I am at ease meeting people at parties, etc.” and “I find it easy to think of things to talk about” (p. 468).

The second instrument whose relationship to the PRCA-24 was examined is the Social Phobia Scale (SPS; Mattick & Clarke, 1998). The SPS, also a 20-item 5-point Likert-type scale, was designed as a companion to the SIAS to measure fears and anxiety associated with being observed during routine activities (eating, writing, standing in a line). This highly valid and reliable scale poses all negatively worded items such as “I feel self-conscious if I have to enter a room where others are already seated” and “I can feel conspicuous standing in a line” (p. 468).

The third instrument employed was the Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale (LSAS; Liebowitz, 1987), which attends to the experience of anxiety and distress according to the four identified situational domains of social interaction and observation. The scale employs a 0 to 3 Likert-type scale according to intensity of anxiety and distress levels. Similar to the PRCA-24, the LSAS also features items ranging from “being the center of attention” (a more general level) and “expressing a disagreement or disapproval to people you don’t know very well” (assertiveness/behavioral symptoms) to “giving a report to a group” and “trying to pick up someone” (more specific, situational levels) (p. 147).
The fourth and final instrument used in this study is the *Brief Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale* (BFNE; Leary, 1983b). This is a condensed, 12-item version that has shown to be highly correlated (.96; Leary, 1983b) with the original 30-item *Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale* (FNES; Watson & Friend, 1969). The BFNE has shown to be highly valid and poses a true-false scale that taps into potential reasons underlying the anxiety by addressing fears and expectations related to disapproval and criticism by others. For the purposes of the current study, however, the BFNE was adapted to a Likert-type scale to correspond with the rest of the scales.

**Data Analysis**

Relationships and comparisons among individuals’ total scores on the PRCA-24 and individuals’ total scores on the four SA-related scales were analyzed using simple Pearson product-moment correlations ($r$), which discern the direction, strength, and relationships among interval/ratio variables (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000). Select effect sizes ($r^2$) are also noted in the results section. Correlation matrices were calculated via SPSS statistical software.

**Results**

Table 1 shows means and standard deviations for participants’ composite scores on the PRCA-24, SIAS, SPS, BFNE, LSAS-FA, and LSAS-A.

Table 2 displays the correlation matrix between the PRCA-24 and each of the four SA measures examined. In congruence with the first hypothesis, the correlation between the PRCA-24 and SIAS ($r = .658; r^2 = .433$) was statistically significant and positive, indicating the two scales are highly related to one another. Similarly supportive of the second hypothesis, the correlation between the PRCA-24 and LSAS subscales, comprising the Fear or Anxiety subscale ($r = .637; r^2 = .406$) and Avoidance subscale ($r = .556; r^2 = .309$) was found to be statistically significant and positive. In support of the third hypothesis, the correlation between the
Table 1. Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for PRCA-24, SIAS, SPS, BFNE, and LSAS Fear or Anxiety and Avoidance Subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRCA-24 total scores*</td>
<td>60.01</td>
<td>17.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIAS total scores**</td>
<td>20.39</td>
<td>13.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS total scores***</td>
<td>13.55</td>
<td>12.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BFNE total scores****</td>
<td>19.84</td>
<td>12.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSAS-FA total scores*****</td>
<td>20.51</td>
<td>14.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSAS-A total scores******</td>
<td>20.83</td>
<td>15.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*PRCA-24 = Personal Report of Communication Apprehension-24, scale range 24-120;
**SIAS = Social Interaction Anxiety Scale, scale range 0-80;
***SPS = Social Phobia Scale, scale range 0-80;
****BFNE = Brief Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale, range 0-48;
*****LSAS-FA = Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale—Fear or Anxiety subscale; scale range 0-72;
******LSAS-A = Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale—Avoidance subscale; scale range 0-72.

Table 2. Correlations among the PRCA-24, SIAS, SPS, BFNE, and LSAS Anxiety or Fear and Avoidance Subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>PRCA-24</th>
<th>SIAS</th>
<th>SPS</th>
<th>BFNE</th>
<th>LSAS-FA</th>
<th>LSAS-A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRCA-24</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIAS</td>
<td>.658**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>.519**</td>
<td>.731**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BFNE</td>
<td>.373**</td>
<td>.552**</td>
<td>.486**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSAS-FA</td>
<td>.637**</td>
<td>.755**</td>
<td>.708**</td>
<td>.472**</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSAS-A</td>
<td>.556**</td>
<td>.695**</td>
<td>.350*</td>
<td>.404**</td>
<td>.816**</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: PRCA-24 = Personal Report of Communication Apprehension-24; SIAS = Social Interaction Anxiety Scale; SPS = Social Phobia Scale; BFNE = Brief Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale; LSAS-FA = Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale—Fear or Anxiety subscale; LSAS-A = Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale—Avoidance subscale.
**Correlation is significant, p < 0.01 level (1-tailed).
PRCA-24 and BFNE ($r = .373; r^2 = .139$) was found to be statistically significant and positive, although it was of moderate strength with a medium effect size. Finally, in accordance with the fourth hypothesis, the correlation between the PRCA-24 and SPS was calculated to be statistically significant and positive ($r = .519; r^2 = .269$), but possessed slightly less strength relative to the correlations between the PRCA-24 and SIAS, LSAS-FA, and LSAS-A.

Although the SPS was found to be statistically related with its companion measure, the SIAS ($r = .731; r^2 = .534$), a reason for its weaker correlation with the PRCA-24 ($r = .519; r^2 = .269$) may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that, as previously noted, social interaction anxiety and fears of being watched by others are two differentiated aspects of SA, despite their theoretical relationship (Mattick & Clarke, 1998; Safren, Turk, & Heimberg, 1998). Moreover, the SPS, unlike the PRCA-24 and SIAS, includes no reverse-coded items, which may have impeded the sensitivity to this scale (Peters, 2000). Similarly, the BFNE showed a slightly weaker correlation with the PRCA-24 possibly due to the same reason (Telch et al., 2004).

Table 3 reports correlations among the PRCA-24 subscale scores and PRCA-24 partial scores (i.e., four scores, with each omitting one of the subscale scores) with the SIAS, SPS, BFNE, and LSAS Anxiety or Fear and Avoidance subscales. Overall, the strength between the PRCA-24 and each of the four SA scales may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that the PRCA-24 contains six items specifically concerning public speaking anxiety compared to three on the SIAS. Theoretically, anxiety associated with speaking before an audience is a more context-specific, performance-based phenomenon that is not necessarily indicative of generalized SA across other contexts, including scrutiny fears (Daly & McCroskey, 1984; Leary & Kowalski, 1995) and therefore may have slightly weakened the strength of this correlation. PRCA-24 subscale and partial scores lent credence to this line of reasoning: the public speaking subscale
scores, relative to the other three subscales, yielded the lowest correlations with the SIAS \((r = .442, r^2 = .195)\), SPS \((r = .350; r^2 = .123)\), and BFNE \((r = .269; r^2 = .072)\). Correspondingly, PRCA-24 partial scores that omitted the public speaking subscale score compared to PRCA-24 total scores elicited higher correlations with the SIAS \((r = .670 \text{ versus } r = .658)\); the SPS \((r = .503 \text{ versus } r = .519)\); the BFNE \((r = .358 \text{ versus } r = .373)\), the LSAS-FA \((r = .616 \text{ versus } r = .637)\); and the LSAS-A \((r = .540 \text{ versus } r = .556)\).

As also indicated in Table 3, correlations computed among the four SA-related scales and each of the four PRCA-24 subscales—group, meeting, dyadic, and public speaking—generated further insight. The correlations among each of the subscales and SIAS were also found to be statistically significant and positive \((r \geq .442)\). Specifically, the dyadic subscale was found to possess the highest correlation with the SIAS \((r = .672; r^2 = .452)\) as well as the LSAS-FA \((r = .595; r^2 = .354)\) and LSAS-A \((r = .504; r^2 = .254)\), while the meeting subscale scores possessed the highest correlations with the SPS \((r = .500; r^2 = .250)\), and BFNE \((r = .267; r^2 = .135)\) versus the correlations among the other two subscales and SA-related scales. The partial PRCA-24 scores further augmented this finding: in particular, the scores on the PRCA-24 minus the dyadic subscale accordingly possessed the lowest correlations with the SIAS \((r = .611; r^2 = .373)\), LSAS-FA \((r = .616; r^2 = .379)\), and LSAS-A \((r = .540; r^2 = .292)\). Similarly, the scores on the PRCA-24 minus the meeting subscale conveyed the lowest correlations with the SPS \((r = .493; r^2 = .243)\), and BFNE \((r = .358; r^2 = .128)\). Overall, the BFNE, when compared with the SIAS, SPS, LSAS-FA, and LSAS-A, displayed lower correlations with each of the PRCA-24 subscales and partial scores \((.269 \leq r \leq .380)\).

In addition, although not of focal interest to this study, the correlations among the SIAS, SPS, and BFNE, as well as the inter-correlations among the PRCA-24 subscale and partial scores, were found to coincide with previous studies (e.g., Collins, Westra, Dozois, & Stewart,
Table 3. Correlations among the PRCA-24 Subscores and PRCA-24 Partial Scores with the SIAS, SPS, BFNE, and LSAS Anxiety or Fear and Avoidance Subscales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>PRCA-24</th>
<th>SIAS</th>
<th>SPS</th>
<th>BFNE</th>
<th>LSAS-FA</th>
<th>LSAS-A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRCA Group</td>
<td>.826**</td>
<td>.500**</td>
<td>.400*</td>
<td>.300*</td>
<td>.480**</td>
<td>.454**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRCA Meeting</td>
<td>.889**</td>
<td>.623**</td>
<td>.500*</td>
<td>.367**</td>
<td>.577**</td>
<td>.487**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRCA Dyadic</td>
<td>.859**</td>
<td>.672**</td>
<td>.498**</td>
<td>.319**</td>
<td>.595**</td>
<td>.504**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRCA Public</td>
<td>.793**</td>
<td>.442**</td>
<td>.350**</td>
<td>.269**</td>
<td>.496**</td>
<td>.430**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRCA w/o Group</td>
<td>.980**</td>
<td>.661**</td>
<td>.536**</td>
<td>.380**</td>
<td>.640**</td>
<td>.547**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRCA w/o Meeting</td>
<td>.983**</td>
<td>.631**</td>
<td>.493**</td>
<td>.358**</td>
<td>.621**</td>
<td>.544**</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRCA w/o Dyadic</td>
<td>.985**</td>
<td>.611**</td>
<td>.494**</td>
<td>.368**</td>
<td>.616**</td>
<td>.540**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRCA w/o Public</td>
<td>.961**</td>
<td>.670**</td>
<td>.503**</td>
<td>.359**</td>
<td>.619**</td>
<td>.542**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: PRCA-24 = Personal Report of Communication Apprehension-24; SIAS = Social Interaction Anxiety Scale; SPS = Social Phobia Scale; BFNE = Brief Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale; LSAS-FA = Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale—Fear or Anxiety subscale; LSAS-A = Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale—Avoidance subscale.

**Correlation is significant, p < 0.01 level (1-tailed).
2005; Daly & McCroskey, 1997; Mattick & Clarke, 1998; McCroskey, Beatty, Kearney, & Plax, 1985; Peters, 2000; Rodebaugh et al., 2004).

The previously noted effect sizes ($r^2$) maintained the significance of these findings. Specifically, the correlation between the PRCA-24 and SIAS elicited the strongest statistical power ($r^2 = .433$) according to Cohen’s (1988) practical significance ranges of effect sizes*. This suggests that 43% of the variance in the SIAS total score is predicted by the PRCA-24 total score. Similarly, the correlation between the PRCA-24 and SPS ($r^2 = .269$) as well as the LSAS-FA ($r^2 = .406$) and LSAS-A ($r^2 = .309$) also fell within the range designated by Cohen as large. Finally, the correlation between the PRCA-24 and BFNE ($r^2 = .139$) correspondingly fell into the range defined by Cohen as a medium effect size.

Discussion

The primary goal of this study was to reassess the construct of CA from the perspective of SA research. To the best of our knowledge, merging CA and SA in terms of integrating related communication and psychological research had not been previously attempted. This study specifically sought to equate CA with social interaction anxiety on the basis that the conceptualization and measurement of both constructs seem practically the same. By demonstrating statistically significant relationships among the most established measure of CA, the PRCA-24, and four established self-report indices of SA, including the SIAS, the results of the current study support this contention.

As a corollary, we employed the SPS chiefly because it is used in conjunction with the SIAS (Mattick & Clarke, 1998) and also to implicate it as an interesting variant. In theory, as noted, social interaction anxiety and observational anxiety tap the two main components of SA,

*According to Cohen (1988), effect sizes are interpreted as follows: small effect ($r^2 \leq .01$); medium effect (.02 $\leq r^2 \leq .24$); large effect ($r^2 \geq .25$).
though, they should ideally be assessed separately—as demonstrated by patients who reported anxious arousal in situations involving direct (contingent) verbal communication but hardly any discomfort while (non-contingently) being watched by others, and vice-versa (Safren, Turk, & Heimberg, 1998). The same applies to verbal CA and anxiety experienced when in public contexts that are devoid of contingent verbal interaction. As mentioned as being denoted in several items on the PRCA-24, public speaking anxiety is not necessarily indicative of generalized social anxiousness (Leary, 1983a) and therefore may have amplified this disparity. Moreover, the relatively weaker correlational strength between the SPS and PRCA-24 may perhaps be ascribed to the lack of reverse coding on the SPS, which may have impinged on the sensitivity to this scale and perhaps somewhat obscured the relationship between these two measures. The PRCA-24 and SIAS, meanwhile, all include several reverse-coded items (Mattick & Clarke, 1998; McCroskey, 1982; Osman et al., 1998; Peters, 2000). Although the SPS was not found to be highly correlated with the PRCA-24, its moderate magnitude nevertheless lends further support that CA and non-verbal (scrutiny) anxiety are theoretically linked.

In augmenting the initial results, PRCA-24 subscale scores and partial scores yielded further explanatory insight. Interestingly, perhaps most salient to this study was that the dyadic subscale of the PRCA-24 was found to be most highly related to SIAS (as well as the SPS, LSAS-FA, and LSAS-A), which suggests this domain of communication interaction may be closely related with social interaction anxiety, both of which connote more of a general interpersonal orientation.

Conversely, the BFNE showed the weakest correlation with the PRCA-24. This result may be best explained by comparing items on both of these measures. The BFNE contains specific fear-related cognitions such as “I am afraid that people will find fault with me” and “I
often worry that I will say or do the wrong things” (Leary, 1983b, p. 455). In contrast, the
PRCA-24 abounds with non-specific fear-related items, including “Ordinarily, I am very tense
and nervous in conversations” and “I’m afraid to express myself at meetings” (McCroskey,
1993, p. 82). It was previously rationalized that the items on the BFNE would provide a causal
explanation for the non-specific fear-related items that help make up the PRCA-24—specifically
the actual reasons for why people may report usually feeling very tense and nervous in
conversations or being afraid to express themselves at meetings. To explore this assumption, I
included the BFNE because it addresses specific, negative cognitions typical of socially anxious
individuals (Collins, Westra, Dozois, & Stewart, 2005; Leary, 1983b; Rodebaugh et al., 2004).

Interestingly, several statements on the group subscale of the PRCA-24 connote
somewhat less of a general social context and more of an academic connotation. Respondents
likely may have interpreted these particular non-specific items (e.g., “I dislike participating in
group discussions”; McCroskey, 1982, p. 82) as activities done in an educational or professional
setting rather than in an unprompted or unstructured social encounter. In any case, aversion to
participating in group discussions in any context is not necessarily due to fear or anxiety; a
respondent may simply prefer working independently. However, it is also interesting to note that
while communication scholars (e.g., Daly & McCroskey, 1984; McCroskey, Beatty, Kearney, &
Plax, 1985) regard CA, like SA, to be a pervasive, broad-based (i.e., trait-like) orientation, there
is still apparent ambiguity in certain items on the PRCA-24 that may be construed in contexts
other than intended.

This semantic ambiguity in these items seems especially interesting, as the PRCA-24 was
purposefully designed to measure “an individual’s level of fear or anxiety with either real or
anticipated communication with another person or persons” (McCroskey, 1970, p. 78). By the
same token, McCroskey, Beatty, Kearney and Plax (1985) conceded to the questionability of the PRCA-24 as being representative of generalized, trait-like CA. Thus, this revelation does in fact raise questions as to the content validity of the PRCA-24. Specifically, is it thoroughly measuring communication fear and/or anxiety or perhaps allowing too much openness or flexibility with respect to how people may interpret some of its items? Obviously, the PRCA-24 does not tap every type of communication-related situation possible, although the four contexts of this instrument are logically recognized as those most pertinent to the study of CA (Daly & McCroskey, 1997; McCroskey, 1993; McCroskey, Beatty, Kearney, & Plax, 1985).

Nevertheless, the bulk of the items on the PRCA-24 otherwise tap into feelings of anxiety much like the SIAS, although in greater view, these issues give further reason to focus on the underlying antecedents (specific cognitions) that ultimately cause the subjective feelings of anxiety and distress. In the same vein, to fully live up to the conceptualized definition of CA previously noted, the PRCA-24 should, as a minimum, strictly address fears and anxiety in respect to this definition, as opposed to non-specific fears. Again, this may elucidate the weaker relationship between the PRCA-24 and BFNE that was found in the current study.

A potential limitation in this study was the use of a snowball sample as well as lack of a clinical sample, the latter of which may have reflected a wider variety of scores. Because the sample in this study was not randomly selected due to the snowball sampling technique employed, external validity may have been compromised. Therefore, data should be gathered through random sample selection procedures to enhance the generalizability of these results, while using a similarly large sample size to retain overall statistical power. Despite the usage of a snowball sample in the present study, however, there is still significant support for the generalizability of these findings for this particular sample because mean scores on each of the
scales are consistent with previous discourse. For example, the mean score for the PRCA-24, based on over 40,000 college students, coupled with data from over 3,000 non-student adults in a national sample, was 65.5 (which denotes a moderate level of CA) (McCroskey, 1993). In the present study, the mean was 60.01, which lends considerable credibility to the potential generalizability of its results.

Priority Areas for Future Research

The findings of the current study suggest that for communication researchers to conceivably glean a better understanding of why certain people experience general social interactions as anxiety-provoking and others do not, they should have to look no further than what has been discovered to date in terms of SA research. In the case of high CA, this would account for the cognitive processes in those who experience significant discomfort in social situations.

Communication apprehension and social anxiety by any other name involves measurement of a person’s fear and anxiety in social contexts. Thus, equating the two concepts seems a critical step to better understanding both constructs—and analogous to bridging the gap between two constructs that are inherently the same yet have been treated as separate constructs. Approaching the construct of CA from a cognitive perspective may not simply be an alternative way of viewing it, but perhaps the most decisive way.

Better yet, communication and psychological researchers should join forces to further tease out and advance the knowledge base of this largely under-recognized line of inquiry. Now that a thorough understanding of the external effects of CA has been established over the course of three decades, it seems imperative that future communication research affirms a psychological
standpoint to better understand CA and more importantly to address the long-term effectiveness of treating the condition.

Additionally, with the advent of CBT as the predominate treatment for socially anxious individuals in the clinical setting, Peters (2000) and Telch et al. (2004) suggested the need for more comprehensive and standardized measures—including in psychological research—that efficiently identify the reasons behind the anxiety, lamenting that aside from the FNES (and the condensed BFNE), “there are no standardized self-report measures of cognitions in SA available” (p. 949). Even the FNES has been criticized in view that fear of being negatively evaluated by others may be a concern that crosses diagnostic boundaries of SA, though it is still integral to cognitive theories of SA (Peters, 2000; Safren, Turk, & Heimberg, 1998; Telch et al., 2004). Similarly, Telch et al. (2004) pointed out the primary weakness of the FNES is that it was designed to specifically assess fears of being negatively judged by others. It does not attend to other theoretically relevant concerns such as why socially anxious people experience discomfort in front of others.

In this view, the PRCA-24 seems limited and less useful in that it only addresses feelings and non-specific fears (e.g., “I am afraid to speak up in conversations”; McCroskey, 1982, p. 82) and not the reasons underlying them. Therefore, it would be prudent for CA and SA researchers to pool their resources together to develop assessment strategies that attend to the specific cognitions in those with higher levels of CA/SA. Fortunately, both thought listings and self-report methods are continuing to be developed, however, though-listing protocols can be expensive in terms of the time they task to administer. Nevertheless, open-ended thought listings may indeed provide essential stepping stones to creating all-inclusive and objective self-report
measures that address specific negative cognitions in CA/SA. Such a measure certainly should accompany the PRCA-24 in future usage.

The *Appraisal of Social Concerns* (ASC; Telch et al., 2004), is a recently introduced and promising measure that may resolve some of the abovementioned hindrances, especially those of the PRCA-24, as well as the limitations of the FNES. The format of this newly developed protocol has the potential advantage to assess socially relevant perceptions of threat even though these specific negative cognitions may not be beyond a person’s conscious awareness. Thus, the ASC appears to offer the dual advantages of not having items overly idiosyncratic exclusively regarding specific fears of negative evaluation, while also being time-efficient to administer. Furthermore, the ASC measure specifically assesses people’s concerns about signs of anxiety being detected by others, items lacking on both the PRCA-24 and FNES/BFNE. The ASC may also be conducive to assisting clinicians in identifying specific intervention targets, as tailored to particular clients with high levels of CA or SA. Such instruments are in dire need, considering that, as previously discussed, changes in distorted, social-evaluative cognitions have been found to significantly assuage cognitive, behavioral, emotional, and physiological symptoms in high social anxious people (Amir & Foa, 2001; Heimberg, 2002; Overholser, 2002).

These aforementioned issues suggest a new trend in interventions for socially anxious individuals. Regarding cognitive-behavioral therapy, which largely predicates its approach on the empirical cognitive models previously noted (Heimberg, 2002; Overholser, 2002), the development of a comprehensive and valid cognitive measure for social anxiousness—ideally as both a self-report and clinician-administered version—would potentially be an impetus for empirical applications as well as a great boon for treatment in the clinical setting. Conceivably, by facilitating the identification of negative thoughts and maladaptive cognitive patterns which
patients may not be consciously aware of, further measures of specific cognitions in socially anxious people may prove highly beneficial in the efficacy of this common and largely under-treated condition.
References


The Effects of Wealth on Homeownership Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos in the United States

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Abstract

While the percentage of Hispanic homeowners has increased from 42.1 in 1995 to 48.1 in 2004, Hispanics still constitute a small minority of all American homeowners. Yet, public policy programs aimed at increasing the number of Hispanic homeowners have neglected to account for the possession of intergenerational wealth as well as the spatial distribution of Hispanics in their analyses. This study examines the 2000 Public Use Microdata 5% Sample to ascertain the relationship between wealth, spatial distribution and homeownership for those of Latino origin (N=46,024). Using logistic regression to ascertain the relationship between wealth and homeownership propensity, I find that wealth has a disproportionate impact on the odds of owning a home for all five ethnic groups. To assess the spatial distribution of Hispanics, indices of dissimilarity and clustering were used separately. Using ordinary least squares regression modeling, I find that wealth has a significant impact on both how ethnically similar the area Hispanics live. In addition, wealth has a significant impact on the extent of ethnic clustering in the area Hispanics live. I conclude that wealth is a highly significant mediator of the relationship between ethnicity and both homeownership and spatial distribution.
In 2005, 69.2% of Americans owned a home, a 0.5% increase from the previous year (US Census Bureau 2005). Hispanics have steadily increased their homeownership percentage from 42.1 in 1995 to 48.1 in 2004 (US Census Bureau 2004). However, regarding the total number of homeowners, Hispanics constitute the lowest percentage of homeowners in the United States in this 9 year interval (US Census Bureau 2005).

Many public policy programs have been implemented in certain geographical regions to increase the number of Hispanic homeowners in the United States (Eggers and Burke 2002; Finkel and Kennedy 2002). This increase has been greatly attributed to these policy programs; however, what the literature fails to take into account is the differential impact of ethnicity in homeownership. Certain ethnic groups within the pan Latino culture have higher homeownership rates and higher percent increases in homeownership than other Latino groups. Specifically, the percentage of Cuban homeowners in 2002 was 52.2%, compared to 45.9% for Mexicans, 37.2% for Puerto Ricans and 31.9% Central/South Americans (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2002).

This difference could be driven by social as well as demographic factors. For instance, Cubans may be more likely to emigrate with wealth compared to other Latino groups. As such, Cubans enrolled in public policy programs that aid all Latinos are generally more likely to own a home because they have a higher propensity to own a home (Ratner 2002). As such, there is some confounding in surmising that the higher Hispanic homeownership rates are due to the aid of public policy programs. Moreover, most of the housing programs neglect the spatial distribution of ethnic groups, i.e. the neighborhood composition, which facilitates certain ethnic groups from gaining entrance into neighborhoods while impeding others.

I will assess the impact of wealth on both homeownership status and spatial distribution for the different Latino groups in the United States. Specifically, I would like to answer three research questions: (1) Does wealth have predictive power on homeownership propensity and measures of spatial distribution? (2) In which ethnic group is the effect of wealth the strongest with regard to homeownership propensity and measures of spatial distribution? Finally, (3) Controlling for demographic and sociodemographic characteristics, does the impact of wealth on the dependent variables diminish? Answering these questions will show the salience of wealth creation for Latinos in the United States, both for choosing
to buy a home and for choosing an area to reside, regardless of demographic and sociodemographic characteristics.

BACKGROUND

Wealth and Ethnicity

Wealth is an important indicator of economic well-being. It has several advantages over individual income in measuring economic well-being, including services (such as owning a home vs. paying rent) and security (such as a bank account for unexpected unemployment or difficulty). The theoretical literature points to the paramount roles of ethnicity and human capital in generating wealth inequality (Keister 2000; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Spilerman 2000; Wolff 1998). It is well documented that the black-white inequality in wealth is much more severe than the black-white income inequality (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Because of a racial-ethnic hierarchy, individuals’ opportunities to accumulate wealth are often limited independent of their other characteristics (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Racial-ethnic categories (and even color of skin) place individuals in this hierarchy, with Whites ranked above non-Whites and among non-Whites, Asian, Hispanic, and Black in rank order (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). These hierarchically significant positions offer differential opportunities and constraints in the accumulation of wealth.

Examples of the structural effect of the ethnic hierarchy include but are not limited to the following four aspects. First, minorities are more likely to have lower incomes. According to Doeringer and Piore (1971), an ethnic hierarchy sorts individuals to the capital-intensive primary sector and labor-intensive secondary sector of the labor market and subjects those individuals to institutional or other forms of discrimination. Second, minority workers are strictly placed in the ethnic queue for a job (Lieberson 1980; Reskin and Roos 1990), and bottom positions in the ethnic hierarchy are the last to be considered. Third, minorities are more likely to live in segregated neighborhoods. According to Alba and Logan (1991) and Massey and Denton (1993), segregation creates unfavorable lending institution policies and housing prices in dual housing markets. Minorities are subject to higher mortgage interest rates, and their houses depreciate in segregated neighborhoods. Fourth, these constraints transcend and follow throughout generations. The disadvantages of minorities are replicated and deepened through intergenerational transfers of wealth in the
form of inheritance (Spilerman 2000). Blacks and Hispanics have a lower incidence and lesser amounts of parental intergenerational transfers (Smith 1995), which directly affects the amount of wealth and indirectly affects wealth through the investment in children’s college education (Conley 1999). These constraints face non-Whites even though their human capital is comparable with Whites, resulting in their lower rate of wealth accumulation. Because wealth is accumulated along the life cycle, differential rates of wealth accumulation lead to increasing disparities in wealth that follow throughout the life cycle. Differential rates also lead to increasing disparities in other important things in life, such as property purchases, inheritance and credit (Hao 2003).

**Residential Segregation, Self-Segregation and Wealth**

Spatial distribution in this research is defined as the percent distribution of ethnic group’s presence at a given neighborhood level. In this research, the two key archetypes of high percent distribution of Latino groups are residential segregation and self-segregation. Both have differential impacts on homeownership and wealth operates differently in these two types of neighborhood types. As I argue, wealth has a greater effect in self-segregated areas rather than institutionalized segregated residential areas.

**Residential segregation.** Segregation is generally defined as the practice of separating people of different races, classes, or ethnic groups, in various different social contexts such as schools, housing, and public or commercial facilities. When discussing residential segregation, it is important to slightly alter this definition. Residential segregation can be defined as the practice of separating and grouping people of different racial or socioeconomic groups in the context of housing (Massey 1989). This separation can be generally conceptualized in one of two forms: denial of access into a neighborhood or partitioning members of a group into a confined, geographic entity.

According to some, residential segregation is more pronounced in areas where there are more rented apartments that homes (Massey 1989). This is an important observation, as homeownership represents an important form of household wealth, both through the status and social psychological benefits it embodies and through the forced savings, inflation protection and numerous tax benefits its confers (Henretta 1979; Kain and Quigley 1972). Wealth inequality is a basic component of place stratification theory - those with the greatest wealth also tend to be those at the top of the hierarchy and tend to reside outside of
The Effects of Wealth on Homeowner Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

seggregated neighborhoods (Iceland 2002; Haan 2005). Essentially, wealth creates a division, and those with more wealth are able to not only actively decide where they want to live, but, as a result, they inevitably decide where those with little wealth can live.

There is little research on the effect of residential segregation on Hispanics with regards to homeownership. Flippen (2001) states that these shortcomings need to be addressed because of three facts: (1) Hispanic-White segregation has increased with time in the United States; (2) Hispanic segregation is lower than corresponding figures for African Americans, even though they are the largest group; and, (3) There is a divergent segregation experience between those Hispanics who enter the country and those Hispanics who are second- and third-generation immigrants in the United States.

Previous research on the impact of segregation on homeownership for Hispanics has drawn three conclusions: First, this type of ethnic clustering negatively affects homeownership at all levels of socioeconomic status. Flippen (2001) was able to ascertain this conclusion by comparing homeownership within segregated areas with regards to Blacks and Whites. Second, there is an intergenerational link in ethnic residential segregation and this intergenerational link decreases the propensity to live in an ethnically diverse neighborhood. Borjas (1998) found that the probability that a respondent lived in an ethnically segregated neighborhood in 1992 would be 49.5 percentage points higher if their parents also lived in an ethnically segregated neighborhood. Third, residential segregation has a semi-stabilizing, yet negative affect on housing tenure and resilience of neighborhood change, that is, people who live in segregated areas tend to stay in these areas, which then create little room for the neighborhood to change. Painter et al. (2001) finds that although Latinos have a higher likelihood of residing in their neighborhood for more than ten years, they also have lower homeownership probabilities. In addition, if one is a recent immigrant into this segregated area, this probability decreases further by 12 percentages points (Painter et al. 2001). What the literature generally shows is a negative outcome for Hispanics that live in segregated areas with regards to homeownership.

**Self-segregation.** The notion of self-segregation originates from the social psychological literature. Tatum’s (1999) book, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations about Race*, sparked public concern over the issue of self-segregation. Self-segregation, loosely defined, is the tendency for people of one ethnic group to gravitate towards members of that ethnic group. The assumption embodied in self-
The Effects of Wealth on Homeownership Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

segregation is that people are making individual, rational choices that are independent of social structures that may force the individuals in close arrangements otherwise. In the Latino context, self-segregation occurs in the form of enclaves. The enclave is a spatial concentration of immigrants (from a given ethnic group) which allows for incorporation without assimilation.

There is much information on enclaves and the enclave labor market; however, there are only a few empirical studies that address the enclave impact on individual homeownership. Rosenbaum (1992) looks at the case of New York City and finds that enclaves allow for privileged information of housing vacancies before the unit even becomes vacant. In addition, rental turnover occurs within the White-Puerto Rican context when units are of low quality. Puerto Rican-White turnover occurs when the rental units are in higher quality neighborhoods. Krivo (1995) posits that household crowding and housing costs play a role in the low homeownership rates of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. However, the strongest predictors of homeownership were the ethnic composition of one’s neighbors and the composition of the immigrant’s household. Wealth was used as a control variable and not as a focus variable, which is a recurring, problematic issue in research on homeownership and neighborhood composition. Regardless, once the data are post-stratified by ethnicity and national origin, she finds that for Cubans, the regression has little explanatory power for these groups. She surmises that because of the nature of the immigrant enclaves (i.e., in Florida) having a strong influence on the property value and ethnic composition of one’s neighbors, these predictors that were once significant cease to be significant in another model because the metric has changed. Within the enclave, the property value and neighborhood composition has a different meaning. Property value must include spillover effects, and neighborhood composition must also include absence of assimilation (Logan et al. 2002). These two things are implied when measuring the other two Latino groups. As such, if she were to operationalize the variables that would conceptualize an enclave, she would find significance in her predictors for the Cuban case.

On the basis of the above review, the following hypotheses will be tested about the impact of wealth, homeownership and neighborhood choice for Latinos:

1. Increasing the amount of wealth will increase the likelihood of a Latino person owning a home.
2. Increasing the amount of wealth will decrease the degree of segregation in an area, while also increasing the degree of clustering in an area.
3. This increase in wealth will have differential impacts with regard to ethnic status. Specifically, Cubans will be the most impacted by wealth’s influence on homeownership than other Latino groups. Likewise, Puerto Ricans will be the least impacted by wealth’s influence on homeownership than other Latino groups.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

For this research, I will be analyzing the 2000 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) files. There are fifty files, each corresponding to the fifty states. The PUMS files contain records representing five-percent samples of the occupied and vacant housing units in the U.S. and the people in the occupied units. People living in group quarters also are included. The PUMS files can be used to answer many questions about housing units and households in the United States. The interviews cover core questions that are repeated each decade. The PUMS files provide data on apartments, single-family homes, mobile homes, vacant homes, family composition, income, housing and neighborhood quality, housing costs, equipment, fuels, size of housing unit, and recent movers. The overall sample size is 46,024 persons of Latino origin who identified themselves as householder or head of household and who lived in identifiable Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs).

The PUMS files contain PUMAs in order to maintain the confidentiality of the PUMS data. The 5-percent state-level files contain PUMAs having a minimum population of 100,000. Each state is separately identified and may be comprised of one or more PUMAs. Large metropolitan areas may be subdivided into PUMAs. PUMAs and do not cross state lines. PUMAs also are defined for places of residence on April 1, 1995 and places of work.

Analytic Strategy

The two dependent variables are homeownership propensity (whether or not the respondent owns a home) and neighborhood choice (the extent to which the respondent lives in a segregated area). Homeownership propensity is a binary (0-1) variable, based on if the respondent owns a home as the reference category of interest. Neighborhood choice will
be measured by two segregation indices: evenness and clustering. Conceptually, evenness measures the percentage of a group’s population that would have to change residence for each neighborhood to have the same percentage of that group as the metropolitan area overall. To measure evenness, the index of dissimilarity, $I_d$, will be used. To calculate, I used the equation below:

$$I_d = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}(t_i|P_i - P|)}{2TP(1-P)},$$

where $n$ is the number of areas in the metropolitan area ranked smallest to largest by land area, $t_i$ is the total population of area $i$, $P_i$ is the ratio of the minority population in area $i$ to the total population of area $i$, $P$ is the proportion of the metropolitan area’s population that is minority and $T$ is the entire population total. The range of this index is from 0 (complete integration) to 1 (complete segregation).

Clustering measures “the extent to which areal units inhabited by minority members adjoin one another, or cluster, in space” (Massey and Denton 1993). The US Bureau of the Census has two distinct measures of clustering: spatial proximity, which is the average of intragroup proximities for the minority and majority populations weighted by the proportions each group represents of the total population, and relative clustering, which compares the average distance between minority members with the average distance between majority members. I will be using the latter measure. To calculate relative clustering, I used the equation below:

$$RC = \frac{P_{xx}}{P_{yy}} - 1,$$

$P_{xx}$ is the sum of proportionate space between minority members and majority members in census tract $x$ and $P_{yy}$ is the sum in census tract $y$. This index equals 0 when minority members display the same amount of clustering as the majority, is positive when minorities display greater clustering than the majority, and is negative when minorities display less clustering than the majority.

To examine the relationship between ethnicity, wealth and homeownership, logistic regression will be used. The model estimated is specified as follows:

$$\text{Logit } (\pi) = \mathbf{x}_i^\prime \mathbf{\beta},$$
where $\pi_i$ is the probability of owning a home, $x_i'$ is a vector of demographic and sociodemographic controls, and $\beta$ is a vector of the regression coefficients for ethnicity and wealth. To examine the relationship between ethnicity, wealth and neighborhood choice, ordinary least squares regression will be used. The model estimated is specified as follows:

$$
E (I_d; RC) = \beta_e z + \beta_w p + \beta_i x_i' + \beta_j y_j' ;
$$

where $E (I_d)$ is the average index of dissimilarity score, $E (RC)$ is the average relative clustering score, $\beta_e$ is the regression coefficients for ethnicity, $\beta_w$ is the regression coefficient for wealth, $\beta_i x_i'$ is a vector of demographic controls and $\beta_j y_j'$ is a vector of sociodemographic controls.

Figure 1 below is a graphic model to situate the remainder of the variables:

Wealth is a mediator variable that mediates the relationship between ethnicity and the dependent variable. Wealth accumulation cannot be directly ascertained from the PUMS data. As such, I chose to use a proxy for wealth: family income. The literature suggests that while there are conceptual issues with using family income as a proxy for wealth, there is a body of research that suggest otherwise (Solon, 1992; Duncan and Brooks-Gunn 1997; Mayer 1997 Wolff 2000a; Wolff 2000b; Brown 2004). Wealth will be centered in the regression analysis. Ethnicity is the main independent variable and is captured by six categories: Mexican (53.76% of the sample), Puerto Rican (11.70%), Cuban (5.96%), South American (a conglomerate of several ethnicities tied to countries in South America as well as Central America, all accounting for 14.48% of the sample), Spaniard (origin is from the country of Spain, accounting for 0.51% of the sample) and Other (13.58%). Other refers to people who listed a religion as their ancestry but listed Hispanic as their ethnicity. Because of the relatively high percentage of those falling in the “Other” category, they will be kept in the analysis.
There are two blocks of control variables that will be simultaneously controlled for in the model. In this study, demographic variables shall be defined as those variables to which ethnicity are not inextricably linked. Age is one control variable that facilitates the relationship between wealth, homeownership and cost of home. Young adults may be more likely to not have wealth and rent instead of own. (Skaburskis 1996). In addition, young adults may be more likely to live in highly segregated areas. Age, in the regression models, will be centered, in order to cut down on unforeseen collinearity problems which may arise. Education, a standard indicator of socioeconomic status, is also used a control – the assimilation model expects more highly educated people to be more likely to accumulate wealth and own a home (Borjas 1998) Highly educated persons should live in more diverse environments. Education will also be centered in the regression analysis. Ethnic employment status is also a determinant of wealth, homeownership and neighborhood choice. Specifically, those individuals who are employed are more likely to own a home, have wealth and have live in non-segregated areas. Gender is also a control variable that could be used in an explanatory model. The literature suggests that on average, men are more likely to accrue wealth and be homeowners than women (Reskin and Roos 1990). Marital status is another demographic variable that should be related to the dependent variables. Non-family households and cohabitators may be less permanent and therefore less able to commit themselves to owning a home (Wu, Lien and Lin 2004). In addition, divorced couples will be less likely to own a home, as they are more apt to sell the house after marital dissolution. This is also true for single-parent families. As such, it is expected to find more stable family units engaging in homeownership and wealth than unstable family types. Region of residence is the final demographic variable included in the analysis. I believe that if one was to live in the southern region of the United States, they would be more prone to have own homes, as there is more spatial distribution of homes in the south than the other regions. In addition, those in the southern region would be more likely to live in segregated areas than other regions.

In tandem with demographic variables, sociodemographic variables shall be defined as those variables with which ethnicity has some association. One can see this with the graphic representation, as there is an arrow from ethnicity to block of sociodemographic variables. Immigration status (immigrated before 1975 or after 1975) is another aspect of assimilation (Alba 1992). This measure operationalizes the spatial assimilation model, which
would anticipate less desirable spatial outcomes, and thus less proximity to non-Hispanic whites, for recent immigrants. Language is another determinant: bilingual persons who speak English poorly are the most likely to live in residential enclaves (Chandrasekhar 2004). English language ability, meaning speaking English only at home and speaking English well, is an important aspect of assimilation. Nativity, in tandem with language, is one factor that affects whether one lives in an ethnically similar area. Group members born in the United States are expected to be less likely to live in ethnic neighborhoods than immigrants; among immigrants, the most recent arrivals are expected to be most likely to live in residential enclaves (Chandrasekhar 2004).

To test each of the three dependent variables, each dependent variable will have three models. The first model for each dependent variable will include wealth and ethnicity. The subsequent model for each dependent variable will add to the previous model demographic and sociodemographic control variables. The final model for each dependent variable will add to the second model interaction terms between wealth and ethnicity.

**RESULTS**

**Descriptive Statistics**

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the characteristics of respondents, both as the sample as a whole and in each individual ethnic group. Approximately 45 percent of the respondents in the sample are homeowners, with higher percentages coming from Cubans (57.45%) and Spaniards (57.81%). Puerto Ricans and South Americans have the lowest percentage of homeowners, with 34.7 and 34.4 percent respectively. Across all ethnicities, there seems to suggest a high level of segregation, the lowest value on the dissimilarity index being 0.5957 and the highest value being 0.6940. With the relative clustering index, all values are positive, indicating minorities display greater clustering than the majority. The average family income for the sample is around $38,000. Cubans and Spaniards have considerably higher average family incomes ($42,000 and $51,000 respectively), while Puerto Ricans have considerably lower average family incomes ($33,000).

**Demographic controls.** The average age of the respondents in the sample is 43 years. Spaniards and Cubans have considerably higher mean ages, 48 and 53 respectively. Cubans and Spaniards also have higher educational attainment relative to the overall average.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mexicans</th>
<th>Puerto Ricans</th>
<th>Cubans</th>
<th>South Americans</th>
<th>Spaniards</th>
<th>Other Group</th>
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<td>$37,511.09</td>
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<td>$39,107.19</td>
<td>$50,943.21</td>
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<td>53.47</td>
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<td>0.7437</td>
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<td>Sociodemographic Control Variables</td>
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<td>Language Proficiency (English Well)</td>
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<td>0.8597</td>
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<td>0.6713</td>
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<td>0.4139</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.0717</td>
<td>0.4852</td>
<td>0.5301</td>
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<td>0.1170</td>
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<td>0.1448</td>
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<td>24,744</td>
<td>5,383</td>
<td>2,743</td>
<td>6,665</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>6,252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*a* Includes Latinos of Central American Origin.

*b* People who listed a religion as their ancestry were placed in this category.

*c* A Chi-Square test of proportional differences between ethnicities have been found to be significant at the 0.0001 level.
Cubans, on average, were high school graduates, and Spaniards had one or more years of college with no degree, on average. The overall average is 12th grade with no diploma. Approximately 62% of the sample is employed, with higher percentages in Mexicans (65%) and South Americans (66%) and lower percentages in Cubans (52%) and Puerto Ricans (55%). Generally, at least half of those in each ethnicity are employed. Over two-thirds of the sample is male. What is interesting to note is that over 72% of Mexicans in the sample are male, indicating that there are significantly more males than female representation. Over half of the sample (58%) is married, again with a significant difference in the proportion of married Mexicans (63%). Lastly, 35 percent of this sample lives in the Southern part of the United States. There is great variation with regards to ethnicity: Cubans have 74% of their respondents residing in the South, showing that Cubans are greatly concentrated in the South, particularly in Florida where there are Cuban enclaves (Borjas 1998). This characteristic is reversed in the other ethnicities, with 22% being the lowest (Puerto Ricans) to 37% being the highest (Other group).

**Sociodemographic controls.** The overall percentage of people who immigrated after 1975 is 44%. South Americans had the highest percentage of respondents who immigrated after 1975 (72%) while Mexicans approached the overall proportion of respondents immigrating after 1975 (44%). The remainder of the ethnicities showed less than two-fifths of the respondents immigrated after 1975. Over half of the sample (57%) is bilingual. Mexicans and Cubans fall very close to the overall percentage (54% for both); however, Puerto Ricans and South Americans have the highest percentage of bilingual persons (70 and 61 percent respectively). In the sample, 74% of the respondents spoke English well. Cubans and South Americans have over three-fifths of their respondents who speak English well (63 and 67 percent respectively), while Puerto Ricans and Spaniards have close to all of their respondents who speak English well (86 and 90 percent respectively). Lastly, only 37% of the sample was born in the United States. Close to half of the Spaniard and Other Latinos were born in the United States (49 versus 53 percent) while South Americans and Cubans have only a small minority of US born respondents (7 versus 13 percent).
The Effects of Wealth on Homeowner'ship Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

Table 2 presents three different models, each displaying logistic regression estimates and odds ratio for predicting homeownership propensity. Model 1 shows highly significant predictive power for wealth. Wealth has an odds ratio of 1.2310, which suggests that a $10,000 increase in average wealth, controlling for ethnicity, increases the odds of owning a home by 23.10%. Regarding ethnicity differentials in homeownership propensity, we see that the contrast between Mexicans versus Cubans, Mexicans versus Puerto Ricans, Mexicans versus South Americans, and Mexicans versus Spaniards are highly significant, controlling for wealth. Cubans and Spaniards, relative to Mexicans have higher odds of owning a home (46.3% and 34.8% respectively). Conversely, Puerto Ricans and South Americans, relative to Mexicans have lower odds of owning a home (41.6% and 50.1% respectively). The constant refers to Mexicans with mean wealth. The parameter estimate ($\beta_0$) is -0.0010, showing that the odds of owning a home for Mexican (in comparison to those belonging to any other Latino ethnic group) with $37,667 in wealth is about 0.999.

Model 2 adds to Model 1 the demographic and sociodemographic control variables. We can see that these control variables are all significant in the model. Using the two blocks of control variables actually decreases the odds of owning a home from 23.10% to 16.20% for a $10,000 increase in wealth. Perhaps even more interesting is that there is a shift in Cubans, Spaniards and the Other category. Cubans, which showed an increase of 46.30% in the odds of owning a home relative to Mexicans, now have a 31.60% decrease in the odds of owning a home relative to Mexicans. Spaniards also have this sign change; however, Model 2 suggests non-significance with regard to this contrast between Spaniards and Mexicans. Other Latinos, which were shown as insignificant in Model 1, become significant in Model 2. Specifically, other Latinos, have a 15.20% decrease in the odds of owning a home, compared to Mexicans.

The demographic characteristics suggest a positive increase in the odds of owning a home. As such, increasing a unit in the mean age increases the odds by 4.50%. Likewise, a unit increase in average education attainment increases those odds by 5.40%. Being employed increases one’s odds of owning a home by 23.30%. Being a male increases homeownership odds by 24.60%. Having ever been married or being currently married increases one’s odds by 95.30%. Living in the southern part of the United States increases
### Table 2: Logistic Regression Estimates of Homeownership Propensity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0.2079***</td>
<td>1.2310</td>
<td>0.1502***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>0.3807***</td>
<td>1.4630</td>
<td>-0.3793***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>-0.5374***</td>
<td>0.5840</td>
<td>-0.7564***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South American</td>
<td>-0.6947***</td>
<td>0.4990</td>
<td>-0.6680***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniard</td>
<td>0.2985*</td>
<td>1.3480</td>
<td>-0.0994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Latino Group</td>
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<td>1.0210</td>
<td>-0.1646***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic Characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0.0439***</td>
<td>1.0450</td>
<td>0.0440***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>1.0540</td>
<td>0.0528***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status (Employed)</td>
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<td>1.2330</td>
<td>0.2090***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Males)</td>
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<td>1.2460</td>
<td>0.2207***</td>
</tr>
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<td>Marital Status (Ever Married)</td>
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<td>0.6673***</td>
</tr>
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<td>Region (South)</td>
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<td>0.5830***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociodemographic Characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Status (After 1975)</td>
<td>-0.4803***</td>
<td>0.6190</td>
<td>-0.4743***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Ability (Bilingual)</td>
<td>0.0824*</td>
<td>1.0860</td>
<td>-0.0821*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Proficiency (English Well)</td>
<td>0.5280***</td>
<td>1.6960</td>
<td>0.5280***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity (US Born)</td>
<td>-0.1302***</td>
<td>0.8780</td>
<td>-0.1256***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interaction Terms</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth*Cuban&lt;sup&gt;a,abc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0.0217</td>
<td>1.0220</td>
<td>-0.0215*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth*Puerto Rican&lt;sup&gt;a,abc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.0305*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>-0.0322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth*Spaniard&lt;sup&gt;a,abc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.0296*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth*Other&lt;sup&gt;a,abc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>$R^2_{GSC}$</td>
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<td>0.3181</td>
<td>0.3186</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>-1.0069</td>
<td>-1.0063</td>
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*p < 0.05. ***p < 0.001.

<sup>a</sup> Wealth is in increments of 10,000.  
<sup>b</sup> Mexicans are the contrast category.  
<sup>c</sup> These variables are centered around the mean.
The Effects of Wealth on Homeowner'ship Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

one’s odds of owning a home by 78.50%. The sociodemographic controls vary in their impact on homeownership propensity. Specifically, immigrating after 1975 and being born in the United States decreases odds of owning a home (38.1% and 12.20%). In contrast, being bilingual and speaking English well or very well increases odds of owning a home (8.60% and 69.60%).

Model 3 adds to Model 2 the hypothesized interaction effects of wealth on ethnicity with regards to homeownership propensity. Of all the interaction terms entered into the model, only the interactions between wealth and the ethnicities of Puerto Ricans, South Americans and other Latinos (all in contrast with Mexicans) are significant. This supports the hypothesis that there are differential effects of wealth regarding ethnicity. The impact of wealth (for certain ethnicities) on the log odds is 0.1615 – 0.0215 * Puerto Rican. Therefore, for those who are Puerto Ricans (relative to Mexicans), each $10,000 increase in average wealth increases the odds of owning a home by 15.03%. However for those who are Mexican, each $10,000 increase in average wealth increases the odds of owning a home by 17.50%. The impact of wealth for South Americans on the log odds is 0.1615 – 0.0305 * South American. For those who are South American, each $10,000 increase in average wealth decreases the odds of owning a home by 14.00%. Again, this is in direct comparison to Mexicans’ odds, which was 17.50%. Finally, the impact of belonging to the Other Latino category on the log odds is 0.1615 – 0.0296 * For those who are in the Other category, each $10,000 increase in average wealth increases the odds of owning a home by 14.10%. In all cases, being Mexican is attributed to having a higher increase in the odds of owning a home than not being Mexican.

The Additive Impact of Ethnicity and Wealth on Spatial Distribution

Tables 3 and 4 present the ordinary least squares regression estimates for the two measures of spatial distribution: evenness and clustering. As a reminder, the range of the evenness index is from 0 (complete integration) to 1 (complete segregation). Similarly, the clustering index equals 0 when minority members display the same amount of clustering as the majority, is positive when minorities display greater clustering than the majority, and is negative when minorities display less clustering than the majority.

Evenness. Table 3 presents three models for modeling the impact of ethnicity and wealth on evenness. Model 1 shows highly significant predictive power for wealth
The Effects of Wealth on Homeowner Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

(β=-0.0002), suggesting that a $10,000 increase in average wealth, controlling for ethnicity, decreases the evenness score by 0.0002. This result is intuitive: increasing wealth decreases segregation. Regarding ethnicity differentials in homeownership propensity, we see that all contrasts are highly significant, controlling for wealth. Positive coefficients for Puerto Ricans and South Americans (contrasted each with Mexicans), indicating that increasing wealth in the Mexicans positively increases the amount of segregation in an area. Negative coefficients for Cubans, Spaniards and Other Latinos (contrasted each with Mexicans), indicating that increasing wealth in the Mexicans decreases the amount of segregation in an area. The intercept refers to Mexicans with mean wealth. The parameter estimate (β₀) is 0.6518; showing that the average evenness score for Mexicans (in comparison to those belonging to any of the other Latino groups) with $37,667 in wealth is 0.6518. This indicates a high segregation.

Model 2 adds to Model 1 the demographic and sociodemographic control variables. We can see that these control variables are all significant in the model. Using the two blocks of control variables actually creates a stronger significance in wealth in the model. However, Spaniards and the Other Latino category contrast with Mexicans become non-significant. The same trends presented above still hold true under model 2 with respect to the significant ethnicity variables.

The demographic characteristics suggest a negative relationship in segregation. A year increase in the mean age decreases segregation (β=-0.0002). Likewise, a unit increase in average education attainment also decreases segregation (β=-0.0016). Being employed decreases segregation relative to being unemployed (β=-0.0037). Being male decreases the segregation index relative to being female (β=-0.0090). A person who has ever been married or currently married decreases the amount of segregation, relative to those who have not been married (β=-0.0016). Living in the southern part of the United States (as opposed to non-southern region also decreases evenness (β=-0.0016). The sociodemographic controls vary on their impact on homeownership propensity. Specifically, immigrating after 1975, speaking English well and being born in the United States decreases segregation (β=-0.0027, -0.0265 and -0.0142 respectively). In contrast, being bilingual increases segregation (β=0.0231).

Model 3 adds to Model 2 the hypothesized interaction effects of wealth on ethnicity with regards to evenness. Of all the interaction terms entered into the model, only the
The Effects of Wealth on Homeownership Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

Table 3: Ordinary Least Squares Regression Estimates of Evenness Using Mediator, Demographic and Sociodemographic Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
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<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>0.7049***</td>
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<td>(0.0018)</td>
<td>(0.0018)</td>
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<td>0.0002***</td>
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<td>(0.0001)</td>
<td>(0.0001)</td>
<td>(0.0002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>-0.0604***</td>
<td>-0.0339***</td>
<td>-0.0342***</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.0021)</td>
<td>(0.0021)</td>
<td>(0.0021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>0.0427***</td>
<td>0.0330***</td>
<td>0.0326***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0021)</td>
<td>(0.0015)</td>
<td>(0.0015)</td>
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<tr>
<td>South American</td>
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<td>0.0286***</td>
<td>0.0287***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0014)</td>
<td>(0.0014)</td>
<td>(0.0014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(0.0063)</td>
<td>(0.0063)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(0.0015)</td>
<td>(0.0014)</td>
<td>(0.0014)</td>
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<td>-0.0002***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(0.0000)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.0016***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.0037***</td>
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<td>(0.0010)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender (Males)</td>
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<td>-0.0090***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.0028**</td>
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<td>(0.0011)</td>
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<td>-0.0740***</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0010)</td>
<td>(0.0010)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociodemographic Characteristics</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Status (After 1975)</td>
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<td>-0.0026†</td>
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<td>(0.0014)</td>
<td>(0.0014)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Ability (Bilingual)</td>
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<td>0.0231***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0013)</td>
<td>(0.0013)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language Proficiency (English Well)</td>
<td>-0.0265***</td>
<td>-0.0264***</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(0.0017)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity (US Born)</td>
<td>-0.0142***</td>
<td>-0.0143***</td>
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<td>(0.0015)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interaction Terms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth*Cubanabc</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.0003)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth*Puerto Ricanabc</td>
<td>-0.0143***</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth*South Americanabc</td>
<td>-0.0014***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth*Spaniardabcabc</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.0007)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth*Otherabcabc</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.0545</td>
<td>0.1832</td>
<td>0.1838</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


† p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

a Wealth is in increments of 10,000.
b Mexicans are the contrast category.
c These variables are centered around the mean.
interactions between wealth and the ethnicities of Puerto Ricans and South Americans (both in contrast with Mexicans) are significant. This supports the hypothesis that there are differential effects of wealth regarding ethnicity. The impact of wealth for Puerto Ricans (relative to Mexicans) on evenness is $0.0326 - 0.0143 \times \text{Wealth}$. At two standard deviations above average wealth, the effect would be -0.0818 while at two standard deviations below average wealth, the effect would be 0.147. This indicates that the interaction is disordinal in ethnicity. Puerto Ricans decrease their score on this measure of segregation as wealth increases from the mean. This is in contrast to Mexicans. The impact of being South American on segregation is $0.0287 - 0.0014 \times \text{Wealth}$. At two standard deviations above and below average wealth, the effect would be positive (0.0156 and 0.0417), indicating that the interaction is ordinal in ethnicity. Puerto Ricans increase their score on this measure of segregation as wealth increases from the mean, relative to Mexicans. In the final model, the overall explained variance is 18.38%.

**Clustering.** Table 4 presents three models for modeling the impact of ethnicity and wealth on clustering. Model 1 shows highly significant predictive power for wealth ($\beta = 0.0041$), suggesting that a $10,000$ increase in average wealth, controlling for ethnicity, increases clustering by 0.0041. This result is mainly due to socioeconomic clustering: those with high wealth tend to live around other people with similar wealth. Regarding ethnicity differentials in homeownership propensity, we see that, other than Cubans, all contrasts are highly significant, controlling for wealth. Positive coefficients for Puerto Ricans, South Americans, Spaniards and Other Latinos (contrasted each with Mexicans), indicating that increasing wealth in the Mexicans positively increases the amount of clustering in an area. Negative coefficients for Cubans (contrasted each with Mexicans), indicating that increasing wealth in the Mexicans decreases the amount of clustering in an area. However, this result is non-significant. The intercept refers to Mexicans with mean wealth. The parameter estimate ($\beta_0$) is 0.4302, showing that the average clustering score for Mexicans (in comparison to those belonging to any of the other Latino groups) with $37,667$ in wealth is 0.4302. Because this value is positive, this indicates some clustering.

Model 2 adds to Model 1 the demographic and sociodemographic control variables. We can see that some control variables are significant in the model. Cubans, which were negatively non-significant in the previous model becomes *positively* significant in Model 2.
### Table 4: Ordinary Least Squares Regression Estimates of Clustering Using Mediator, Demographic and Sociodemographic Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.4302***</td>
<td>0.7167***</td>
<td>0.7142***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0054)</td>
<td>(0.0149)</td>
<td>(0.0149)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>0.0041***</td>
<td>0.0039***</td>
<td>0.0056***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0009)</td>
<td>(0.0009)</td>
<td>(0.0012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>-0.0252</td>
<td>0.2703***</td>
<td>0.2703***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0172)</td>
<td>(0.0169)</td>
<td>(0.0169)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>0.8192***</td>
<td>0.7407***</td>
<td>0.7361***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0129)</td>
<td>(0.0122)</td>
<td>(0.0122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South American</td>
<td>0.3678***</td>
<td>0.2933***</td>
<td>0.2932***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0118)</td>
<td>(0.0114)</td>
<td>(0.0114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniard</td>
<td>0.3120***</td>
<td>0.2967***</td>
<td>0.2961***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0558)</td>
<td>(0.0511)</td>
<td>(0.0517)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Latino Group</td>
<td>0.0614***</td>
<td>0.0968***</td>
<td>0.0968***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0121)</td>
<td>(0.0112)</td>
<td>(0.0112)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demographic Characteristics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.0026***</td>
<td>-0.0026***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0003)</td>
<td>(0.0012)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.0008</td>
<td>0.0009</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0012)</td>
<td>(0.0012)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment Status (Employed)</td>
<td>-0.0052</td>
<td>-0.0042</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0082)</td>
<td>(0.0089)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender (Males)</td>
<td>0.0024</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.0090)</td>
<td>(0.0089)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marital Status (Ever Married)</td>
<td>-0.0161†</td>
<td>-0.0144</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0090)</td>
<td>(0.0090)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Region (South)</td>
<td>-0.7291***</td>
<td>-0.7282***</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.0079)</td>
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<td>Sociodemographic Characteristics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigration Status (After 1975)</td>
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<td>0.0466***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0115)</td>
<td>(0.0115)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language Ability (Bilingual)</td>
<td>-0.0132</td>
<td>-0.0135</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0109)</td>
<td>(0.0109)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language Proficiency (English Well)</td>
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<td>0.0000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0039)</td>
<td>(0.0139)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nativity (US Born)</td>
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<td>-0.0864***</td>
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<td>(0.0118)</td>
<td>(0.0118)</td>
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<td>Wealth* Cuban</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth* Puerto Rican</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0026)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth* South American</td>
<td>-0.0007</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0022)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth* Spaniard</td>
<td>-0.0012</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0059)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth* Other</td>
<td>0.0012</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0023)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>0.0924</td>
<td>0.2438</td>
<td>0.2443</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


† p < 0.10. *p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.

Wealth is in increments of 10,000.

Mexicans are the contrast category.

These variables are centered around the mean.
The regression coefficient ($\beta=0.2703$) suggests that Cubans relative to Mexicans increase clustering by 0.0723. I suspect that this may be due to the fact that the control variable of region is suppressing this effect. Because South is the reference category and also because we know that Cubans in Florida are self-segregated (clustered) and not residentially segregated (evenness), they become significant in this model. Regarding the other ethnicities, the same trends presented above still hold true under model 2.

The demographic characteristics suggest a negative relationship in segregation. A year increase in the mean age decreases clustering ($\beta=-0.0026$). Likewise, a person who has ever been married or currently married decreases the amount of clustering, relative to those who have not been married ($\beta=-0.0161$). Living in the southern part of the United States (as opposed to non-southern region also decreases clustering ($\beta=-0.7291$). The two significant sociodemographic controls vary on their impact on homeownership propensity. Immigrating after 1975, increases clustering ($\beta=0.0457$). People who are recent immigrants are more likely to engage in step migration and also move in with other people of like ethnicity, thereby increasing clustering relative to a given census tract (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). In contrast, being born in the United States decreases clustering ($\beta=-0.0873$).

Model 3 adds to Model 2 the hypothesized interaction effects of wealth on ethnicity with regards to clustering. Of all the interaction terms entered into the model, only the interactions between wealth and Puerto Rican (in contrast with Mexicans) are significant. This supports the hypothesis that there are differential effects of wealth regarding ethnicity. The impact of being Puerto Rican on segregation is $0.7361 - 0.0142 \times \text{Wealth}$. At two standard deviations above and below average wealth, the effect would be positive (0.6225 and 0.8497), indicating that the interaction is ordinal in ethnicity. Puerto Ricans increase their score on this measure of segregation as wealth increases from the mean. This is in contrast to Mexicans. In the final mode, the overall explained variance is 24.43%.

**DISCUSSION**

This endeavor attempted to illuminate the impacts of wealth and ethnicity on homeownership propensity and spatial distribution. The first hypothesis was proven to be valid: Increasing the amount of wealth significantly increased the likelihood of a Latino person owning a home. The second hypothesis had mixed validity: Wealth has a positive
The effects of evenness (segregation) and clustering (self-segregation), but it was only predicted that wealth would have a positive effect on clustering, net of control variables. The third hypothesis was also proven to be valid to an extent: This increase in wealth did have differential impacts with regard to ethnic status. However, the groups that this impacted were Puerto Ricans, South Americans and Other, relative to Mexicans. Specifically, being Mexican is attributed to having a higher increase in the odds of owning a home relative to Puerto Ricans, South Americans and Other. Puerto Ricans and South Americans increase their score on the measure of evenness (i.e., become more segregated) as wealth increases from the mean, relative to Mexicans. Finally, Puerto Ricans increase their score on the measure of clustering (i.e., become more clustered) as wealth increases from the mean, relative to Mexicans. However, effects were not seen for Cubans or Spaniards.

The second hypothesis was not fully proven, but the results are somewhat intuitive: the measure of dissimilarity, although it is used to measure segregation, has an innate measure of clustering within its conception. To elaborate, to segregate is to cluster, but what differentiates the two is intent. Segregation implies that people have no intent to live where people have similar characteristics and backgrounds. Rather, people are placed there through institutional means, such as denying home loans or excluding people out of neighborhoods to have them grouped in another. Clustering, on the other hand, implies that there is a cognition attached to residential choice. People want to live beside people with shared backgrounds or statuses. The measure is not really differentiating between the two types and as such, the overall assumption is that people are choosing to live in places. So, the effects are both positive.

Finally, the effects were not seen for Cubans or Spaniards in any of the regression models. This is possibly due to two reasons: the first is the sample size – Cubans represented about 5.96% of the sample and Spaniards represented 0.51% of the sample, and those two are the lowest in representation. Thus, my first recommendation would be to include more Cubans and Spaniards in the sample to see if there are real effects. The second reason is because although both Cubans and Spaniards were highly deviant from the mean values illustrated in Table 1, their effects were not being captured in the model due to an assumption on multiple regression regarding homoscedasticity. With these two groups, there is some evidence that the expectation of the variance is not constant over these two groups. However, to remedy this problem, weighted least squares regression was used, but the
The Effects of Wealth on Homeowner'ship Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos

effects were still not seen. Thus, my second recommendation would be to use different weight techniques to see if this regression assumption can be validated. However, the models all have some utility for the remaining ethnic groups and underscore the necessity and the impact of wealth in economic-based models to predict homeownership propensity and spatial distribution.

NOTES

1 Shapiro (2004) and others argue that wealth is distinct from income, in that wealth represents accumulated stock as opposed to a passing flow of resources, which would be income.

2 Those who were not immigrants and born before 1975 were coded as 0; those who were not immigrants and born after 1975 were coded as 1. This was to show consistency with the notion of when the respondent was in the United States and not necessarily immigrant status.

3 To determine whether a respondent was bilingual (English-Non English Language), I used two variables: one capturing if the respondent spoke a non-English language and the other capturing if the respondent spoke English well. If they spoke a different language as well as English, they were coded as bilingual. If they spoke a different language and not English, they were coded as not bilingual. Finally, for those that spoke only English, they were coded as not bilingual.

REFERENCES


Beyond Recognition: Searching for Meaning within Multiracial Categorization

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March 23, 2006

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Beyond Recognition: Searching for Meaning within Multiracial Categorization

ABSTRACT:

Among multiracials, the existing literature theorizes individual identity formation largely to the exclusion of collective identity processes. It is well established in the literature that multiracials occupy a particularly fluid space, which is a significant obstacle to building meaning within the multiracial category. This is because multiracials have the flexibility to opt out of multiracial identity, to shift identities depending on context, and are characterized by vast in-group diversity. This paper is an attempt to address collective identity formation among multiracials and fill this gap in the literature. In particular, I investigated this obstacle to collective identity building through a year of ethnographic research and in-depth interviews with a mixed race organization, University Mixed. In analyzing University Mixed’s process of moving from a racially specific to a mixed race orientation, I find that building meaningful racial identity is a socially constructed process that can be achieved in a relatively short period of time despite complex conditions that suggest otherwise. I show that over time, this mixed race organization in particular was able to facilitate the development of collective identity by drawing from distinct experiences, increasing interaction to build community, working to re-frame events, and emphasizing unity and strength in diversity.
Law Enforcement Spending and Crime Rates
Thoughts on Past and Future Research

Presented By

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Abstract
The beginning of this century has brought an array of challenges for the field of public safety and its administrators. From the tragic events of 9/11 to the methamphetamine epidemic, administrators and public safety officials have called for an increase in law enforcement spending to combat crime. Previous research on the relationship between police spending and crime is both extensive and diverse. However, the enormous and diverse amount of research dedicated to the subject fails to provide the researcher and policy maker with a conclusive position on the causal relationship, if any, between police spending and crime rates. This paper provides a conceptualization of whether researchers can ascertain if public expenditures on law enforcement reduce crime rates. By utilizing an extensive survey of the literature that explores past arguments, methodology, and perceptions, researchers can gain insight into the impact of police expenditure on crime rates if they learn from past studies and take a multi-disciplinary approach in formulating research models.
Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students

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Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students

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January 2, 2006

While conducting this research, the first author was supported by Grant T32 MH 18261 from the Clinical Services Research Training Program of the National Institute of Mental Health. Correspondence concerning this research should be sent to Lara Kaye, Center for Science & Education Opportunity, University of California San Francisco, 1855 Folsom Street, Suite 654, Mission Center Building, San Francisco, CA 94143-0934, Work 415/502-7789 Fax 415/502-6400, lara@saa.ucsf.edu.
Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students

January 2, 2006
Abstract

This study examines the relationship between hope and educational achievement in a predominantly Asian American middle school sample. Hope is defined as a cognitive process of initiating, strategizing, and following through to achieve one’s goals. High hope is related to better health, mental health, and academic performance. This study collected data through registration for a college outreach event in San Francisco for middle school students. The registration form included the Children’s Hope Scale and self-reported GPA. Results were unexpected and indicate that in this population hope is not significantly related to educational achievement. Ethnicity does appear to be a significant factor in the relationship between hope and GPA. Additionally, the agency subscale is significantly related to GPA.

Keywords: Educational Achievement, Hope, Asian American
Literature

Hope can be defined as a combination of two complementary cognitive processes related to goals. They are thoughts about strategies to meet the goal (pathway hope), and thoughts about one’s ability to initiate and follow through with meeting the goal (agency hope). High hope is related to better health, mental health, and performance (Snyder, Ilardi, Michael, & Cheavens, 2000). Additionally, the literature indicates that high hope is related to educational achievement. Studies of college students report that higher hope is related to higher educational achievement such as semester and cumulative grade point average (Curry, Snyder, Cook, Ruby, & Rehm, 1997), and graduation rates (Snyder, Shorey et al., 2002). One study of college students does report that hope is not associated with grade point average when controlling for other factors such as procrastination (Jackson, Weiss, Lundquist, & Hooper, 2003).

Often the focus on educational achievement pushes all else aside. Financial and time constraints create a pressured environment where “making the grade” becomes the only indicator of importance. Identifying hope as a determinant of the desired goal to improve grades would allow for a more comprehensive approach to educational policy, professional development, and teacher practice. Valuing and incorporating hope in the educational arena could help to take some of the pressure off of schools, teachers and students while potentially increasing educational achievement.

While we know little about hope and educational achievement in Asian American students, some research does exist on the relationship between hope and educational achievement in non-Asian American populations, and abundant research exists on Asian American students’ achievement. Factors that have been associated with Asian American
achievement include cultural values, relative functionalism (Sue & Okazaki, 1990), self-concept of abilities, motivation (Whang & Hancock, 1994) and classroom behaviors (Huang & Waxman, 1997). Additionally, research indicates that preservation of language and culture (Lee, 2002) and aspects of perfectionism (Castro & Rice, 2003) in Asian American students is associated with academic achievement. While each of these factors is unique, they are consistent with hope and its components. Conceptually, self-concept of abilities, motivation and perfectionism are relevant to agency hope while classroom behaviors, preservation of culture and language, and cultural values could be seen as aspects of pathway hope. This therefore suggests the possibility of a relationship between hope and educational achievement in Asian American students.

While there are clearly similarities to other motivational concepts, hope is a unique concept and its scale has been duly validated. Theoretical differences between hope and the following variables- optimism, self-efficacy, esteem, and problem solving- are discussed in detail in Snyder’s chapter Hypothesis: There is Hope (2000). Research on the Children’s Hope scale documents convergent validation with the following other scales: Children’s Assessment of Their Competencies, Perceived Helplessness Attributional Style, and Self-Worth. Incremental validity was established using The Children’s Hope scale scores to augment the Self-Worth scale and the Scholastic Competence subscale to predict achievement (Snyder et al., 1997). Validity will be discussed in more detail as it relates to educational achievement and intelligence below.

Hope theory and results from the Children’s Hope Scale validation both indicate that there is a relationship between hope and educational achievement for non-Asian middle school samples. Hope theory posits that the foundation of hopeful thinking is set
in the first few years of life and can be measured once children gain the language skills to respond to simple inquiries about themselves (Snyder, 2000). While the lessons in hopeful thinking continue throughout adolescence and adulthood, a dispositional measure of hope can be attained by the time students are in middle school (Snyder et al., 1997).

Results from the Children’s Hope Scale validation data show two statistically significant positive correlations: hope and perceived performance in school in four samples, age 9-14 boy and girl students, age 7-13 ADHD boys, age 7-13 non ADHD boys, and age 9-13 boy and girl students, (r=.48, .57, and .58, p<.001 and r=.35, p<.01); and hope and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills- a standardized achievement test used for k-12 graders- in one sample of 4th-6th graders (r=.50, p<.001) (Snyder et al., 1997). Only one of these samples had sufficient numbers to show any racial diversity, and only between Caucasian and African American children. In the studies of college students, where ethnicity is mentioned, the samples are also comprised of predominately Caucasian students (Curry et al., 1997; Jackson et al., 2003).

Achievement is to be distinguished from intelligence; both theory and data indicate no relationship between hope and intelligence. Data from the scale validation also show discriminant validity, in that hope did not significantly correlate to WISC-R (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised) and WISC-III (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children- Third Edition)(Snyder et al., 1997).

Other factors associated with education achievement are socioeconomic background (Marks, McMillan, & Hillman, 2001) (Kao & Thompson, 2003), immigrant status (Fuligni, 1998; Kao & Thompson, 2003), ethnicity (Kao & Thompson, 2003), and gender (Fergusson & Horwood, 1997; Pajares & Valiante, 2001). Controlling for these
factors strengthens our model of hope and educational achievement and has not been done previously with a middle school sample.

Hope theory posits that agency and pathway hope are interactive and reciprocal parts of a motivational state or a cognitive set. Hope includes a sense of success in both agency and pathway (Snyder, 2000). As a result of this, the literature warns against analyzing the concepts separately.

If a relationship between hope and educational achievement in Asian American students does exist, educators may want to consider its relevance in the academic environment and educational process with Asian American students. While hope is distinct from the normative components of education, such as providing factual information or teaching specific skills, it may be possible to foster hope in others. Steps, such as using hopeful narratives, shifting to a hopeful paradigm and providing opportunities for achievement and success, can be taken to build hope in schools, school staff, and students.

Hypothesis/Research Questions

Are higher scores on the overall hope scale associated with higher self-reported GPA in a sample of predominately Asian American middle school students?

Methods

Sample and Procedure

The sample consists of students who registered for the “Plan On College” 2004 outreach event. This event is designed specifically for 8th grade students in the San Francisco Bay Area, though other middle school students do attend. The event took place on a Saturday morning in late April 2004. Students registered in a variety of ways
including pre-registration (online, mail in, or fax) and day of event registration (onsite completion of the registration form). Students who pre-registered online could not be included in the sample because the online version of the registration form did not include the Children’s Hope Scale items. In order to be part of the study, students needed to have basic English literacy. The registration form was written in simple clear language so that a student with a third grade reading skill level would be able to read, comprehend, and complete it.

Data Collection

Data pertaining to the study content were collected from the Center for Science & Education Opportunity (CSEO) registration database. CSEO’s existing registration form inquires about student demographic information (e.g. gender, language spoken at home, ethnicity, and parent’s education status), educational achievement (self-reported GPA), and hope (Children’s 6 item Hope Scale). The Committee for Human Subjects Review has granted a waiver of consent for this registration data because all data is self-reported, no identification information is needed, and there are no feasible means for the researcher to gather consent from the participants in the program.

Instrument

The six-item Children’s Hope Scale (Snyder et al., 1997) is used to measure hope. It was developed for children ages 8 to 16 years old and is considered to have internal consistency, stability over time, as well as convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity. These findings came from six different samples, totaling over a thousand children (Lopez, Ciarlelli, Coffman, Stone, & Wyatt, 2000; Snyder et al., 1997).

Measures
Independent variables. Pathway hope is related to the children’s thoughts about their ability to come up with strategies to reach their goals and its measurement is made up of three separate items. 1) “I can think of many ways to get things in life that are most important to me.”, 2) “When I have a problem, I can come up with lots of ways to solve it.”, and 3) “Even when others want to quit, I know that I can find ways to solve the problem.” For each item students are asked to rate themselves on a scale of 1 to 6 (1= None of the time, 2= A little of the time, 3= Some of the time, 4= A lot of the time, 5= Most of the time, and 6= All of the time). The hope pathway score is a sum of these three items, so scores could range from 3 to 18. Our data indicate that the internal consistency among items was acceptable (alpha = .79).

Agency hope is related to the children’s thoughts about their ability to initiate and follow through on actions related to their goal. It is also measured with three items: 1) “I think I am doing pretty well.”, 2) “I am doing just as well as other kids my age.”, and 3) “I think the things I have done in the past will help me in the future.” These three items are also measured on the scale of 1 to 6 (1= None of the time, 2= A little of the time, 3= Some of the time, 4= A lot of the time, 5= Most of the time, and 6= All of the time). The hope agency score is a sum of these three items, so the possible range is 3 to 18. Our data indicate that the internal consistency among these three items was also acceptable (alpha = .83).

The overall hope score is a sum of all six of the above items on the scale (hence a sum of the agency hope score and the pathway hope score), with a possible range of 6 to 36. Our data indicate that the internal consistency among these six items is good (alpha = .89).
**Dependent variable.** Self-report GPA is the outcome variable for this study. It is a continuous variable and the range is expected to be from 1.0 to 4.0. Self-report measures are often used in social science research and have been used in high school students on educational achievement measures (Dornbusch, Mont-Reynaud, Ritter, Chen, & Steinberg, 1991; Windle & Mason, 2004). In the case of middle school students, where there is social desirability to have higher GPA scores, some concern about the validity of these scores is warranted. In order to address this concern, data were collected from a small sample, 98 6th and 7th graders, of similar middle school students including self-report GPA and valid school GPA’s. The results show that the two scores are significantly related to each other with a .77 correlation (p=.000). Valid GPAs were not available for the current research sample; students came from a number of different middle schools and these schools did not participate in the research study.

**Control variables.** As was mentioned earlier, a literature review on educational achievement and demographic factors indicate that gender, socioeconomic status, immigrant status and ethnicity are related to educational achievement. Gender and ethnicity are directly measured on the registration form but socioeconomic status and immigrant status are not. Two other variables present can serve as proxy measurements; they are parent’s education status for socioeconomic status and language spoken at home for immigrant status (NIH, 2005). Options for responses to the ethnicity item included thirteen categories and as a result of initial analysis the responses were collapsed into a dichotomous variable, Asian/Asian America and other. After initial analysis, the six options for response to the primary language spoken at home were also collapsed into two dichotomous variables, English language only/other and Asian language only/other.
Data Analysis

Data analysis includes univariate and bivariate statistics, multiple regressions, and diagnostic tests for model validity. Bivariate tests are chosen based on the types of variables being examined; correlations are used for continuous and ordinal variables and ANOVAs are used for mixed (categorical and continuous/ordinal) variables. Results from these bivariate tests determine which control variables to include in the regression analysis; variables with statistically significant relationships to the dependent variable are included. Diagnostics are then run on the regression model to determine its validity. As a result of our findings, additional analyses are run. The subscales are analyzed separately in a regression and an interaction variable is also included in the original regression.

Results

Respondents (see Table 1)

The sample consists of 116 students who responded to items on hope and GPA on the registration form. Almost all of the students are in 8th grade (96%) and there are slightly more male students (56%) than there are female. The sample is predominately Asian/Asian American (70%). See Appendix for the specific ethnic breakdown of the sample. The primary language spoke at home was English only (33%), closely followed by Asian language group only (32%). Students’ parental education is distributed among the four categories with the greatest percentage of mothers and fathers falling in the HS Diploma/GED category (27% & 28%).

The average score for GPA is 3.38 with a standard deviation of .65 and a range of 1.29 to 4.00. The average score for agency hope is 13.68 (S.D.= 2.90), pathway hope is
12.58 (S.D.=2.83), and overall hope is 26.26 (S.D.=5.31). Both agency and pathway hope range from 6 to 18 and overall hope ranges from 12 to 35. Mean scores for agency and pathway hope from other studies are approximately 12.5 (Lopez et al., 2000). The median overall hope score from other studies is reported as 25.89. Using hope scores from 6 samples (not including post-test scores) in other studies, the calculated mean for hope is 25.73 (Snyder et al., 1997). In this study the mean scores for agency and overall hope are similar to, yet slightly higher than those found in the other studies. The agency mean score is higher than the pathway mean score.
Table 1

Sample Descriptive

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender (%Male)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Grade (% in Eighth)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity (% Asian /Asian American)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Language Spoken at home (% English Only, % Asian Language Group Only)</td>
<td>33, 32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Some High School</th>
<th>High School Diploma/GED</th>
<th>Some College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father’s Education (%)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Education (%)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade Point Average</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency Hope</td>
<td>13.68</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathway Hope</td>
<td>12.58</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Hope</td>
<td>26.26</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pearson Correlations (see Table 2) are used to identify statistically significant bivariate associations on continuous variables. Grade point average is significantly related to the following variables: father’s education level ($r=.27$, $p=.01$); agency hope ($r=.30$, $p<.00$); and overall hope ($r=.20$, $p=.03$). This finding supports the hypothesis;
higher scores on the overall hope scale are associated with higher self-reported GPA.

GPA is not significantly related to mother’s education level or pathway hope.
Table 2

Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Pearson</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father’s Education Level*</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Education Level</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency Hope*</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathway Hope</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Hope*</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * = significant at p<.05

One-way Analysis of Variance (see Table 3) is used to identify statistically significant bivariate associations on mixed (continuous & categorical) variables. Grade Point Average is significantly related to Asian ethnicity (p<.00). Grade Point Average is not related to English language only, Asian language only, or gender.
Table 3

ANOVA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian Ethnicity*</td>
<td>40.25</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Only</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Language Group Only</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:  * = significant at p<.05

Based on the above statistically significant bivariate results, control variables are entered in OLS regression. The regression (Table 4) is of GPA on overall hope, father’s level of education, and Asian ethnicity. The results indicate that the relationship between GPA and overall hope is not significant at p<.05 net of the control variables, but the probability is fairly close at p=.08. For a 23 point increase in overall hope (going from the lowest overall hope score to the highest overall hope score) there is a corresponding .44 increase in GPA net of the control variables. Both father’s education level (p=.02), and Asian ethnicity (p<.00) are significantly related to GPA. The hypothesis is not supported by these findings; overall hope is not significantly related to GPA net of the control variables. The full equation explained 31% of the variance in GPA.
Table 4
Regression of GPA on Overall Hope & Controls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients (B)</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Hope</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s Level of Education*</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Ethnicity*</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjusted $R^2 = .31; F=16.60; p<.00$

Note: * = significant at p<.05

Since overall hope is not statistically significantly related to GPA in the regression model, further regressions are run in order to better understand the mechanism. First, a regression (Table 5) of GPA on agency hope, pathway hope, father’s education level and Asian ethnicity is run. The results indicate that agency hope and GPA are statistically significantly related (p<.00) net of controls. For a 1-unit increase in agency hope there is a corresponding .08 increase in GPA. For a 12-point increase in agency hope (going from the lowest agency hope score to the highest agency hope score) there is a .95 increase in GPA. GPA is also significantly related to father’s level of education (p=.01) and Asian ethnicity (p<.00). GPA is not significantly related to pathway hope. The full equation explained 34% of the variance in GPA. These findings are consistent with the bivariate results.
Second, a regression is run to explore differences between the Asian American and non-Asian American participants. We include an interaction variable in our original regression. When an interaction variable for overall hope and Asian ethnicity is included in the regression, we find that the interaction term is statistically significant at p<.05, with the full equation explaining 35% of the variance in GPA. This indicates that the effect of overall hope on GPA controlling for father’s level of education is significantly different for Asian Americans as compared to non-Asian Americans.

In order to test that the assumptions for valid regression analysis are being met, residuals and predicted values from the regression are analyzed. Diagnostics tests for normality (Skew and Kurtosis, a Histogram, and Q-Q plot) indicate that the residuals are close to normally distributed. A plot of the residuals against the predicted values indicates linearity in the residuals. The same plot shows that in both regressions the
residuals are larger around the lower predicted values, indicating slight issues of heteroscedasticity. Heteroscedasticity does weaken the analysis, yet it does not invalidate it (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). This said, it appears that the data do meet requirements for regression analysis.

Discussion

Our findings indicate that when controlling for other statistically significant factors, overall hope is not related to GPA scores in a predominately Asian-American middle school population. The relationship is near significance at $p=.08$ and it is in the expected direction. While this suggests that in a larger or different sample we may see statistically significant results, it also brings our attention to two questions. Why are the results different from those found in most previous research, in particular in the children’s validation study? Is the overall hope construct related to educational achievement?

As in the validation study, we did find statistically significant bivariate associations between educational achievement and overall hope. Once we run multiple regressions including the statistically significant control variables, ethnicity and father’s education status, the statistically significant association is lost. The fact that the relationship between GPA and overall hope vanishes when the controls are included suggests that higher overall hope does not cause increases in educational achievement. This finding replicates the results of an earlier study by Jackson et al. in that they also found a bivariate relationship between hope and GPA in college students, but once they included hope in a regression with other variables— in this case behavioral, previous academics, and demographic— the relationship vanished (2003). Without including the
relevant controls, as in the validation study, the possibility exists that results could be biased.

Our sample differs from other samples in a number of ways. These differences include the ethnic makeup, the sample selection process, and mean scores on independent variables. The demographic makeup of this sample is predominantly Asian/Asian American (70%), ‘non-English language only’ spoken at home (46%) and a sizable ‘Bilingual spoken at home’ (20%) representation. These demographics indicate that many of the parents, and possibly students as well, are first-generation immigrants. Only two samples of the data collected from the Children’s Hope Scale validation study had sufficient ethnic diversity, and Asian/Asian American was not listed among the racial groups in either of those two (Snyder et al., 1997). One other study looks at cross-cultural issues in children’s hope and while it does find some differences (African American students had higher levels of overall hope than their Caucasian peers) the sample includes only nine Asian students out of the 990 usable cases (McDermott et al., 1997).

Factors other than ethnicity make this sample unique. The students in the current study’s sample are self-selected by their registration for the “Plan on College” event, and hence their interest in attending college is probably higher than that of other samples. As a result, these students may be considered more ‘successful’ (i.e. more highly motivated to attend a college planning event) than other students. This makes it extremely difficult to generalize our findings to broader student populations, even to an Asian American student population. More details on the sampling procedure will be discussed in the limitations sections.
Univariate analyses demonstrate unexpected differences between pathway and agency hope and higher than expected mean scores of overall hope and agency hope. These findings are different from results found with the non-Asian samples. The literature indicates that most children have equivalent levels of the pathway and agency hope (Lopez et al., 2000). Yet in this study the agency mean score is significantly higher than the pathway scores. Additionally, the overall hope mean score for this sample is higher than the reported median score and calculated mean score for overall hope in the validation study (Snyder et al., 1997).

Results from analysis of this sample differ from most previous research, raising further questions about the relationship between hope and educational achievement. Therefore, we explore the second question, is the overall hope construct related to educational achievement. Since our regression results on overall hope are insignificant, we examine the hope mechanism further. We do this by regressing GPA on the subscales. In doing so, we find that agency hope is significantly related to GPA while pathway hope is not. Based on hope theory, one would expect to see little to no difference between agency and pathway, and little to no difference in their relationship with GPA, but there is a difference in this sample. There are two possible explanations for these findings. First, we discuss factors associated with the sample such as the self-selected, highly motivated, Asian American students. Second, we explore theories similar to hope that may be embedded in the hope construct through the agency subscale.

Motivation may explain the result that agency hope is associated with GPA and pathway hope is not. Students who excel in school might be more focused on their agency process (motivation and follow through) rather than pathway. Having
experienced academic success at an early age, it is possible that they experienced fewer barriers and therefore needed to utilize only one or two strategies to meet their goals. Another possibility is that educational achievement is more closely related to student’s agency and the need for multiple or creative pathways are unnecessary. All students may have identified a path needed in order to attain good grades, but their agency is what differentiates them in their successful attainment of good grades.

Ethnicity does appear to play a role in the relationship between overall hope and educational achievement in this sample. The interaction variable, Asian American x overall hope, was statistically significant indicating that being Asian American does impact the relationship between hope and educational achievement. For non-Asian Americans going from the minimum overall hope score to the maximum overall hope score corresponds to a meaningful change in GPA (2.79 to 3.20). Yet for Asian Americans going from the same minimum hope score to the same maximum hope score corresponds to a negligible change in GPA (3.49 to 3.51). Therefore even among the students who are highly motivated (i.e. attending this event), we see a pattern differentiating motivated Asian Americans from motivated non-Asian Americans.

Behavioral and cultural factors unique to Asian Americans and educational achievement, such as those discussed earlier in the literature (Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Whang & Hancock, 1994) may have more of an impact on educational achievement than hope does in this population.

Hope theory indicates that agency and pathway hope are both integral and of equal importance to the concept of hope (Snyder, 2000). Analyzing each subscale separately means that we are no longer looking at the hope concept. However, by
analyzing the subscales separately in this study, we find that agency is consistently related to educational achievement whereas pathway is not. The literature distinguishing hope from other goal–related positive psychology theories describes two theories, Bandura’s self-efficacy and Scheier-Carver’s optimism, in terms of placing an emphasis on the agency component (Snyder, 2000). Significant positive associations between self-efficacy and academic achievement have been adequately documented (Multon, Brown, & Lent, 1991). One possibility is that we are not observing a relationship between overall hope and educational achievement because that relationship is mainly made up of the agency component in the scale. Pathway hope may be extraneous when predicting educational achievement. Agency hope could also be representative of another similar construct, such as self-efficacy, in its relationship to educational achievement, or it could just be a meaningful subscale that is related to educational achievement.

**Limitations**

One limitation is the use of self-reported GPA for middle school students. This measurement may not be a valid representation of these student’s true GPA scores due to concerns about socially desirable responses. This is especially true in a sample where the hope scores are slightly higher than average as research findings from the scale validation data found that having high hope is associated with socially desirable responses. Students with higher hope tended to have slight positive distortions about themselves (Snyder et al., 1997). Yet research indicates that self-report of GPA is valid for assessing the official GPA; Pearson correlation was .78 in a sample of over a thousand 10th and 11th grade students, and .79 in a sample of approximately 5000 high school students (Dornbusch et al., 1991; Windle & Mason, 2004). However, the students
in this sample are predominately 8th graders. The only data to support the use of self-report GPA in this population is a sample of 98 6th and 7th graders indicating that self-report GPA is a good proxy for valid GPA; the two scores are significantly highly correlated at .77 (p<.00).

Another limitation is that all of the data was collected at one period in time. Cross-sectional data does not indicate causality because there are no time priorities. While regression analysis implies that the independent variables are influencing the dependent variables, the higher self-reported GPA scores could actually be impacting the hope scale scores. Theoretically, both constructs could have an affect on each other. Higher hope may precipitate higher GPAs, and higher grades may foster or reinforce the student’s hope. Yet the literature does indicate that individuals with higher hope have not necessarily had it easy; they have often faced many obstacles and then figured out ways to get around those obstacles (Snyder, McDermott, Cook, & Rapoff, 2002). Therefore simply succeeding (e.g. getting good grades) might not result in a student having higher hope.

The study’s sample is made up of a small non-random sample. As was stated earlier, the sample is self-selected; the students who choose to register for and/or attend the “Plan on College” outreach event may be different from students in the general population. These students may be more motivated to find out about and go to college. They may come from families who are more supportive of going to college. Teachers may also reinforce opportunities to find out more about college to students with better grades. All of these factors could result in this sample having higher hope and GPA. In addition the sample is predominately Asian American. These two factors in combination
make this sample fairly unique and therefore it is difficult to generalize and replicate results.

A final limitation is that the scale has not been validated for an Asian-American population. Since the Children’s Hope Scale has not been previously used with this population, there may be cultural, linguistic or other issues in the construction of the scale that are not appropriate for this particular population.

Conclusions

In a sample of self-selected predominately Asian American middle school students, we find that overall hope is not significantly related to educational achievement measured by GPA. While this does corroborate the findings in one study of predominately Caucasian college students, it is unexpected given the remainder of the literature on college students and the literature on middle school students. Our research differs from previous research in that it includes statistically significant control variables and our sample is self-selected and predominately Asian American. A number of different possibilities are explored in order to explain our results. One such possibility is that agency hope stands alone in relation to educational achievement or that agency hope as it is measured in the hope scale is capturing aspects of some other goal-oriented construct. Another possibility is that hope may have more of an impact on educational achievement on non-Asian American sample, as was indicated by our interaction analysis.

Further examination of a similar sample, consisting predominately of Asian American first generation immigrant students, is needed in order to verify these findings, especially since the interaction between overall hope and Asian American ethnicity was
statistically significant. Finally, research in a broader sample including meaningful control variables would help to shed light on the true relationship between educational achievement and hope.

Appendix

Sample’s Ethnic Breakdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American/Black</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese/Chinese American</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Indian/Pakistani</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino/Filipino America</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean/Korean American</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican/Mexican American/Chicano</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese/Vietnamese American</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White/European American</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Spanish American/Latino</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline to state</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


The Economies of the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Outlook and Upcoming Issues

Daniel R. Kazmer

1. This paper draws on data from Consensus Economics, Inc. and The Economist. Both survey multiple forecasters and calculate the arithmetic mean of their forecasts. We compare growth rates for two economic measures. The first measure is Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which means the value of total output produced within the borders of a country or, equivalently, the payments for all the labor and capital services used within a country to produce that output, no matter what country the labor and capital belongs to. For example, if a German company buys or builds a factory in Poland and hires Ukrainian workers to work in it, the profit from the factory counts in Polish GDP, not German GDP, even though the profit goes to the German company. The wages paid to the Ukrainian workers also count in Polish GDP, not Ukrainian GDP. Thus, a country's citizens could receive no economic benefit even as its GDP increases. Furthermore, GDP outputs can be added up using different prices for different years. ‘Current GDP’ is calculated in nominal prices, that is, the prices current for that year. These prices, of course, change from year to year. GDP is called ‘real’ if each period's outputs are added up using the same constant prices for one particular year to remove the effects of changes in prices from year to year. Our measure is annual percentage growth in real GDP.

The second economic measure we use is the annual percentage change in each country's Consumer Price Index (CPI), which is a weighted sum of prices for the goods and services that consumers buy. The weights should sum to one and be proportional to the shares of a typical consumer's budget that are spent on various goods and services. Thus the CPI measures the loss in buying power due to price increases for a consumer on a fixed nominal income.

2. We start by putting Eastern Europe in a global context. In the table below, “Eastern Europe” includes 19 countries: Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. “Western Europe” includes Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Annual Real GDP Growth (%)</th>
<th>Annual Consumer Price Increase (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia Pacific</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This broadly defined “Eastern Europe” had the fastest growing GDP of all the global regions in 2004 and 2005 and is expected to retain that title in 2006 and 2007. Western Europe will continue to be the slowest growing region. Eastern Europe also has and will continue to have the highest inflation rates as measured by consumer prices: 8.4% in 2004 dropping to 6.1% by 2007. Inflation in Western Europe at 1.8% in 2004 will rise only to the European Central Bank's target limit of 2.0% in 2007. The Asia Pacific region has twice the GDP growth rate of Western Europe with even less inflation. This will be important later.
The rest of this paper will focus on Eastern Europe and Western Europe. The tradeoff between GDP growth and price stability in these two neighboring and intertwined regions could hardly be clearer. We delve deeper into this dichotomy below.

3. This paper draws on the data in the two attached tables. The first table reports history and forecasts for real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth. 'Real' means the effects of price inflation and deflation have been removed from the underlying measures of GDP. The second table reports the rates of change in the Consumer Price Indexes (CPI). In both tables, the countries are listed in declining order for their 2006 rates of growth. The other years give both some history and a sense of expectations for the future for these economies. The countries included are a mix of emerging economies, mostly formerly centrally planned, both in and out of the EU, and for those in the EU, both in and out of the euro. Some have hopes of joining the EU and of converting to the euro. Also, for most countries, the growth rates for 2006 are not wildly out of trend from the recent past and the forecast future.

4. Scanning the GDP growth table, first note the dearth of negative numbers. GDP declined only in Turkey in 2001 and in Germany in 2003. GDP declines are not foreseen for any of the countries, even out to 2016. This table shows both a remarkable change from the transition and international financial crises of the 1990s and the demise of the business cycle. I have not seen such optimism about GDP growth since, well, 1990.

The CPI table is also remarkable for its lack of negative numbers. A negative number means that consumer prices declined. This is called deflation. Common in economic history, deflation is rare in modern times because central banks prevent it at all costs. The only instance of deflation in our CPI table is Lithuania in 2003. No deflation is forecast for any of the countries in the table. This will also be important for our discussion below.

For 2006, nine East European countries are expected to enjoy GDP growth of more than 6%. These nine include the Baltics or, as I like to call them, the East Nordics - Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania - and Slovakia. Their excellent GDP growth performance suggests that their policies should be emulated by countries wishing also to emulate their GDP growth. All of these four are new EU members that hope to replace their domestic currency with the euro. All four also have CPI inflation rates higher than the European Central Bank’s target maximum of 2% for the current euro12. This suggests that they will have difficulty qualifying to join the euro club, and, if they do qualify, are likely to face a painful trade-off between price stability and continued high GDP growth.

The other five countries with 2006 GDP growth above 6% are Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Russia. Their excellent GDP performance, except for Belarus, can be attributed to the high prices for exports of oil and gas. Belarus' performance may be attributed to the low prices it pays for imports of Russian oil and gas. Their excellent GDP performance is associated with high CPI inflation rates, ranging between 7.4% and 10.6% in 2006. This is more evidence of a serious trade-off between GDP growth and CPI price stability.

5. Key Issue
The excellent GDP growth performance of these five countries, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, and Russia, is disconcerting also because, of all the countries included in the table, they are the poorest advertisements for democracy, rule of law, institution building, free markets, and other political and social factors usually considered essential for GDP growth under normal conditions. Might there even be a trade-off between these highly desirable political and social factors and GDP growth? Trade-off is too strong a concept, for it implies that democracy and free markets may be
inimical to GDP growth if that growth is based on natural resource extraction. However, GDP growth based on natural resource extraction may not require democracy, rule of law, strong political and social institutions, and well-functioning free markets if it is relatively simple or the technology and equipment can be easily imported, the requirement for local labor is minimal, and sales do not depend on domestic consumption; that is, the sector can prosper without being part of the domestic economy. Oil and gas extraction, refining, and transport meet these criteria. Once the holes have been punched in the ground and the pipelines have been laid, the sector can produce and export its product using only a small cadre of specially trained foreign labor. The domestic citizens are merely competitors for the economic rents produced by the sector. Corruption and weak or nonexistent democratic institutions are the norm rather than the exception for oil and gas extraction-based economies because they efficiently minimize the need to share the economic rents. Strong effective democratic institutions and rule of law would result in the wealth being dissipated among all the voters. Corruption systematically limits payoffs only to those who are necessary to keep the oil and gas flowing or could interrupt it, and who can maintain their power without resort to the legal system and/or can use the legal system to increase their power. Corrupt systems tend toward monopoly of power since any player insufficiently powerful and ruthless will soon lose his share of the economic rents to a more powerful and ruthless player. Furthermore, a wise dictator will share some of the wealth, but not the power, to keep the population acquiescent and foreign interference at a minimum.

This diagnosis is applicable to varying degrees to our four fast-growth oil and gas dependent economies - Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia - with degree of applicability roughly proportional to the degree to which oil and gas extraction dominate GDP. The East Nordics and Slovakia, not dependent on oil and gas extraction, are vibrant democracies achieving high GDP growth. Belarus is the apparent anomaly: not dependent on domestic oil and gas extraction, are vibrant democracies achieving high GDP growth. Belarus is the apparent anomaly: not dependent on domestic oil and gas extraction; weak on democracy, rule of law, political institutions, and well-functioning free markets; yet ranking fifth out of 19 in GDP growth rate for 2006. The answer to the anomaly is that Belarus’ economy is dependent on extraction of oil and gas, but from Russia at prices well below world market levels. These imports of oil and gas at below-market prices support rapid GDP growth just as oil and gas exports support rapid GDP growth in the four energy exporters included in the EE19. Belarus’ dependence on energy extraction from Russia also supports dictatorship and corruption in Belarus just as energy extraction does in oil exporting countries. The role of the dictatorship in Belarus is to keep the oil and gas flowing in at below-market prices by maintaining Belarus as a trustworthy vassal of Russia. The population is kept quiescent by giving it a share of the benefits. Western analysts denounce Belarus’ strategy both because it betrays Western values of democracy and free markets and is unsustainable because it depends on maintaining the flow of cheap oil and gas from Russia. However, they do not go so far as to evaluate alternative strategies from Belarus’ perspective. The obvious alternative, recommended by Western advisors, is to develop democratic institutions and a well functioning free market economy. Then Belarus can identify its comparative advantage, export those products, attract foreign direct investment (FDI), and get on a path of sustained GDP growth as many of the other EU countries have. There are several difficulties with this standard recommended growth strategy. First, so far Belarus’ GDP growth has been higher than that of most of the democratic and free market EE economies. For 2006, only Latvia and Estonia will grow faster. Second, those same exemplars of democracy and free markets are also Belarus’ competitors for export markets, FDI, and largesse from the EU budget. Belarus would likely place a poor 12th behind 8 new EU members, 2 prospective EU members–Bulgaria and Romania, and Ukraine, the darling of the Green Revolution. Belarus would also likely be pushed further down the priority list by states emerging from the former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, an East European country outside the EU will face restrictions on trade with EU members, including neighboring EE natural trade partners, as they join the EU.
On the other hand, Belarus has no competition for chief vassal state to Russia. The benefits of cheap energy imports are real and may outlast the willingness and ability of slowly growing Western Europe to absorb rapidly increasing imports from 11 or more East European exporters while providing subsidies from the EU budget to 8 or 10 of them. Belarus will continue to present an interesting alternative strategy for GDP growth, especially for Ukraine and other EE countries with less chance of joining the EU. It is not clear which strategy will turn out to be more “sustainable.”

6. For 2006, there are 6 EE countries whose GDP growth is in the narrow mid-range of 4.3% to 5.4%: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Romania, Turkey, Poland, and Hungary. Three of these are recent EU members; two are in the vestibule to join soon; and one is keeping the hope for distant membership alive. The low GDP growth group, between 3.1% and 3.9%, includes the last of the EE19: Croatia, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Ukraine. The first three are new EU members. Ukraine would very much like to be.

Key Observation
EU membership is not by itself a key determinant of EE GDP growth rates. EU members appear in the high, middle, and low GDP growth groups. Some new EU members experienced higher GDP growth after EU accession, while others experienced lower GDP growth after EU accession. For the 8 EE countries for which long-term forecasts are available, the prognosis is for continued but gently declining GDP growth out to 2016. Of these 8, 4 are EU members; Romania is expected to join soon; and three—Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine—are not expected to join. Yet all 8 have similarly rosy long-term GDP forecasts. The long-term forecasts include neither an apparent addition to, nor an apparent subtraction from, GDP growth for EU membership or prospective conversion to the euro.

The long-term forecasts for CPI inflation give a very different picture. For the 10 years ending in 2016, the Russian ruble is forecast to lose 52% of its domestic purchasing power. At the other extreme, the Polish złoty/euro is forecast to lose only about 20%. The 4 current EU members have long-term CPI inflation forecasts much lower than the 4 non-members. Clearly, the advantage of EU membership and eventual conversion to the euro embedded in the long-term forecasts is lower CPI inflation but not GDP growth.

7. Key Issue
Most striking is who is at the bottom of the GDP growth table. It is the old EU12, members of the two clubs that much faster growing EE countries have joined or aspire to join, the EU and the euro-zone. It is ironic that the old EU15 provide strong evidence of the cost in GDP growth of joining the EU and converting to the euro. (a) The unified markets of the EU are supposed to promote economic growth, yet Western Europe is the slowest growing of the global economic regions in the table on page 1. (b) Replacing national currencies with the euro is supposed to promote even more economic growth by reducing transactions costs among countries within a unified currency area and, therefore, unified markets. Yet the euro12 have a lower GDP growth rate than the three old EU members who did not give up their own currencies and convert to the euro: Sweden, Denmark, and the United Kingdom.

So why would the rapidly growing economies of Eastern Europe want to join two of the worst performing economic clubs in the global economy, the EU and the euro-zone? One likely answer is better access to markets for export-led growth. I suggest that the countries of Eastern Europe, especially the new EU8, are doing to Western Europe what China, India, and other Asian countries are doing to the world. The EU8 are providing good cheap labor to the old EU, but are much closer to the old EU geographically and culturally and have business environments that are much better than China’s. Furthermore, much of the improvement in East European business environments, which
dramatically reduces transaction and investment costs and risks, can be credited to EU membership, the hope for EU membership, and the hope of exporting more to the EU and attracting more investment from the EU.

Exploiting that good cheap labor in the Central and East European countries has additional impacts. It requires massive investment in factories, machinery and equipment, and supporting infrastructure: roads, railways, power, water, and sewerage as well as business and financial services. This is the classic accelerator both in development economics and business cycle theory. These investments are driven more by the rate of growth of GDP rather than its level. The rich, slowly growing countries of Western Europe already have much of this infrastructure in place. For the Central and East European economies, adding this infrastructure and industrial capacity means generally higher levels of gross fixed investment, construction, and industrial production; more imports from the old EU members who export the needed investment goods to the new and aspiring EU members; and more imports of machinery and equipment, raw materials, and minerals and fuels. As the markets in the old EU15 become saturated with imports of consumer goods from Eastern Europe, export-led growth in the East European countries will need to be replaced by economic growth driven by domestic demand.

Note also that the recovery, current boom, and forecast future strong GDP growth in Eastern Europe is not based on advanced technology or the knowledge economy much touted in the 1990s and proclaimed in the Lisbon agenda as the means to make the EU the world's most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy by 2010.” Rather, GDP growth in Eastern Europe, as in China and other Asian economies, is mostly driven by a boom in heavy industry and manufacturing, much of it, including steel, the heavy industry that the old USSR and Eastern Europe emphasized. The investment in manufacturing and heavy industry in both China and Eastern Europe exploits the cheap labor available in those countries. During the 1990s, most of the East European countries lost much of their capital stock in heavy industry and manufacturing due to disuse, theft, and abandonment. Might they have been better off, and might their return to growth have been even more impressive, had they not suffered the capacity losses of the 1990s? My answer is yes. They are now rebuilding this capacity with a classic investment boom. If they add too much capacity, could a glut of capacity lead to a bust, or at least stagnation, in a classic accelerator business down cycle? My answer is “probably.” This is the first threat to the optimistic forecast for East European GDP growth for the coming decade.

The accelerator works as follows. Assume a reasonable incremental capital output ratio of three. Then, to add the capacity to produce one more euro of output, the EE economy must invest in three more euros worth of new plant, equipment, and infrastructure. Thus each one euro increase in demand for EE output also triggers three euros of new investment in plant, equipment, and infrastructure to produce it, much of it imported from Western Europe. But what happens if demand growth for EE exports slows? Then EEs need to invest in new plant and equipment also slows by 3 euros for every euro of less growth in demand from the year before. In fact, if demand for EE output simply stops growing entirely and stays the same, EEs need for new productive capacity via gross fixed investment drops to zero. This is the mechanism for a bust in the classic accelerator business cycle. To the extent that Eastern Europe's growth is dependent on Western Europe continuously increasing its demand for Eastern Europe's exports, the accelerator is not sustainable because, at some point, Western Europe's demand for East Europe's imports will grow more slowly, stop accelerating, or even level off. When this happens, the trade balance between Western Europe and Eastern Europe will show sudden large trade deficits for Western Europe because, based on the incremental capital-output ratio of three to one, if Western Europe's demand for Eastern Europe's exports fails to increase by one euro, Eastern Europe's need to import machinery and equipment from Western Europe declines by three euros, leading to large trade deficits for Western Europe. The inherent instability and unsustainability of an accelerator-
driven economic expansion has long been recognized in business cycle theory within an economy. In this case, it applies to Western European consumer demand for cheap exports from Eastern Europe supporting Eastern Europe’s ‘triple demand’ for imports of Western European investment goods to expand capacity to export cheap consumer goods to Western Europe. This causal circle of demand is growth-enhancing until it slows. Then it stops abruptly in economic recession. The long-term GDP forecasts discussed above do not reflect this likelihood.

8. The likelihood of the economic crisis just described is increased by the slow growth of the economies of Western Europe. If Western Europe grew faster, the accelerator-driven trade balance would continue to function longer, maybe long enough for the GDP growth rates and the growth rates of aggregate demand in Western and Eastern Europe to converge, gradually leading to more diverse trade composition and lessening of the importance of accelerator-driven import of investment goods from Western Europe.

So, what are the forces limiting GDP growth in much of Western Europe to 2% since 2001 and is this slow growth likely to continue over the coming decade? First, most of the old EU15 have not been willing to force their voters to suffer the dislocations of freeing their economies to ruthless market forces. If there is unemployment, real wages need to fall and the already employed need to accept this or risk being replaced. If domestic producers are not competitive, they must reduce their prices till they are competitive and be able to pass these price reductions back to their suppliers of labor, material inputs, and capital. That is, everything in the economy’s supply chain must have highly flexible real prices, downward as well as upward, so that all available factors of production are fully and most efficiently employed or utilized in the supply chain. The market mechanism must be free to operate properly and continuously by changing relative real price signals to achieve and keep achieving new competitive full-employment market equilibria. This is the market mechanism described in the microeconomics half of the standard introductory economics course. It is also the market mechanism that is assumed to be working in the macroeconomics half of the standard introductory economics course. It is also the mechanism that is seldom, if ever, found to be working in the real world. (If an economy has unemployment, its labor markets are not in equilibrium, and real wages should fall till full employment is restored.) Nevertheless, the macroeconomic policies applied are based on theories that assume a well functioning microeconomic system of markets in equilibrium.

The problem is that this key assumption of well functioning microeconomic systems of markets in equilibrium is increasingly wrong. This is because multiple interacting global changes—technological change, the increase in the global labor force as former autarkic centrally-planned economies open to global markets, the increases in global investment to exploit that cheap labor, and the increased demand for key commodities, especially oil and gas, to support the consequent global economic growth—all require continual massive changes in what economies produce and how they produce it. Only well functioning market-driven economies can make these rapid changes continually and correctly, and, to do so, they must have accurate and timely relative price changes that signal how resources should be reallocated both within their economies and relative to other economies with which they trade and compete. Finally, economic decision-makers (We are all economic decision-makers.) must be free to reallocate resources in well functioning free markets in response to those changing relative price signals.

Ironically, the Western-trained, supposedly market-oriented, economics establishment has promoted fixed prices in the name of ‘stability.’ The price policy pillars of the ‘Washington Consensus’ to guide the transition from central planning to market-driven economies in the 1990s were fixed foreign exchange rates and tight domestic monetary and fiscal policies to fight inflation. The results in the 1990s were serial international financial crises and declines in GDP in the transition economies of Eastern Europe.
that exceeded those in the Great Depression of the 1930s. (These crises and the roles of fixed foreign exchange rates and tight monetary policies to fight inflation are analyzed in Daniel R. Kazmer and Michele Konrad, Economic Lessons from the Transition: The Basic Theory Re-Examined, M.E. Sharpe, 2004.)

The problem now is that these policies are still being followed. The adoption of a common currency, the euro, is the ultimate unbreakable fixed exchange rate. It also prevents the euro12 from adjusting their relative wage levels and other production costs relative to each other through changing nominal foreign exchange rates. This puts the burden of changing real foreign exchange rates among the euro 12 on changing relative domestic price and wage levels, that is, on domestic inflation or deflation. However, this adjustment mechanism is greatly slowed by central bank policy. For the European Central Bank and the banks that follow its lead, the CPI or other related price index, a weighted average of all domestic prices, must be constrained to move only between 0% (because deflation is not tolerated) and 2% per year. This leaves little room for real relative prices to adjust. Without the correct relative price signals, the economies cannot efficiently re-allocate resources to produce the goods and services for which relative demand is increasing, as signaled by rising relative prices, at minimal cost, with changing relative input costs accurately signaled via changing relative input prices. Over time, the resulting cumulative losses in economic efficiency both slow GDP growth and increases price inflation. A perpetually restrictive monetary policy fights inflation at the expense of economic efficiency and therefore slows GDP growth. Thus, the second threat to continued strong GDP growth in Eastern Europe may be too early conversion to the euro at too high an exchange rate and the subsequent adoption of the European Central Bank’s perpetual sacrifice of GDP growth for no deflation and low inflation.

9. Keeping this threat in mind, look again at our data tables. Start with the regional table on page 1, section 2. Note that Eastern Europe has both the highest GDP growth and the highest CPI inflation rates. Western Europe has the lowest GDP growth and the second lowest CPI inflation rates. (The Asia Pacific region, still trying to employ its large low-cost labor forces, has CPI inflation rates even lower than Western Europe’s but with much higher GDP growth. Also, since the Asian financial crisis of 1997, many Asia Pacific currencies are no longer fixed to each other and to the Chinese yuan via fixed exchange rates to the US dollar. Their currency policies are de facto the opposite of the European Central Bank’s.) Turn now to the data tables at the end of this paper. The euro12 have the lowest GDP growth rate in 2006 with only Germany, the largest of the euro12, even lower. However, the euro12 does not have the lowest CPI inflation rate in 2006. Sweden and Poland have lower CPI inflation rates. Note that 3 old EU members have both higher GDP growth rates than the euro12 but still have quite low CPI inflation rates: the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Denmark. All 3 are in the EU but have not converted to the euro; thus, their export and import trade cost competitiveness can adjust automatically relative to the euro12 and every other economy in the world via changing foreign exchange rates. All 3 of them, even little Denmark, do better than the euro12, despite the supposedly higher transactions costs and currency risks of maintaining their own currencies. This shows the first advantage of not converting to the euro. Note also that, since corporate and individual citizens are free to have accounts and conduct their international transactions in whatever currency is most convenient and cost effective, many of the gains from using the euro can be had without converting the entire internal economy to the euro. (Global currency transactions of all kinds average over $3 trillion per day, with 90% of the transactions involving the US dollar.)

Note also that the UK and Sweden are at the opposite extremes within the EU15 for types of capitalism. The UK is the Anglo-Saxon model for free market competitiveness, while Sweden is the model for government involvement in income redistribution and the welfare state. Yet both do better
with GDP growth and about as well with CPI inflation as the euro. The key point this evidence supports is that differing institutional structures, even significant income redistribution via taxes and transfers, can be accommodated as long as flexible foreign exchange rates and flexible domestic prices give correct and timely price signals to continually reallocate resources as needed to improve economic efficiency.

10. Given the strong evidence from the tables that higher real GDP growth is associated with some tolerance of inflation, how much inflation should be tolerated and under what circumstances? There is no simple answer because there is a tradeoff between price stability and getting the needed changes in relative real wages and prices to continually reallocate labor, capital, and resources properly. We need to measure this tradeoff. We have multiple measures of price inflation but none of changes in relative prices. This is ironic because changes in relative prices are easy to calculate. A price index is simply a weighted mean or average. In every standard statistics text, after it explains calculation of means or averages, the next topic is calculation of variance and standard deviation, that is, measures of the dispersion from the average of the numbers included in the average. No additional data is required. If you can calculate the average, then you can calculate the variance and standard deviation. Yet no economic statistical organization does this. (For a full explanation of how to use variances in prices and outputs to diagnose the microeconomic functioning of an economy, see Kazmer and Konrad, Economic Lessons from the Transition: The Basic Theory Re-Examined, M.E. Sharpe, 2004, pages 131–137.) Basically, if the standard deviations are getting larger over time, the prices are moving farther apart and in different directions, so inflation or deflation should be tolerated, since the relative prices are changing and signaling the economy to reallocate inputs. If all the prices were to increase or decrease by the same percentage, then so would their weighted average, the price index. However, there would be no change in relative prices, so the standard deviation would be unchanged and the price increases and decreases give no signals to reallocate inputs or adjust demands for outputs. This is at best useless inflation. At worst, it masks the all-important changes in relative prices with big changes in the levels of all or most prices. This is the inflation that should be stopped with a tighter monetary policy. To summarize, the second disadvantage of conversion to the euro is the constricting effect of ECB monetary policy on relative price changes within an economy since the weighted average of all price changes must be between 0% (no deflation) and 2% regardless of the relative price changes needed for economic efficiency.

11. Since the ECB, the IMF and the central banks that follow their lead will continue fighting both deflation and inflation regardless of the economic costs in lost GDP, what is likely to happen to the economies of Eastern Europe? Under the tutelage of the IMF, the European Central Bank, and important countries’ central banks, the East European central banks also will increasingly use tight monetary policy to fight inflation regardless of the consequences for GDP and employment growth, especially to qualify to convert to the euro. Therefore, the Eastern European economies will become more like the Western European economies with slowing GDP growth, but long before reaching the levels of income and standards of living in Western Europe. After they convert to the euro, that use of restrictive monetary policy to maintain price stability regardless of the consequences for output and employment will be even stronger and the ability to adjust via changing foreign exchange rates will be greatly reduced. This adjustment will then be possible only relative to non-euro economies.

Another major problem for the East European EU members will be the exchange rates at which their currencies convert to the euro. The stronger the exchange rate at which a country's domestic currency converts to the euro, the more export competitiveness and FDI attractiveness that country loses relative to other euro countries (and relative to non-euro countries if the euro appreciates). The only ways a country can regain lost export competitiveness is over time to lower relative costs via increasing
relative technological superiority, relative productivity gains, or lower relative production input prices. “Relative” here means relative to other members of the euro club.

My advice is that the East European EU members should consider postponing or even not converting to the euro. Note again the relative GDP growth and inflation performance of the 3 members of the old EU15 who did not convert to the euro, Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden. All 3 are forecast to have higher GDP growth and slightly lower CPI inflation than the euro12. The East European EU members must make greater relative price adjustments in their economies relative to the euro12 than do Great Britain, Sweden, or Denmark. So freedom to adjust real exchange rates via nominal foreign exchange rates is more important for them. Also, fixed exchange rates, including conversion to the euro, are transitive. So, by converting to the euro, the East European EU members are also fixing their exchange rates to each other. The advantage of not converting to the euro increases as other EE competitors do convert.

12. For our final insight into the consequences of joining the EU and converting to the euro too soon and at too high an exchange rate, let us imagine the future an advanced East European economy after it has been fully integrated into the EU for 15 years and has been fully converted to the euro for six years. Given all the advantages of EU membership and a strong stable global currency, this economy certainly will have experienced strong growth, no doubt closing the wealth gap with the original EU15. How could it happen otherwise? This imaginary East European economy already exists. It is the former East Germany, and its economic history since reunification should serve as a warning to joining the EU and converting to the euro at too high an exchange rate and without carefully considering the potential long-term economic consequences of the dual straightjackets of a fixed foreign exchange rate (A common currency is the ultimate unbreakable fixed foreign exchange rate.) and a very restrictive monetary policy that severely limits changes in real relative prices and wage levels, both up and down.

Remember that in 1990, West Germany was the leading economy in Europe and the strong deutschmark was the anchor of the Exchange Rate Mechanism. Reunification combined the strongest economy in Western Europe with the most advanced economy of the Soviet bloc.

There are multiple contributing factors to the disappointing performance of the former East Germany and, indeed, unified Germany. (Note that in 2006, Germany has the lowest GDP growth rate in our table, but also the lowest CPI inflation except for Poland or Sweden.) I blame the two currency conversions at too high exchange rates: first, the conversion of the East German oestmark to the deutschmark at one to one for small amounts and 2 to 1 for large amounts, and, second, the conversion of the deutschmark to the euro at too high an exchange rate. The only cure for these two miscalculations is for Germany to undergo deflation or much lower inflation than the other euro countries, and for the former East Germany to undergo deflation or slower inflation relative to the former West Germany. The common currency effect combined first with the Bundesbank's and then with the ECB's commitment to fight both deflation (in Germany) and inflation (in the remaining 11 of the euro12) has dragged this process out to over a decade and a half (so far) at a huge cost in lost potential GDP.

13. Despite the economic statistics and the lessons of history, I expect the East European EU members to convert to the euro unless some of them have trouble meeting the qualifying criteria. The basic dynamics may play out as follows.
(a) Those EE economies that convert to the euro earliest will be more vulnerable to foreign exchange rate competition for FDI and export markets from their competitive neighbors that retain independent currencies that can depreciate against the euro. Also, the fewer EE economies that convert to the euro,
the less clout they will have within the ECB to alter its policy target of 0% to 2% inflation for them individually. So, if a country is converting to the euro, there is advantage to converting as part of a larger group, just as there was in joining the EU.

(b) The longer a candidate country waits to convert to the euro, the more competitive price advantage it can lose if its real exchange rate (the combination of its nominal exchange rate and its domestic price level) appreciates against each of the euro12+’s real exchange rates. (Each of the euro12+ has the same nominal foreign exchange but its own individual domestic inflation rate.)

(c) On the other hand, if a candidate country expects real exchange rate depreciation against most of the euro12+, it gains competitive price advantage the longer it waits.

(d) Each EE economy gains maximum competitive price advantage by converting to the euro at the lowest possible exchange rate (A unit of its currency buys the lowest number of euros. Equivalently, it takes the largest number of units of its currency to buy one euro.)

The exchange rate at which each EE EU member converts to the euro relative to the exchange rates at which each of its EE EU competitors converts to the euro will be a key determinant of where each will fall on the continuum of EU economic performance between Ireland and East Germany.

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### Annual Growth Real GDP EE

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Title: Theories of Motivation in Addiction Treatment: Testing the Relationship of the Transtheoretical Model of Change and Self-Determination Theory

Authors: Kerry Kennedy, PhD
Weber State University
Department of Social Work & Gerontology
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Tom Gregoire, PhD
The Ohio State University
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Abstract

We explored the relationship between two theories of motivation: Self-Determination Theory (SDT) and the Transtheoretical Model of Change (TTM) and sought to determine whether the source of motivation described by SDT would predict TTM’s stage of change. SDT was operationalized as the level of internal or external motivation for treatment: TTM was operationalized as three stages of change: precontemplation, contemplation, and action.

Our data came from the Drug Abuse Treatment Outcome Study. A multinomial logistic regression analysis indicated that there was a significant relationship between source of motivation and stage of change at intake. Controlling for severity, treatment history, legal status, and primary substance use persons entering treatment with higher levels of internal motivation were more likely to be in the action stage than either the contemplation or precontemplation stage. Higher levels of internal motivation also predicted a greater likelihood of being in the contemplation rather than the precontemplation stage.
Proceedings Submissions

1. Title of the submission
Aspiration, Opportunity, and Choice: Immigrant Students’ Transition to College

2. Name(s) of the author(s) (first name last name)
Eunyoung Kim

3. Affiliation(s) of the author(s)
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6. Abstract
A steadily growing immigrant population has played a fundamental role in molding and diversifying American society. Despite current interest about the status of immigrants in the United States, the higher educational aspirations and attainment of students from that group have been largely overlooked. In response, this study will examine the factors that influence the college choice process and subsequent enrollment decisions of immigrant students using a mixed method approach. The findings from this study will add new knowledge on student college choices and transitions for an under-examined segment of the student population and provide implications for policy and practices to increase college access and success.
Proceedings Submissions

1. Title of the submission
A Virtual Metamorphosis: Higher Education Policy Implications of the Western Governors University

2. Name(s) of the author(s) (first name. last name)
Eunyoung Kim

3. Affiliation(s) of the author(s)
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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Champaign, IL 61820
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6. Abstract
Higher education enterprise is increasingly experiencing significant changes as it responds to technology enhancements and online education for the knowledge-based society of the 21st century. This paper describes the case of Western Governors University (WGU), a multi-state regional and virtual university, from its creation to current operation. Further, the paper identifies and analyzes the major public policy issues surrounding the emergence of WGU and uses those issues to provide a platform for further discussion of critical higher education policies. The case of WGU raises important questions about the purpose and evolution of higher education and challenges that face the higher education community while grappling with the issues of affordability, quality, and efficiency.
The 5th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Science  
(Honolulu, Hawaii, May 31-June 3, 2006)

Title of the submission: China Tian-Xia (天下: Under the Heaven):  
Politicization of Chinese Popular Culture in Zhang Yimou's film, “Hero”

Topic area of the submission: Area Studies/Communication/Political Science  
Presentation format: Paper Session

Lead Author: Jiin Kim (jiin337@hotmail.com)  
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**Abstract**

China Tian-xia(天下: under the Heaven):
Politicization of Chinese Popular Culture in Zhang Yimou's film, “Hero”

As a recent Chinese popular cultural phenomenon demonstrates, Zhang's film "Hero" in 2004 marked a turning point in Chinese film industry by grossing a box-office record of 235 million dollars, even though SARS epidemic threatened the entire Chinese film market. The film is based on an early China's warring states period, the country was divided into seven kingdoms: Qin, Zhao, Han, Wei, Yan, Chu and Qi. For years, the separate kingdoms fought ruthlessly for supremacy. The Qin King was determined with conquering all of China and becoming her first Emperor. He had long been the target of three legendary assassins but they abandoned the mission in the name of the unity under the heaven (Tian-xia). As the paper will show, Tian-xia has a political and cultural significance in the film. Few scholars and politicians have criticized the film as an ideological justification of China's global ambitions to dominate the East Asia and beyond. This is manifested by China's annual double-digit military budget increase and its government’s massive investment on re-legitimization of Chinese culture and history.

But is Tian-xia a Chinese version of western definition of globalization? Or does Chinese government simply fear of its internal fragmentation and problems such as Tibet, Sinjiang, and controlling of ethnic minorities? China’s shift of its communism to nationalism has not been smooth as the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, for example. The crisis of communism certainly redirected China’s attention to economic reform and Kaifang (open policy) in the 1980s. But it also needed an ideological replacement and found patriotic nationalism. The paper examines how Tian-xia has been an integral part of the construction of Chinese nationalism through Zhang Yimou’s epic film. The film is analyzed to show how national ambition is not deployed just in a totalitarian way but also in self-examination of Chineseness. In order to understand Chinese contemporary version of nationalism, one must understand the concept of Tian-xia, national pride and humiliation.
Madam President:
An Analysis of the TV Show Commander in Chief

by Bill Kirtley
Central Texas College
bkirtley@mind.net
1425 Jasper Street, Medford OR 97501

A Political Science or cross-disciplinary paper prepared for a paper session at the
2006 Hawaii International Social Science Conference.

Abstract

This paper analyzes the television show Commander in Chief using the tools of analysis
found in Hedrick Smith’s The Power Game. The television series stars Academy Award winner
Geena Davis as McKenzie Allen, the first woman President of the United States. The show
chronicles her efforts to deal with the problems of family and country. Smith’s analysis helps us
determine the extent of her power, not only as Commander in Chief, but also as Chief Diplomat,
Chief Executive, Chief of Party, and Chief persuader. Many predict that the show anticipates
reality, that the country will have a woman President in 2008. Commander in Chief offers a
compelling description of the Washington power game and, perhaps, a vision of the future.

Introduction
She is a woman. It’s so easy to deal with women if you just remember they’re not men. Nathan Templeton speaking about President Allen (1.3).

Voters in two countries recently elected women to positions of leadership, Angela Merkel in Germany, Michelle Bachelet in Chile, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in Liberia. Sixty-nine women hold seats in the US House of Representatives and nine hold Senate seats. In 1999, President Ford predicted that the nation would soon have a woman President, most likely a Vice President taking over upon the death of a President (Reichmann and Appendix A). A recent poll indicated that ninety percent of Americans would vote for a qualified woman. Yet in over two hundred years no woman has entered the pantheon of Presidents.

People don’t have to wait any longer for a female role model of the Presidency of the US. ABC’s smash hit Commander in Chief features Academy Award-winner Geena Davis as President McKenzie Allen. Mac excels at multi-tasking. She runs the country with a firm hand and mothers twin teenagers and a six-year-old. She assumes office despite the deathbed wish of her predecessor. Mac must also counter the machinations of the Speaker of the House Nathan Templeton (Donald Sutherland).

After watching the first episode of Commander in Chief, both my wife and daughter suggested that I might find it fun writing about the show. Hedrick Smith’s work immediately came to my mind as a particularly illuminating framework for analyzing the program. I used Smith’s categories of analysis: the power game, foreign and domestic policy, and the President’s staff and family, with an eye toward teaching American Government. One thing struck me as soon as I started research. Two groups of people take this show far more seriously than an evening’s diversion: those concerned with gender equity in elected office and as portrayed in the media, and those obsessed with partisan politics.

I. The Power Game
People who don’t want power have no idea what to do with it.
Speaker of the House Nathan Templeton (1.1)

A panoply of power swirls around Commander in Chief. It’s hard to believe that a TV show has the power to alter the course of history. However, Feminist Naomi Wolf believes the show paves the way for a Hillary Clinton Presidency. Many conservatives agree, charging that the show is an infomercial for Senator Clinton. They note that Stephen Cohen, a writer for Commander in Chief, acted as Hillary Clinton’s Director of Communications in the White House. Despite these allegations, First Lady Laura Bush thinks Republican Condoleezza Rice a more likely candidate for the honor of first woman President (Reichmann).

These pundits acknowledge the power of image to influence voters. Michael Deaver, President Reagan’s public relations adviser used modern advertising techniques to merchandize Reagan and his message to the American public. Deaver, the self-styled “Vicar of visuals” set the standard for media manipulation among contemporary politicians (Smith 414). He concerned himself with the details of how the President influenced an audience through the power of image. The assertion that Commander in Chief may determine the next President of the United States gains plausibility in context of his oft-emulated work.

It comes as no surprise that culture war warriors consider Commander in Chief a hot topic. One committed conservative charged that Commander in Chief was part of a “vast left-wing conspiracy” (Moore). Rod Lurie countered this accusation by noting that one of the show’s writers, Stuart Stephens, ran the 2000 and 2004 media campaigns for President G.W. Bush. Lurie said that he just wanted a hit show and a chance to portray women involved in the process, whether they are “Democrats, Republicans, or Independents” (Moore).
Millions of Americans make *Commander in Chief* the top-ranked new show on television. They watch, not because of the power struggle that goes on around it, but because they love the idea of a woman President who deals with the problems of her family and the country. The show does a superb job portraying President Allen’s powers as Chief Diplomat. Her ability to remain resolute in the face of a nuclear war with North Korea defines her character and informs the public as to why they should vote for her in the next election.

**II. The Foreign Policy Game**

*Ma’am you can’t dance with President Kharakov.*

*Why? Is he a bad dancer? A good dancer?*

President Allen’s reply to an aide (1.4).

President McKenzie Allen shines in the area of foreign affairs. As Chief Diplomat and Commander in Chief of the world’s largest military force, she wields tremendous powers. Mac repositions the fleet before her predecessor dies. She stages a show of force to encourage the Nigerians to give up an unwed mother condemned to death. She employs military force when a corrupt Latin American dictator orders American DEA agents killed. She brings the country to the brink of war with North Korea after a nuclear submarine runs aground in their waters.

All these incidents mirror the actions of her real life peers, even to the point of ignoring the Department of State in favor of her National Security Council. In 1963, President Kennedy brought the country to the brink of nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis. President Jimmy Carter based his foreign policy on “constant decency” and cut off aid to countries that violated human rights like Chile and Argentina. In 1989, President George H. W. Bush deposed a corrupt Latin American dictator after US forces invaded Panama and, in the process, killed far more civilians than supporters of Manuel Noriega.

Personal diplomacy is Mac’s forte. She hosts a summit meeting with the Russian President at the White House, an affair includes a state dinner and dancing. Mac’s advisors
worry that it could send the wrong signal if she dances with the Russian President and he leads. She dismisses such concerns as nonsense, dances with the Russian, and later persuades his wife to bring pressure on him to free dissident journalists.

President, George W. Bush’s personal diplomacy won friends for America in Tbilisi, Georgia. In May 2005. Bush attended a cultural event that featured folk dancing. At the conclusion of the performance, President Bush delighted the audience with a few impromptu dance steps. Bush’s less than graceful efforts helped him appear more human and a part of local culture. For Mac, the possibility arose that she might appear weak because she let a man lead.

Diplomacy in the real world involves risk. President Carter’s inability to resolve the capture of the American Embassy by Iranian terrorists permanently damaged the public’s opinion of his administration. The Foreign Policy incidents portrayed on Commander in Chief convey the danger inherent in such situations. However, the show ignores the real life untidiness of foreign policy, as well as the unintended consequences that bedevil modern leaders. Instead, the writers of the show focus on the opportunity that international incidents provide to showcase President Allen’s character qualities to the voting public. Even so, all is not quiet on the domestic front, especially when one has cruel, cunning, Nathan Templeton as an enemy.

III. The Domestic Policy Game

You tell ma girl, that this is just a dance.
She stands on people’s toes, she sits out. That’s how it goes.
Nathan Templeton speaking about President Allen (1.2).

Mac is an Independent. Rod Lurie, the creator of the show, noted that, “it is sort of a big deal” (Herald). It is significant because the role of Chief of Party gives a President tremendous influence in Congress. It is doubtful whether any President could implement a program without the aid of fellow party members in Congress. All Mac can do is depend on the power of principle in a town where, “You can’t even trust the backstabbers” (1.4). Her Democratic Vice-President
and Republican Chief of Staff find allies from both sides of the aisle, but all too often she relies on Speaker of the House Templeton for help, always a risky proposition.

History shows that Mac does well under the circumstances. President Washington considered himself an Independent. President Tyler, like Mac, took over after the death of the President and had difficulties with his Cabinet. Tyler retaliated by hosting a gala before he departed office just to let his opponents know that he really did have a party. President Ford, who took over after Nixon’s resignation, was frustrated as the head of a caretaker government.

Mac takes pride in her first executive order establishing a scholarship program, even though she cannot fund it without money appropriated by Congress. She outwits Nathan Templeton and the Democratic governor of Florida by federalizing a leaking oil ship so that it can pull into a Navy base for repairs. She learns of a hurricane while reading to children in a school, visits the victims without delay, and secures timely assistance.

Brash young Dickie McDonald identifies Mac’s fundamental domestic problem. She is an unelected President with two years to serve in her predecessor’s four year term. Dickie warns her that if she does not start running for election, nothing else matters. One of President Lyndon Johnson’s aides put it this way, “You can’t put anything through when half of Congress is thinking how to beat you” (Smith 335). For an Independent, this applies to both halves of Congress. Mac seriously considers the problem of whether she wants to run for the Presidency and the effect it will have on her family.

**IV– The Power of Proximity – The White House Staff**

*Jim, you have the hardest job in Washington.*
President Allen to Jim Gardner, Chief of Staff (1.8).

The Burger King slogan, “Have it your way.” tells you everything you need to know about the President’s staff. Every President organizes the staff to fit their personality and needs.
Eisenhower, a former general, favored a hierarchical set up. Clinton, a more garrulous person, facilitated debate by organizing his staff like the spokes of a wheel.

President Allen inherits her staff from her predecessor. She is not entirely happy with all his picks, nor are they with her. One secretary resigns immediately after Mac assumes office. President McKenzie tolerates frank differences of opinion and, above all, demands honesty from her staff. She accepts the advice of her Vice-Presidential pick, Warren Keaton (Peter Coyote) on closing military bases even though it runs counter to old loyalties. Commander in Chief shows what President Allen expects from the players in the power game that are closest to her: the Cabinet, White House Staff, and the Household Staff.

The Cabinet – The President appoints Cabinet members with the consent of the Senate. In theory Cabinet members hold considerable power, but in actuality they do not. Ronald Regan snoozed during Cabinet meetings. President Allen deals with problems faced by President Tyler in the past. Challenged by rebellion among her cabinet members, she demands they commit or resign. Then she sends the perpetrator of the plot, Nathan Templeton, a book recalling the earlier historical incident to inform him that she knows he instigated the cabinet revolt.

White House Staff – The Chief of Staff performs a complex leadership role. Vice President Dick Cheney, formerly Chief of Staff for Gerald Ford, observed, “If there is a dirty deed, it’s the chief of staff who’s got to do it” (Eisenstein 523). Jim Gardner, President Allen’s Chief of Staff, sternly reminds the leaders of the National Security Council that they serve at the pleasure of the President and that she will accept no duplicity.

The Chief of Staff stands at the center of a maze of access determining who gets to see the President. Gardner arranges a walk with the President for his former lover Jayne Murray (Natasha Henstridge of Species fame) thus ensuring her success as a lobbyist.
Kelly Ludlow (Ever Carradine) holds the position of press secretary in the Allen Administration. She proves her mettle by firing a drunk and insubordinate staff member. Kelly connects with media strategist Dickie McDonald, played by Mark-Paul Gosselar of NYPD Blue, at the President’s family Thanksgiving Dinner. Dickie later demonstrates profound insensitivity by telling Vince Taylor (Anthony Azizi), Special Assistant to the President, that the polls favorably reflected his public announcement that he tested HIV positive.

**Household Staff** – Most viewers want to see the personal interaction that household staff members enjoy with the First Family. When Amy overstays a visit to her mom’s office, a White House usher playfully swings the child over his shoulder and whisked her away.

The White House residency staff owes their allegiance to the Office of the Presidency. However long their tenures, they serve at the will of the President. President Taft’s son ordered one of the waiters dismissed because he did not like his looks. In the same vein, Rod ordered Rebecca’s secret service agent transferred after she allowed Rebecca a few moments alone with her boyfriend and the paparazzi caught the two embracing. The Cabinet, White House Staff, and Household staff work directly for the President. The relationships and influence of family members to the President are far more complex.

**V. The Politics of Family**

*OK look, you get to be John-John and I’ll be Patty Davis.*

Rebecca Allen to Horace Allen (1.1)

Robert Lurie centers his story of the first woman President, not on politics, but on family. Family comes first for President Mackenzie Allen. She involves herself in the lives of her husband, Rod (Kyle Secor); her twins, outgoing Horace (Matt Lanter); and rebellious Rebecca (Caitlin Wachs) and her seven-year old, Amy (Jasmine Anthony). Mac encounters problems with
her generally supportive husband’s parenting skills. He waits too long and comes on too strong when counseling the teenagers and, as a result, exacerbates their problems.

**First Gentleman** – Historically, women, other than the wives of the president, served as first lady. This happened when the President was a bachelor, a widower, or when his spouse did not wish to perform the duties of first lady. President Van Buren, a widower, delegated hostess duties to his daughter. The press dubbed her, “Mistress of the White House” (Boller 74). Susan Ford acted as White House hostess while her mother recovered from breast cancer. First Lady Hillary Clinton hoped that “each woman, and someday men in that position, will be free to be who they are”(Boller 483, See Appendix B and C).

President Allen relies on the support and advice of her husband Rod. Even so, he feels disappointed and upset when McKenzie does not choose him as her Chief of Staff. Edwin Meese exhibited similar feelings when his close friend President Reagan passed him over for James Baker as Chief of Staff. Rod has problems fulfilling the traditional role of First Lady/Gentleman. He winces when his Chief of Staff, Norah Woodruff (Kristen Shaw) cites Hillary Clinton’s departure from the traditional role of First Lady as an example of how not to do the job.

Rod finds an answer to his problems in the person of his mother-in-law, Kate Allen, played by veteran actor Polly Bergen. Rod and Kate genuinely care for each other and, at his urging, President Allen asks her mother to stay in the White House to help care for the children and act as official hostess. Kate takes to her new duties with relish. The kitchen staff loves her and the First Lady’s chief of staff, at last, finds someone interested in menus and place cards.

**The First Children** - Doug Wead, a staffer in George H. W. Bush’s campaign for the Presidency in 1988, wrote a report on presidential children. The report detailed the lives of the children of various Presidents. Wead referred to John Adams and his son John Quincy Adams
and asked the question, “Can lightning strike twice in the same place?” (5). Apparently it did, father and son Bush both became President. According to Wead, the key to surviving the glare of publicity in the White House was strong parental support for the children.

President Arthur stoutly defended the privacy of his nine-year-old daughter stating, “I may be the President of the United States, but my private life is nobody’s business” (Wead 349). Jacqueline Kennedy worked hard to protect her children from the press and advised the Carters to do so as well. In the TV drama, President Allen consoles her petulant seven-year old with stories of Amy Carter in a Halloween episode. When the press besieges the twins at their school Mac storms into a press conference and warns, “This is not Mac the President talking, this is Mac the mother. Don’t mess with my kids” (1.2).

In the past, some family members handled the publicity well, dutifully serving their parents. Anna Roosevelt helped her father, Franklin, and activist mother, Eleanor, by serving as White House hostess. Other children of a President reacted to the pressure by drinking or other forms of self-destructive behavior. The Bush twins, Barbara and Jenna, attracted unfavorable publicity until Grandmother Barbara Bush laid down the law. In the television show, Grandmother Allen may perform a similar role in future episodes.

Growing up in the limelight is as difficult for Mac’s twins as for the actual occupants of the White House. Steve Ford, son of President Gerald Ford, confessed that he narrowly escaped embarrassment while entertaining a young woman in the Queen’s bedroom. In the TV drama, President Allen walks into her daughter’s bedroom and discovers Rebecca and her boyfriend in passionate embrace. The boy observes, “Madame President, it’s an honor to meet you.” Mac replies, “It would be more of an honor if you weren’t in my daughter’s bedroom” (1.5).
Mac’s son Horace has problems with his schoolwork. She should look to history for a solution. President Coolidge’s solution to the problem when his son John’s grades at Amherst College slipped because he spent more time courting a young lady than studying. Coolidge sent a secret service agent to live with his son and monitor the boy’s study habits. Teenagers by their nature often err, but they have youth to blame for their mistakes.

**Conclusion**

*And there’s that whole once-a-month, ‘Will she or won’t she push the button thing.’*

President McKenzie Allen (1.1)

The first ten episodes of *Commander in Chief* paint a picture of the problems of the first woman President. McKenzie Allen becomes President despite the expressed wishes of her predecessor. She has very little transition time. She must deal with a series of international incidents from the day she takes office. Her husband Rod, and children, Horace, Rebecca, and Amy have to learn, as well, what it means to live in the White House.

Hedrick Smith’s *Power Game* helps us recognize several levels of power in *Commander in Chief*. President McKenzie enjoys almost unlimited power as Commander in Chief and Chief Diplomat. Her power is limited as far as domestic affairs. Mac is a strong, decisive Chief Executive. She uses her judicial powers when a pardon is in order, despite the political consequences. She has power over her family, but her love for them leaves her vulnerable.

Feminist Naomi Wolf describes Mac’s use of power from a different viewpoint. In an article in the *Guardian*, she recalls a dialogue between Nathan Templeton and McKenzie Allen. Templeton wants power for its own sake. Mac is only willing to use power with a conscience. As Wolf comments, these two motives for power are not gendered. However, if Mac is to win acceptance and election, she must act with strength, toughness, and aggression, characteristics that in modern American culture are stereotypically thought of as masculine.
Much of contemporary government has to do with the power to persuade. President Allen charms reporters with her candor and confounds her enemies with her wit during her weekly press conferences. Although some think Geena Davis is too sexy to fit the stereotype of what a President should look like, I believe her height (six feet), bearing, and demeanor are appropriate for that position. I say that if the President is not a tall white male, let her look like Geena Davis.

*Commander in Chief* is neither *West Wing* nor a soap opera, although sometimes the acting of Donald Sutherland brings it close to that daytime genre. It deals with the personal and professional life of the first woman President, something that may soon come to pass. *Time* magazine alluded to the power of the show to determine the next President of the US. They featured a striking picture of Geena Davis in the oval office as part of a section on “People Who Mattered in 2005.” They noted, “Does the drama’s success bode well for Hillary or Condi? They’d have big shoes to fill” (148-9).

Television recreates the world in ways that we can understand. In this case it trots out the old shibboleths about women and demolishes them. Viewers do not care if President Allen lives in an altered condition of reality. She represents the strong forceful President they yearn for. She makes decisions based on the right thing to do, rather than political expediency. She belongs to no political party in an age when voters consider party labels as a negative. Viewers relate to a warm caring person with a family. *Commander in Chief* offers a compelling description of the Washington power game and, perhaps, a vision of the future.
Appendix A – Vice Presidents Who Succeeded to the Office of President
1. John Tyler on the death of William Henry Harrison, 1841
2. Millard Fillmore on the death of Zachary Taylor, 1850
3. Andrew Johnson after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, 1865
4. Chester Arthur after the assassination of James Garfield, 1881
5. Theodore Roosevelt after the assassination of William McKinley, 1901
6. Calvin Coolidge after the death of Warren Harding, 1923
7. Harry Truman after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1945
8. Lyndon Johnson after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, 1962
9. Gerald Ford after the resignation of Richard Nixon

Appendix B – Presidents Without Wives in the White House
1. Thomas Jefferson, widowed
2. Andrew Jackson, widowed
3. Martin Van Buren, widowed
4. William Henry Harrison, wife did not come to Washington
5. James Buchanan, bachelor
6. Chester Arthur, widowed

Appendix C – White House Hostesses Other Than the President’s Wife
1. Thomas Jefferson – Dolly Madison – wife of cabinet member
   Martha Jefferson – daughter
4. John Tyler – Pricilla Tyler – daughter-in-law
5. Chester Arthur – Mary McElroy – sister
6. Grover Cleveland – Rosa Elizabeth Cleveland – sister – until Cleveland married
7. Franklin D. Roosevelt - Anna Roosevelt – daughter often subbed for her busy mother
8. Gerald Ford – Susan Ford acted as hostess during her mother’s illness
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AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND THE COURTS: ANALYSIS OF SUBPOENAS DEMANDING DISCLOSURE OF CONFIDENTIAL RESEARCH DATA

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Prepared for Presentation
at the
International Conference on Social Science
Waikiki, Oahu, Hawai‘i
May 31 - June 3, 2006
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On occasion, social science researchers promise anonymity to the subjects of their research. Of course, not all social scientists promise anonymity: some social scientists utilize databases stripped of all personal identifying information; yet other researchers never have direct contact with any human subjects as part of their research processes. Because of the nature of the research method, such as participant observer, a few social scientists do not explicitly promise anonymity because such a promise would “expose” the researcher and thus dramatically alter the behavior of those being researched. The exact percentage of social scientists in America and elsewhere who engage in the process of gathering information directly from human subjects and who promise anonymity to these sources of information is unknown; no survey has been undertaken to estimate the extent of the practice.

CODES OF ETHICS

Scholarly norms in regard to promising anonymity to the subjects of research are reinforced by professional codes of ethics which require confidentiality concerning the identities of research subjects. The American Sociological Association Code of Ethics, for example, includes a substantial section regarding “confidentiality:”
11. Confidentiality

Sociologists have an obligation to ensure that confidential information is protected. They do so to ensure the integrity of research and the open communication with research participants and to protect sensitive information obtained in research, teaching, practice, and service. When gathering confidential information, sociologists should take into account the long-term uses of the information, including its potential placement in public archives or the examination of the information by other researchers or practitioners.

11.01 Maintaining Confidentiality

(a) Sociologists take reasonable precautions to protect the confidentiality rights of research participants, students, employees, clients, or others.

(b) Confidential information provided by research participants, students, employees, clients, or others is treated as such by sociologists even if there is no legal protection or privilege to do so. Sociologists have an obligation to protect confidential information, and not allow information gained in confidence from being used in ways that would unfairly compromise research participants, students, employees, clients, or others.

(c) Information provided under an understanding of confidentiality is treated as such even after the death of those providing that information.

(d) Sociologists maintain the integrity of confidential deliberations, activities, or roles, including, where applicable, that of professional committees, review panels, or advisory groups (e.g., the ASA Committee on Professional Ethics).

(e) Sociologists, to the extent possible, protect the confidentiality of student records, performance data, and personal information, whether verbal or written, given in the context of academic consultation, supervision, or advising.

(f) The obligation to maintain confidentiality extends to members of research or training teams and collaborating organizations who have access to the information. To ensure that access to confidential information is restricted, it is the responsibility of researchers, administrators, and principal investigators to instruct staff to take the steps necessary to protect confidentiality.

(g) When using private information about individuals collected by other persons or institutions, sociologists protect the confidentiality of individually identifiable information. Information is private when an individual can reasonably expect that the information will not be made public with personal identifiers (e.g., medical or employment records).

Note: the American Sociological Association section on “Confidentiality” is reproduced in totality in Appendix 2. The American Anthropological Association Codes of Ethics are also included.

LEGAL FLAWS
Research records and uncompleted work products, physical and electronic files, notes, drafts, diaries, photographs, recordings, even “anonymous” reviews of proposed publications -- essentially all information gathered during the research process -- are subject to “compulsory disclosure” (subpoena) processes (“Subpoena Duces Tecum”).

The researcher and all of those involved in the research process, graduate assistants, administrative personnel can be also subpoenaed to testify as to personal recollections (“Subpoena Ad Testificandum”). This legal flaw carries potentially severe penalties for refusal to comply: demands can be made for disclosure using the threat of incarceration; legal costs for representation can easily reach thousands of dollars.

A second legal flaw is that confidential research records can be commanded to be disclosed using “open records” statutes enacted by state governments.

A third legal flaw is that breaching a promise of confidentiality might lead to a lawsuit over breach of promise; damagers can be demanded from the researcher and the university.

These legal flaws surrounding the confidentiality of research data and sources are
not hypothetical, for more than two dozen social science researchers -- professors and Ph.D. candidates and researchers at research institutes -- are known to have been subpoenaed in recent decades. Research data have been acquired through “Freedom of Information” requests.

The purpose of this research report is to analyze these known instances of compulsory disclosure in America.

METHODOLOGY

The primary method used by the authors in gathering research data regarding the known subpoena incidents: published articles of those subpoenaed describing these incidents and the outcome, legal analyses, and published court opinions. A bibliography of legal and academic sources is included as “Selected Bibliography.”

KNOWN SUBPOENA CASES INVOLVING AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
1968
Kinsey Institute
Indiana University, Bloomington
(Multiple Academic Disciplines)

The Director of the Kinsey Institute received a subpoena demanding materials of a research subject who alleged that he had filmed a “sado-masochistic” episode “filmed for the Kinsey Institute.” The donor had provided the Institute research materials of a sexual nature for many years. When the donor processed a film of a sado-masochistic episode at a commercial film processing facility, the owners of the film processing facility notified police of a possible assault; the donor claimed the film was “scientific” in nature and refused to identify the person severely beaten in the film. The California prosecutor then subpoenaed the Kinsey Institute for the identity of the beaten person and materials provided by the donor in an effort to determine the identity of the beaten individual. The Director of the Institute informed the prosecutor the Institute would never disclose any confidential information. The prosecutor did not pursue the matter further.

Sources:

1969 and 1971
D. N. Kershaw and J.C. Small
The Mercer County (N.J.) Prosecutor's Office subpoenaed the payment histories of 14 families participating in a negative income tax experiment and research project. The prosecutor suspected that the families were defrauding the county welfare department by not reporting their monthly income from the experiment. The federally funded research and experiment contract explicitly provided that individual personal and financial information pertaining to all individuals and families who participate as respondents in this study shall remain strictly confidential. The Mercer County dispute stemmed from a change in the New Jersey State public assistance law which made more participants in the experiment eligible for welfare than had been the case when the research experiment began. The 1969 investigation was terminated when the contractor agreed to reimburse the county welfare agency for any overpayments that came to light.

Two years later, however, the experiment was subjected to a four-month grand jury investigation of charges that the contractor had "instructed low income families taking part in the experiment not to report income subsidies to city and county welfare authorities. During this same period, access to the contractor's files was also sought by the General Accounting Office and the U. S. Senate Finance Committee.

Sources:

Carroll, James D. “Confidentiality of Social Science Research Sources and Data” *P.S. Political Science* 6:3 268-280 (1972).


1971

*Five “Pentagon Papers“ Subpoenas*
1. Samuel Popkin  Professor  Political Science  
Harvard University
Professor Popkin was subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury to disclose sources of information investigating the distribution and publication of “the Pentagon Papers” pertaining to the History of America’s political and military activities in Southeast Asia. Professor Popkin claimed a First Amendment based “research privilege” as a shield not to testify. The Federal District Court, Massachusetts and the Federal First Circuit Court of Appeals (Boston) declined to agree with Professor Popkin. Professor Popkin appeared before the Grand Jury but refused to answer questions. Professor Popkin was then convicted of contempt of court and imprisoned for eight days but refused to provide any information sought by the grand jury.

2. Noam Chomsky  Professor  Linguistics  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
and

3. Richard Falk  Professor  International Law  
Princeton University

Professors Chomsky and Falk were subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury to disclose sources of information pertaining to the publication of The Pentagon Papers. Subpoenas were later quashed on the grounds that the Federal government had engaged in illegally wiretapping.

Sources:
Carroll, James D. “Confidentiality of Social Science Research Sources and Data” P.S. Political Science 6:3 268-280 (1972).


4. Leonard Rodberg and 5. Ralph Stavens  
“Public Scholars”
Institute for Policy Studies  
Washington, D.C.

Rodberg and Stavens were subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury to disclose sources of information pertaining to the publication of The Pentagon Papers. Unknown outcome.

Source:

1972
Paul Bullock  Professor  Economics  
University of California, Los Angeles

Professor Bullock conducted a research project into the unemployment of inner city youth using anonymous interviews conducted on the streets of Los Angeles poor neighborhoods. One of the conclusions of the research report was these inner city youth engaged in petty crime for money. After a newspaper article discussing the research appeared in the Los Angeles Times, the LA Police Commission subpoenaed Professor Bullock, demanding disclosure of the identities of all youth known to have committed crimes. Professor Bullock appeared before the Commission, and testified identities of research subjects were never recorded. A LA Times article then was published claiming Professor Bullock possessed no information regarding crimes.

Sources


1974
John Van Maanen  Graduate Student  Ethnography  
University of California, Irvine
Using “observation“ methods, Mr. Van Maanen studied police behavior in “Union City” for his dissertation. During the research project an incident was observed in which a suspect alleged police misconduct. This incident was discussed with a newspaper reporter, who published a news article several years later mentioning the incident after the research was completed. The two police officers filed a libel suit against the newspaper, and the newspaper owner, learning that Van Maanen had observed the incident, secured two subpoenas -- one for all of Van Maanen’s field notes and other materials related to the alleged abuse incident, the other for Van Maanen’s personal testimony. After preparing for a legal battle over the issue, the original lawsuit in “Union City” was dismissed because the police officers had failed to show economic damage.

Source:

1975
Unknown Name Sociologist.
Pueblo, Colorado
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration research project concerning interviewing victims of sexual crimes under a promise of confidentiality. Sex crime suspect learned of research project, subpoenaed all records of pertaining to the alleged victim. Victim released researchers from promise; Research records were then disclosed.

Source:

1976
Marc Roberts Professor Political Economy
Richards of Rockford, Inc. ("Richards"), a manufacturing company had contracted to supply equipment to Pacific Gas & Electric Co. ("PG&E"), sued PG&E for breach of contract and defamation. Richards subpoenaed Professor Roberts who had recently interviewed employees of PG&E as part of a research project examining how utilities make environmental decisions. Professor Roberts also had interviewed employees of five other utility companies. At his deposition, Professor Roberts refused to disclose the identity of the employees interviewed or the content of the interviews. Richards also subpoenaed the professor's research assistant to reveal the employees' identities and to produce any existing interview notes. The court denied this motion, finding that the public interest in maintaining confidential relationships between academic researchers and their sources outweighed the plaintiff's interest in the subpoenaed information because the information sought was largely supplementary with respect to the contract claim and there was no \textit{prima facie} evidence that the plaintiff was defamed during interviews with the professor.

\textbf{Sources}


\textbf{1984}

Mario Brajuha Graduate Student Sociology
Mr. Brajuha prepared a journal for writing his dissertation entitled "The Sociology of the American Restaurant" based upon participant-observation techniques (Brajuha worked as a waiter). A grand jury investigating alleged arson subpoenaed the journal because it included notes on the restaurant after a suspicious fire had started. Brajuha moved to quash; three briefs were submitted on behalf on Brajuha; one by three professional associations, one by the American Association of University Professors, and one by the New York Civil Liberties Union. But Brajuha complained in a published article that the University and his Sociology Department vacillated about assisting him. The Court of Appeals held that if a scholar's privilege exists, it “requires a threshold showing consisting of a detailed description of the nature and seriousness of the scholarly study in question, of the methodology employed, of the need for assurances of confidentiality to various sources to conduct the study, and of the fact that the disclosure requested by the subpoena will seriously impinge upon that confidentiality." The court remanded the case for additional findings and ordered in camera review and redaction of sections of the journal that arguably fell under the scholar's privilege. Mr. Brajuha complied with the subpoena and reportedly left academia.

Sources


1986
Margaret O’Connell Ph.D. Candidate Sociology
University of Connecticut
Ms. O’Connell, a Ph.D. Candidate, received a research grant to study female integration into the Connecticut Department of Public Safety as a “participant-observer” of new female trainees. The Public Safety Dept agreed to confidentiality. Two female recruits --Kennedy and Denney -- filed a civil rights action against the Department, alleging intimidation, harassment, and physical and psychological abuse. Plaintiffs secured a subpoena demanding Ms. O’Connell’s testimony, as well as all notes, letters, materials, reports preparing during the research. O’Connell secured help from the AAUP and filed a motion to quash. District Court denied claim of a “scholar’s privilege,” but honored the confidentiality agreement. O’Connell was ordered to disclose all notes, etc. but was given permission to “redact” (remove all personal identifiers) all files.

**Sources.**


**1992**

Stephen Picou     Professor     Sociology  
University of South Alabama

Professor Picou’s examined Alaskan attitudes toward and
impacts of the Exxon Valdez accident. A detailed record of randomly selected respondent identities was maintained for re-interviewing and included specific methodological procedures to protect respondent privacy. Respondents were promised confidentiality, as set forth by the National Science Foundation in Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic and the American Sociological Association's Code of Ethics. Subjects were told that immediately following the receipt of their final interview, all personal identifiers, including names, addresses, and phone numbers, would be eliminated from the master data file and all hard copies would be discarded. In late 1992, a subpoena demanding disclosure of all research materials to Exxon was issued. The University secured a “protective” order. Publicity in Alaska was given to the dispute; several subjects expressed concern about disclosure; one who expressed concern committed suicide.

The Court of Appeals determined that some of Picou’s data -- data which had resulted in publication, data collected early in the project, in 1989 and 1990, must be disclosed, but that later data need not be disclosed.

Sources


1993
Rik Scarce  Graduate Student  Sociology
University of Washington
Rick Scarce, a sociology graduate student at the University of Washington in 1993, was subpoenaed by a Federal grand jury investigating “ecological terrorism,” the research topic of a interview based book Scarce had authored in 1990, Eco-warriors. Mr. Scarce appealed to the Federal District Court, and then to the Federal Court of Appeals, to quash the subpoena on the basis of a First Amendment based claim not to disclose confidential scholarly sources. After both courts disagreed with Mr. Scarce, and when he persisted in refusing to disclose any information, he was convicted of contempt of court and spent one hundred fifty nine days incarcerated. No information was ever disclosed.

Sources


Scarce, Rik. “Good Faith, Bad Ethics: When Scholars Go the Distance and Scholarly Associations Do Not.” _24 Law and Social Inquiry 997_ (No. 4, 1999).
Professor Bronfenbrenner testified at a Congressional "town meeting" about her research regarding Beverly Enterprises, owner of a chain of nursing homes, and focused upon the company's alleged violations of labor law. Professor Bronfenbrenner was then sued for defamation by the company -- $225,000 in damages and years worth of confidential research, including interviews with company workers and union leaders were sought. Cornell University vigorously defended her in the suit, and the AAUP filed a friend-of-the-court brief on her behalf. Cornell University's associate counsel stated: "The Beverly lawsuit was an attack on academic freedom that sought to punish Dr. Bronfenbrenner for presenting the results of her research in a public forum." The court dismissed the suit on the grounds of legislative immunity. Beverly appealed but then withdrew its appeal.

Sources
Euben, Donna R. “Corporate Interference in Research” AAUP. undated http://www(aaup.org/publications/Academe/2000/00nd/ND00LW.HTM


1998
Michael A. Cusumano and David B. Yoffie
Business Faculty
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
and Harvard University.
Professors Cusumano and Yiffie studied decision making processes within the Netscape Corporation using structured and taped interviews of more than forty executives. A book was published based on the research, *Competing on Internet Time: Lessons from Netscape and Its Battle with Microsoft*. Microsoft subpoenaed all papers, notes, recordings, transcripts of interviews and correspondence.” A motion to quash the subpoenas was advanced; the District Court agreed, using a “balancing of interests“ test. Microsoft appealed. The 1st Circuit, relying heavily on *Bruno & Stillman v. Globe*, 633 F.2nd 583 (1980).

**Sources**

*In re Cusumano and David B. Yoffie (United States of America v. Microsoft Corporation)*, 162 F.3d 708 (1st Cir. 1998).

Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. “U.S. Signals Broader Approach To Microsoft Case.” *Washington Post* Friday, October 9, 1998; Page G01


Professor Zink studied heart transplants at the Hehneman University Hospital, using observation methods. A patient died shortly after a transplant; a medical malpractice lawsuit arose; Professor Zink was subpoenaed for all her research notes pertaining to the transplants she had observed. Professor Zink started a website titled, “Free Sheldon,” and engaged in a public relations campaign in newspapers and in the Chronicle of Higher Education. The plaintiff’s attorney did not attempt to require disclosure.

Sources

Contents of website “Free Sheldon,“ on file with the authors.

“Medical Confidentiality of Research Subject in Jeopardy--Lawyers Subpoena Anthropologist” Sun, 9 Mar 2003.
Available at:  http://www.ahrp.org/infomail/0303/09.php

Available at:  http://www.ahrp.org/infomail/0303/09.php

http://chronicle.com/free/v49/i36/36a01001.htm

2005
Seven Subpoenas: Historians
Authors and Reviewers of Deceit and Denial

Gerald Markowitz, Professor, History
CUNY Grad Center
David Rosner, Professor, History
Columbia University
Blanche Weisen Cook, Professor, History
CUNY
Elizabeth Blackmar, Professor, History
Columbia University
(three other faculty were also subpoenaed)

Professor Rosner and Markowitz used the historical records to show that in 1973 the chemical industry learned that vinyl chloride monomer caused cancer in animals—even at low levels of exposure. Since vinyl chloride was the basis for hairspray, Saran Wrap, car upholstery, shower curtains, floor coverings and hundreds of other consumer products; the implications for public health were massive. Yet the companies failed to disclose that information about cancer to the public and to the federal regulatory agencies. University of California Press published Rosner and Markowitz’s book Deceit and Denial: The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution. The industry subpoenaed the authors and five pre-publication reviewers of the book and all their research records and notes. All seven testified.

http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20050207&s=wiener

THE GENERAL DUTY TO TESTIFY
AND TO DISCLOSE EVIDENCE
AND TESTIMONIAL PRIVILEGES

The American legal system is premised on a belief that those in court have a right to all evidence in order to secure the “truth.” However, for several centuries courts have exempted a few individuals from testimony or disclosure -- through a constitutional, common-law, or statutory “privilege." Exemptions to disclose evidence are few and very carefully crafted; exemptions are for those relationships in which society's interest in protecting the secrecy of the communication is greater than the normally predominant principle of utilizing all rational means for ascertaining truth -- such as confidential communications between attorney and client, husband and wife, and in some cases, psychiatrist or psychologist and patient. These relationships are protected because of the belief that confidentiality is essential to the relationship, because the community values the relationship, and because injury to the relationship that would result from disclosure of confidential communications is greater than the benefit for the resolution of litigation that would result from disclosure. The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution gives individuals the right to decline to testify if their testimony would tend to subject them to prosecution for their own behavior, but no privilege to refuse to testify out of a desire to protect a friend or family member from prosecution or out of fear for their own safety or that of their families. Persons who cannot claim any of these limited privileges are generally
required to testify, whether they wish to or not. In determining whether or not a claim of “privilege” not to testify exists, American courts typically examine the below questions:

(1) Did the communications originate in a confidence that the contents will not be disclosed?

(2) Was this element of confidentiality essential to the full and satisfactory maintenance of the relation between the parties.

(3) Is the relationship one which in the opinion of the community ought to be sedulously fostered?

(4) Will the injury that would inure to the relation by the disclosure of the communications must be greater than the benefit thereby gained for the correct disposal of litigation?

Compulsory Disclosure in Criminal Cases.

In criminal cases, the reason for compelling testimony and for disclosing evidence is based upon a belief that the giving of evidence when called upon is the price that members of society pay for the maintenance of a safe society. Anyone with knowledge of facts relevant to a criminal prosecution has an obligation to testify about those facts, however inconvenient, uncomfortable, embarrassing, or even dangerous.
Compulsory Disclosure in Civil Proceedings.

The justification for compelling evidence in private civil disputes is less compelling. Two theories exist. (Maurer.) The first is that members of society have a reciprocal right to compel others to testify. Under this theory, citizens receive two benefits from the principle of compelled testimony. First, if they testify on behalf of another in one suit, they may reap a reciprocal benefit if they become a party in a different suit. Second, by testifying in another person's suit, they are helping to protect their own rights as well as the other person's. The witness's time is claimed by the public as a tax paid by him to that system of laws which protects his rights as well as others.

The second theory regarding compulsion of evidence in civil proceedings is that all members of society are obliged to participate in the judicial system and a special obligation exists to testify or to disclose evidence. According to this theory, every citizen desires a society which is just and in which law and order prevails. And under this theory, the citizen's duty to testify is an obligation that runs primarily to the public rather than to the parties. The duty of an expert to supply evidence is the same as that of any other witness. Compelling testimony increases the amount and quality of information that the courts have for making decisions and therefore increases the likelihood that judicial decisions will be accurate.

Under either the normative or the reciprocal rights theory, the idea of compelling
the testimony of occurrence witnesses seems objectively fair because of the randomness of the obligation. Nevertheless, a number of commentators argue that neither of these theories justifies compelling the testimony of an expert who does not wish to be involved in litigation. These commentators base their opinions on major distinctions they draw between occurrence and expert witnesses. Although both types of witnesses may have to spend hours or weeks in deposition, be forced to provide information against their will, be cross-examined, and, because of the broad discovery rules, be required to provide more information than either party needs, ordinary occurrence witnesses do not purposefully acquire the knowledge about which they will testify. Rather, they happen to be present when the event at issue occurs. By contrast, the expert witness invests time and money in acquiring the knowledge that the parties to the lawsuit seek. The information the expert is asked to give is the product of professional endeavors, not information gained by happenstance.

“Chilling Effect of Compulsory Disclosure”

Some commentators argue that compelling disclosure of the expert may have the effect of reducing, rather than increasing, the production of scientific information useful to the resolution of lawsuits. If litigants can compel researchers to disclose their research against their will or before they are ready to do so, researchers may decide that the costs of becoming an expert in a particular area are far greater than the
benefits. In addition, researchers may be deterred from studying areas such as public safety and health in which research might be most beneficial to society and, therefore more needed in court.

However, concerns over reduced research or production of information because of the threat of subpoena are not borne out in fact. Although some individual researchers may be deterred from entering a particular field because of its controversial and public nature, others may be attracted to it for the same reason. In the 1980s, when large numbers of lawsuits were brought against Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals alleging that its prescription anti-nausea drug had caused birth defects in children of mothers who had ingested the drugs, research in the drug and its effects expanded. According to one scholar, litigation did not chill the research process; rather it had the opposite effect (Sanders).

INTERESTS OF THE SCHOLARLY COMMUNITY

According to the American Association of University Professors, the ability to conduct scholarly research freely is an activity which lies at the heart of higher education and falls within the First Amendment's protection of academic freedom. Research and teaching activities are closely linked components of scholarly activity in American higher education. Academic freedom includes the freedom to search for knowledge; therefore, it is as
much an infringement on the scholar's academic freedom to constrain or limit the scholar's research activities as to limit his or her freedom in the classroom. (See Fischer for further elaboration.)

ANALYSIS OF THE KNOWN SUBPOENA INCIDENTS

Thousands of social science research projects have been conducted in the United States over the past forty eighty years. Millions of criminal and civil proceedings have been conducted in America over the same time frame. The collision of the research community and American courts has been quite diminutive, as noted in Table 1, below:

Table 1
Known Subpoena Incidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidents involving Criminal Proceedings Proceeding</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidents involving Civil Court Proceedings</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: A total of thirty-three subpoenas were issued.

Analysis of the Outcomes of Subpoenas issued in Criminal Proceedings

Of the seven major incidents involving subpoenas in criminal proceedings, only two resulted in disclosure of confidential sources and data -- the 1977 Pueblo Colorado sex crime study and the 1984 Brajuha study of restaurants. In the Pueblo study, permission was obtained from the research subject to release the researcher from a promise of confidentiality. In the Brajuha incident, fought the disclosure to the US Court of Appeals, with the support of the AAUP and professional scholarly associations, but in the end was ordered to disclose some of his research records, but not all. Table 2 summarizes the various outcomes.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Subpoena Incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutor decline to pursue</td>
<td>Kinsey Institute (1968); Bullock (1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal struck with Prosecutor -- no disclosure</td>
<td>Kershaw/Small (1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subpoena quashed tapping</td>
<td>Chomsky (1971); Falk (1971)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 summarizes the types of civil proceedings in which social scientists became ensnared with demands for disclosure.

**Table 3**

**Subpoena Issued in Civil Litigation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Civil Dispute</th>
<th>Subpoena Incident (civil dispute)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights Litigation</td>
<td>O’Connell (1986) (Sex Discrimination)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 below summarizes the outcomes of the known subpoenas issued to American social scientists in civil proceedings.

### Table 4

**Outcomes in Civil Litigation Subpoenas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party demanding data “gave up”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Zink (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Case Dismissed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Van Maanen (1974); Brofenbrenner (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disclosure but data “redacted”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O’Connell (1986)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As with the subpoenas issued in criminal proceedings, only a minority of those subpoenaed in civil disputes actually disclosed any data or identified any research subjects -- only three incidents resulted in the disclosure of confidential data, and in one of these incidents, the researcher was permitted to strip identifying information from the research records at her own expense. (O‘Connell subpoena, 1986).

LEGAL OPINIONS: SUBPOENAS

IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

Although several American researchers have claimed to possess a “First Amendment based privilege not to disclose confidential research sources and or data, no American appellate court has even remotely supported such claim. Samuel Popkin claimed a “scholar’s privilege” in 1971 -- the earliest such claim. The First Court of Appeals, United States, disagreed:

“ . . . the scholar’s privilege is a creature not to be found in the province of Jurisprudence . . . . “


Similarly, in reviewing the question of a “scholar’s privilege” raised by Ph.D.
Mario Brajuha, the Second Court of Appeals, U.S., held in 1984:

“We regard the record in this case as far too sparse to serve as a vehicle for consideration of whether a scholar’s privilege” exists, much less to provide grounds for applying it to Brajuha.”

_In re Grand Jury Subpoena (Dated January 4, 1984)_
750 F 2nd 223 at 224.

No American Criminal Court in a criminal proceeding has shielded scholarly research data from disclosure based upon a researcher’s claim of “privilege.”

**LEGAL OPINIONS: SUBPOENAS**

**IN CIVIL PROCEEDINGS**

American courts have been much less demanding of academic researchers in connection with subpoenas issued in civil proceedings. Although several researchers have claimed a “Scholar’s Privilege” not to disclose confidential research information, no civil court has agreed. Instead, “balancing tests” are applied to weigh the claims of the conflicting parties: the interests of the parties to the civil dispute are balanced against the interests of the researcher and those of the community in the free flow of information. In a long series of appellate court rulings, that “balance” has been found
to be in the free flow of information, in the need to preserve scholarly research, for the benefit of society.

In regard to the 1976 subpoenas issued to Mark Roberts and his research assistant, the civil court ruled against Pacific Gas & Electric's requests for disclosure without reaching the broad constitutional grounds asserted by Roberts. Instead, the court based its decision on a number of non-constitutional factors: the fact that Roberts was not a party to the lawsuit but rather an innocent bystander; the uncertain probative value to the contract suit of the requested data; and the existence of other sources through which comparable data could be obtained without burdening or intruding upon the scholarly process. Sensitive to the nature of interests in conflict, the court took special note of "the importance of maintaining confidential channels of communication between academic researchers and their sources . . ." *Richards of Rockford, Inc. v. Pacific Gas & Elec. Co.*, 71 F.R.D. 388 at 390 (N.D. Cal. 1976)

ANOTHER LEGAL FLAW:

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION STATUTES

Dr. Paul Fischer, a professor at the Medical College of Georgia, conducted and published research about the effects of cigarette advertising on young children. In the course of a California citizen's civil suit alleging unfair business practices against R. J. Reynolds, the tobacco company sought to depose Fischer in Georgia. Fischer resisted,
and the state trial court quashed the subpoena. A Georgia appeals court sustained the scientist's claims, finding that Fischer's data had minimal bearing on the core of the California case. "Since the effect of the advertising is not in issue," concluded the court, "any discovery from Fischer would not be reasonably likely to lead to admissible evidence."  


Reynolds then pursued a freedom of information claim against Fischer and the medical college where the research had been conducted (and which maintained some of the files). The Georgia State's Attorneys insisted at one point that Fischer’s license to practice medicine would be suspended within forty-eight hours if he refused to accede to demands to release the data. The files were then turned over to the court pending resolution of the conflicting claims. In the summer of 1994, the trial judge ruled against Fischer on the freedom of information claim, and Reynolds immediately obtained the data sought. (Fisher)

No known incidents of “Freedom of Information” statutes targeted at acquiring social scientist’s data and research sources have occurred. But this legal loophole is obvious. More research needs to be performed into freedom of information statutes and scholarly research.

**BREACHING A PROMISE OF**
CONFIDENTIALITY

Although no academic researcher has been sued by a research subject for breaching a vow of anonymity, at least as far as can be determined, a newspaper was successfully sued by a source of a news story for violating a vow of confidentiality. During the 1982 Minnesota gubernatorial race, Dan Cohen, who was associated with one party's campaign, gave court records concerning another party's candidate for Lieutenant Governor to two newspapers after receiving a promise of confidentiality from their reporters. Nonetheless, the papers identified him in their stories, and he was fired from his job. Cohen filed suit against respondents in state court, alleging, among other things, a breach of contract. The court rejected the newspapers' argument that the First Amendment barred the suit, and a jury awarded Cohen, compensatory damages. After a series of appeals, the United States Supreme Court in 1991 held Cohen was entitled to damages for breach of anonymity. *Cohen v. Cowles Media Co.*, 501 U.S. 663 (1991).

FURTHER RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. No known study has been undertaken of the costs of compulsory disclosure process. An examination of the costs of the known subpoenas directed at researchers should be
undertaken -- legal costs for the researcher (s) and the college or university as well as professional associations, impacts on the research process, and impacts on those about whom information was disclosed.

2. Successful challenges of subpoenas directed at researchers need to be carefully documented and information disseminated throughout the academic community, especially to Institutional Research Boards and the National and regional faculty professional associations.

3. Two federal statutes protecting confidentiality of research are 42 USC 242 d and 42 USC 4582. Neither statute has not been studied. A researcher “confidentiality certificate kiosk” was created in 2003. How many certificates have been awarded over the years? For what research projects? What problems developed? What are the problems of administering these statutes?

4. In 1991, the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, Part 45, were amended to include the following provision:

    the court by which a subpoena was issued shall quash or modify the subpoena if it . . . (I) requires disclosure of a trade secret or other confidential research . . .
No known research has been conducted into whether or not local Federal court rules have been brought into compliance with the 1991 amendment. Another research question surrounds whether or not state court civil rules of procedure have been amended to include a similar provision.

5. State Government statutes have not been examined to determine whether academic researchers might well be protected from compulsory disclosure. For example, Delaware shields “reporters” from testifying or from disclosing confidential documents. *10 Del.C. § 4320-26* defines a “reporter” as “any journalist, scholar, educator, polemicist . . .”

Whether or not other similar statutes exist has not been researched. All “newsmen” shield statutes need to be collected and examined, as well as other State statutory provisions, and court opinions interpreting these statutes.

Is it possible that very minor revisions of state journalist shield laws might lead to an expansion of legal protection for researchers in State and local courts? If so, what specific revisions?

6. No known study has been conducted into the need for the confidentiality of research and the conflict with “open records” statutes of state governments.
7. Specific strategies for coping with a subpoena -- legal remedies available to subpoenaed researchers -- have not been widely disseminated throughout the academic community.

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Stone, Geoffrey R. “Discussion: Above the Law... Research Methods, Ethics, and the Law of Privilege.” 32 Sociological Methodology 19 (NEED YEAR???)


LEGAL AUTHORITIES


In re Cusumano and David B. Yoffie (United States of America v. Microsoft Corporation), 162 F.3d 708 (1st Cir. 1998).


In the Matter of the American Tobacco Company, 880 F.2d 1520 (2d Cir. 1989).


APPENDIX 1

SUBPOENA INCIDENTS INVOLVING ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS OTHER THAN SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

1982
Subpoena of Drs. James R. Allen and John Van Miller
Study of Ingestion of Dioxin in Rhesus Monkeys
University of Wisconsin Medical School

The subpoenas sought information about ongoing studies at the University of Wisconsin involving dietary ingestion by rhesus monkeys of the chemical 2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin. Dow wanted the information for use in cancellation hearings before the Environmental Protection Agency on certain uses of two herbicides manufactured by Dow. The First Amendment issue was raised in the district court but not reached in granting the researchers' motion to quash. The Court of Appeals characterized Dow's efforts to subpoena ongoing research as a
threat of "substantial intrusion into the enterprise of university research ... capable of chilling the exercise of government must be strong and the extent of intrusion carefully limited." The court defined academic freedom as "the right of the individual faculty member to teach, carry on research, and publish without interference from the government, the community, the university administration, or his fellow faculty members." It added that "[w]e think it clear that whatever constitutional protection is afforded by the First Amendment extends as readily to the scholar in the laboratory as to the teacher in the classroom."

Source:
Dow Chemical Co. v. Allen, 494 F. Supp. 107 (W.D. Wis. 1980), aff'd, 672 F.2d 1262 (7th Cir. 1982); Dow Chemical Co. v. Allen, 578 F. Supp. 468 (W.D. Wis. 1982).

1982
Subpoenas of Professor Richard Snyder
Research into the Design Flaw of Jeeps
Michigan State University

Professor Richard Snyder published a study of the roadworthiness of the Jeep CJ-5, focusing on the vehicle's propensity to roll over. American Motors Company ("AMC") and injured motorists who sued AMC repeatedly sought access to the data behind Snyder's published conclusions. The results were mixed. In an early round, the company prevailed, though only after disavowing any desire to discover "confidential sources" and agreeing to the removal before discovery of the names of any individual accident victims who had been the subject of the study. The court required Jeep to pay the expenses Professor Snyder incurred complying with the subpoena.

Later, when AMC took a harder line, a federal judge in Arizona quashed the company's subpoena for Snyder's data,
noting "the potential for a chilling effect on research." The court cautioned that, despite the absence of a blanket privilege "discovery offers an avenue for indirect harassment of researchers whose published work points to defects in products or practices. There exists also a potential for harassment of members of the public who volunteer, under a promise of confidentiality, to provide information for use in such studies."

Sources.


1982

Subpoena of CDC study regarding “Toxic Shock Syndrome” b Proctor and Gamble

Procter & Gamble Company ("P&G") found itself the target of numerous products liability cases alleging that its "Rely" brand tampon caused toxic shock syndrome, a rare but sometimes fatal disease. In these cases, plaintiffs' experts based their opinions in part on a study by the Centers for Disease Control ("CDC") that showed a link between the syndrome and the use of tampons, particularly Rely. P&G sought full disclosure of certain records and documents pertaining to the CDC study. The research data included medical records and the responses of women who answered questions about their medical history, sexual practices, contraceptive methods, pregnancy histories, menstrual activity, tampon usage, and douching habits.

CDC wanted to remove all identifying information from the documents before production. P&G pressed for identifying information to enable it to contact the subjects of the CDC investigations personally, "to determine whether the studies
were properly conducted." Declining to rule on the CDC's claim of a general confidential privilege for information provided by study participants, the courts in the reported decisions invoked Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 26(c) and quashed the subpoenas to the extent they sought production of identifying information.

Sources:

vacated, 708 F.2d 732 (11th Cir. 1983) (unpublished table decision).
aff'd, 758 F.2d 1545 (11th Cir. 1985).

1983
Subpoena of Registry of Vaginal and Cervical Cancer Patients

Professor Arthur Herbst, Chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Chicago, was the recipient of a subpoena in 1983 seeking every document in the records of a registry he had established of cases of vaginal and cervical adenocarcinoma contracted by women since 1940. Dr. Herbst had not treated the plaintiffs or their mothers at any time and had not agreed to serve as an expert witness for any party to the litigation. He had established the registry in 1972 to serve as a centralized repository of data on adenocarcinoma of the genital tract. In soliciting medical records of women throughout the world who were born after 1940 and had contracted this particular form of cancer, Herbst promised that all information turned over to the registry would be kept confidential. As of 1984, the registry had collected more than 500 case files, and Herbst and his colleagues had published more than a dozen articles reporting significant findings based on the data from the registry. E.R. Squibb and other drug companies were defendants in civil actions brought by plaintiffs
who alleged that their mothers took the drug diethylstilbestrol ("DES") while pregnant, causing plaintiffs to develop adenocarcinoma of the vagina. Squibb served a deposition subpoena upon Dr. Herbst. Although Dr Herbst refused to become involved personally in any DES litigation, DES victims used his studies in products liability cases against manufacturers of DES in an effort to establish a causal connection between their adenocarcinoma and their mothers' use of DES.

When Herbst was served with Squibb's subpoena, he moved quickly to quash it, arguing that the subpoena was unreasonable and oppressive and the risk of destruction of the registry outweighed the burden to Squibb of not obtaining the documents it sought. Herbst maintained that if his promises of confidentiality were breached, his sources would dry up -- neither doctors nor women with adenocarcinoma would provide records to him and he would be unable to study the additional cases of clear cell adenocarcinoma expected to occur throughout the 1990s. Numerous epidemiologists and physicians supported his position with affidavits to the same effect.

The federal district court agreed with Herbst that his need to retain the confidentiality of the registry was important to society, whereas Squibb's need for the data was not truly compelling. The district court relied on several factors: The registry documents were not relevant because the major findings on which plaintiffs would rely were those in the 1971 study and the registry was not established until after that study had been made public; Herbst's studies had been in the public domain for years and had not been challenged by his peers; Herbst would not be a witness at the trial; and Squibb had failed to make any showing of what it hoped to prove by obtaining access to the data in the registry. By contrast, Herbst had shown that forced disclosure of registry data threatened the viability of the registry because doctors would stop reporting
cases if Herbst could not guarantee confidentiality. Furthermore, the court found, premature disclosure of data in an ongoing study threatened the study's validity and usefulness by exposing information before the researchers could test and verify their conclusions.

However, The Federal Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit, observed that the trial court had proceeded erroneously on the premise that either the entire subpoena had to be obeyed or Squibb was entitled to nothing, and referred the matter for further review.

**Sources:**


1989

**Subpoena of Professor Selikoff**

**Research into Smoking, Asbestos, and Cancer by Tobacco Companies**

Dr. Irving J. Selikoff studied the effects of smoking and asbestos exposure on cancer and published his conclusions, results which were used by many experts in their testimonies against large tobacco companies. The tobacco companies requested Dr. Selikoff's data, hoping to cast doubt on their adversary's experts' opinions; they wished to re-examine his methods and his results. Dr. Selikoff resisted all disclosure efforts. The court found that by publishing the results of his study, Dr. Selikoff had invited other scientists to rely on his conclusions. In turn, the public now had an interest in resolving disputes that involved the accuracy of those conclusions. The court realized that if the public's interest was not protected, testifying experts could powerfully state their opinions, yet adverse parties could not scrutinize the validity of those conclusions. Disclosure was
Six lawsuits against the manufacturer of an intrauterine device ("IUD") known as Copper-Seven were consolidated for discovery. The plaintiffs claimed that the IUD had been negligently designed: a "tailstring" used to determine if the IUD had been properly inserted, and later to remove it, was alleged to facilitate bacterial colonization and migration from the vagina to the uterus. The alleged result was pelvic inflammation, leading to hysterectomies and/or infertility among IUD users. Plaintiffs served notice that they would depose Dr. Malcolm Potts, then president and chief executive of Family International Health ("FIH"), a nonprofit organization. FIH had conducted a study sponsored by the Agency for International Development, comparing IUDs with and without tailstrings (the "string-no string" study). The initial subpoena demanded production of seventy-seven categories of documents and covered not only the "string-no string" study but all other IUD studies conducted by the organization since 1985. The plaintiffs later narrowed their request to fifty-five categories of documents, but, according to Dr. Potts and the court, the
subpoena was still very expansive. Indeed, Dr. Potts estimated that compliance with the request would entail producing at least 300,000 pages. The court found that the burden of producing the research information outweighed the plaintiffs' need for it, and quashed the subpoena.


### 1993

**Subpoena of Dr. Paul Fisher’s research sources**

**Effects of Cigarette Advertising**

**Medical College of Georgia**

Dr. Paul Fischer, a professor at the Medical College of Georgia, conducted and published research about the effects of cigarette advertising on young children. In the course of a California citizen's civil suit alleging unfair business practices against R. J. Reynolds, the tobacco company sought to depose Fischer in Georgia. Fischer resisted, and the state trial court quashed the subpoena. A Georgia appeals court sustained the scientist's claims, finding that Fischer's data had minimal bearing on the core of the California case. "Since the effect of the advertising is not in issue," concluded the court, "any discovery from Fischer would not be reasonably likely to lead to admissible evidence."

Reynolds then pursued a freedom of information claim against Fischer and the medical college where the research had been conducted (and which maintained some of the files). The Georgia State's Attorneys insisted at one point that Fischer’s license to practice medicine would be suspended within forty-eight hours if he refused to accede to demands to release the data. The files were then turned over to the court pending
resolution of the conflicting claims. In the summer of 1994, the trial judge ruled against Fischer on the freedom of information claim, and Reynolds immediately obtained the data sought.

Sources:


2001
Ten Universities Subpoenaed to Produce All Records of Research Related to Tobacco

North Carolina State University, Harvard, New York University School of Medicine, four universities in the California state system, the universities of Arizona and Kentucky, and Johns Hopkins University were subpoenaed by tobacco companies, including Philip Morris and R J Reynolds, to produce all records of research ever performed regarding tobacco. One institution, North Carolina State University, complied with the tobacco industry's request.

The companies maintain they need the information as a defence against a US Justice Department's suit filed in September 1999 and scheduled for trial in 2003. That suit alleges that in 1954 the tobacco companies agreed to wage a long term public relations campaign based on fraud and deception. It states that the companies consistently denied that smoking was a health hazard, denied that cigarettes were addictive, and pursued marketing strategies that encouraged minors to smoke. Johns Hopkins University's general counsel stated: "It is over-broad and exceedingly burdensome to require the university to devote
so much of its scarce resources to this kind of search for documents that go back 55 years, that relate to 60 studies done by our faculty, and even ask us to look and see if we can find any others that relate to tobacco."

Source:

http://www.aaup.org/Legal/info%20outlines/research.htm

2003
Federal Subpoena Commanding Disclosure regarding an Environmental Conference at Cal State Fresno

Cal State Fresno University officials complied with a subpoena issued by federal prosecutors in Pennsylvania and turned over a videotape from a February 2003 academic conference on radical environmentalism. The two-day conference featured former members of groups linked to firebombings and vandalism committed in the name of animal rights and environmental protection. Janette Redd Williams, a lawyer at the Cal State system's headquarters in Long Beach, said Tuesday that videotapes were subpoenaed by a grand jury working with the U.S. attorney in Erie, Pa. U.S. attorney in Erie, Pa., site of three arson attacks, sought the video of environmental radicals with links to past firebombings.
2004

Subpoenas Issued to Drake University and four attendees of Anti-war Forum

A federal judge ordered Drake University to turn over records about a conference of anti-war activists. In addition to the subpoena of Drake University, subpoenas were served this past week on four of the activists who attended a Nov. 15 forum at the school, ordering them to appear before a grand jury Tuesday, the protesters said. Federal prosecutors refuse to comment on the subpoenas. In addition to records about who attended the forum, the subpoena orders the university to divulge all records relating to the local chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, a New York-based legal activist organization that sponsored the forum.

Federal prosecutor later dropped the demand for information after strong resistance developed at Drake.

Foley, Ryan J. “University Ordered to Turn Over Records on Anti-War Activists.” Associated Press February 7, 2004.

Available at:
2005
Law Professor Subpoenaed to Reveal Confidential Sources used in Law Journal Article


Professor Pierce attached the article to a judicial misconduct complaint that he filed against Lamberth, whom he accused of defaming and abusing government lawyers in the Cobell case. Lamberth then filed a 37-page response; the complaint was dismissed as well as a subsequent appeal by Pierce.

The Native American plaintiffs in Cobell v. Norton then subpoenaed Professor Pierce, seeking the names of the “unidentified government attorneys.“ Citing First Amendment protections, Jonathan R. Turley of George Washington
University Law School filed a motion to quash the subpoena.

Source:
Available at: http://www.indiantrust.com/index.cfm?FuseAction=Articles.ViewDetail&Article_id=306&Month=2&Year=2005

APPENDIX 2

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
CODE OF ETHICS PERTAINING TO
“CONFIDENTIALITY”

11. Confidentiality
Sociologists have an obligation to ensure that confidential information is protected. They do so to ensure the integrity of research and the open communication with research participants and to protect sensitive information obtained in research, teaching, practice, and service. When gathering confidential information, sociologists should take into account the long-term uses of the information, including its potential placement in public archives or the examination of the information by other researchers or practitioners.

11.01 Maintaining Confidentiality
(a) Sociologists take reasonable precautions to protect the confidentiality rights of research participants, students, employees, clients, or others.
(b) Confidential information provided by research participants, students, employees, clients, or others is treated as such by sociologists even if there is no legal protection or privilege to do so. Sociologists have an obligation to protect confidential information, and not allow information gained in confidence from being used in ways that would unfairly compromise research participants, students, employees, clients, or others.
(c) Information provided under an understanding of confidentiality is treated as such even after the death of those providing that information.
(d) Sociologists maintain the integrity of confidential deliberations, activities, or roles, including, where applicable, that of professional committees, review panels, or advisory groups (e.g., the ASA Committee on Professional Ethics).
(e) Sociologists, to the extent possible, protect the confidentiality of student records, performance data, and personal information, whether verbal or written, given in the context of academic consultation, supervision, or advising.
(f) The obligation to maintain confidentiality extends to members of research or training teams and collaborating organizations who have access to the information. To ensure that access to
confidential information is restricted, it is the responsibility of researchers, administrators, and principal investigators to instruct staff to take the steps necessary to protect confidentiality.

(g) When using private information about individuals collected by other persons or institutions, sociologists protect the confidentiality of individually identifiable information. Information is private when an individual can reasonably expect that the information will not be made public with personal identifiers (e.g., medical or employment records).

11.02 Limits of Confidentiality
(a) Sociologists inform themselves fully about all laws and rules which may limit or alter guarantees of confidentiality. They determine their ability to guarantee absolute confidentiality and, as appropriate, inform research participants, students, employees, clients, or others of any limitations to this guarantee at the outset consistent with ethical standards set forth in 11.02(b).
(b) Sociologists may confront unanticipated circumstances where they become aware of information that is clearly health- or life-threatening to research participants, students, employees, clients, or others. In these cases, sociologists balance the importance of guarantees of confidentiality with other principles in this Code of Ethics, standards of conduct, and applicable law.
(c) Confidentiality is not required with respect to observations in public places, activities conducted in public, or other settings where no rules of privacy are provided by law or custom. Similarly, confidentiality is not required in the case of information available from public records.

11.03 Discussing Confidentiality and Its Limits
(a) When sociologists establish a scientific or professional relationship with persons, they discuss (1) the relevant limitations on confidentiality, and (2) the foreseeable uses of the information generated through their professional work.
(b) Unless it is not feasible or is counter-productive, the discussion of confidentiality occurs at the outset of the relationship and thereafter as new circumstances may warrant.

11.04 Anticipation of Possible Uses of Information
(a) When research requires maintaining personal identifiers in data bases or systems of records, sociologists delete such identifiers before the information is made publicly available.
(b) When confidential information concerning research participants, clients, or other recipients of service is entered into databases or systems of records available to persons without the prior consent of the relevant parties, sociologists protect anonymity by not including personal identifiers or by employing other techniques that mask or control disclosure of individual identities.
(c) When deletion of personal identifiers is not feasible, sociologists take reasonable steps to determine that appropriate consent of personally-identifiable individuals has been obtained before they transfer such data to others or review such data collected by others.

11.05 Electronic Transmission of Confidential Information
Sociologists use extreme care in delivering or transferring any confidential data, information, or communication over public computer networks. Sociologists are attentive to the problems of maintaining confidentiality and control over sensitive material and data when use of technological innovations, such as public computer networks, may open their professional and scientific communication to unauthorized persons.

11.06 Anonymity of Sources
(a) Sociologists do not disclose in their writings, lectures, or other public media confidential, personally identifiable information concerning their research participants, students, individual
or organizational clients, or other recipients of their service which is obtained during the course of their work, unless consent from individuals or their legal representatives has been obtained.

(b) When confidential information is used in scientific and professional presentations, sociologists disguise the identity of research participants, students, individual or organizational clients, or other recipients of their service.

11.07 Minimizing Intrusions on Privacy

(a) To minimize intrusions on privacy, sociologists include in written and oral reports, consultations, and public communications only information germane to the purpose for which the communication is made.

(b) Sociologists discuss confidential information or evaluative data concerning research participants, students, supervisees, employees, and individual or organizational clients only for appropriate scientific or professional purposes and only with persons clearly concerned with such matters.

11.08 Preservation of Confidential Information

(a) Sociologists take reasonable steps to ensure that records, data, or information are preserved in a confidential manner consistent with the requirements of this Code of Ethics, recognizing that ownership of records, data, or information may also be governed by law or institutional principles.

(b) Sociologists plan so that confidentiality of records, data, or information is protected in the event of the sociologist's death, incapacity, or withdrawal from the position or practice.

(c) When sociologists transfer confidential records, data, or information to other persons or organizations, they obtain assurances that the recipients of the records, data, or information will employ measures to protect confidentiality at least equal to those originally pledged.

http://www.asanet.org/page.ww?section=Ethics&name=Code+of+Ethics+Standards#11

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
CODE OF ETHICS REGARDING PRIVACY

2. Anthropological researchers must do everything in their power to ensure that their research does not harm the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom they work, conduct research, or perform other professional activities. Anthropological researchers working with animals must do everything in their power to ensure that the research does not harm the safety, psychological well-being or survival of the animals or species with which they work.

3. Anthropological researchers must determine in advance whether their hosts/providers of information wish to remain anonymous or receive recognition, and make every effort to comply with those wishes. Researchers must present to their research participants the possible impacts of the choices, and make clear that despite their best efforts, anonymity may be compromised or recognition fail to materialize.
http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm
Bringing the Appellate Courtroom Into the College Classroom: Undergraduate Moot Court In American Colleges

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Prepared for Presentation
at the
International Conference on Social Science

Waikki, Oahu, Hawai‘i
May 31 - June 3, 2006
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ABSTRACT

“Undergraduate moot court,” also known as “Mock Supreme Court,” is an activity utilized by hundreds of American social science faculty. Two forms are known to be used: “scholastic moot court” -- in which students in a specific class are required to perform in a “moot court” as part of the requirements of that class, and the “moot court tournament” -- in which students from one campus compete with students from other campuses for trophies and awards.

In this paper the authors examine both forms of moot court, with a special emphasis on the seventeen known intercollegiate tournaments now regularly organized across the United States, using data collected from some four hundred social science faculty. The costs and benefits of tournament moot court are examined in some detail.

Simulations of judicial processes have been designed and developed in recent decades for undergraduate students. Undergraduate mediation and arbitration
competitions are now regularly organized. (See Bergstein; Calkins and Lane).
Simulations of both civil and criminal trials -- referred to as “mock trial” -- involve
thousands of undergraduate students and more than one hundred American faculty each
year. (See Shepelak; Vile and Dervort). Simulations of jury proceedings are also
regularly organized (See Bornstein; Bray). Finally, simulations of appellate court
proceedings -- also known as “moot court,” as “mock Supreme Court,” or “appellate
advocacy” -- are also regularly organized as an educational tool.

Moot court -- the focus of this research report -- is required in the curriculum of all
American law schools. Inter-collegiate law school student tournaments are regularly
organized concerning a variety of legal issues: communication law, environmental law,
the First Amendment, mass media law, and so forth. (Dickerson). A body of anecdotal
commentary pertaining to law school moot court can be identified (Almond; Cady;
Dickerson; Gaubatz; Greene; Hernandez; Kozinski, Levine; Low; Martineau; McCarter;
Rychlak).

American *undergraduate moot court* is not as well known as the law school form.
Nonetheless, a stream of commentary exists describing various classroom approaches to
undergraduate moot court (Baker, Carlson; Claude; Collins; Cooper; Deardorff;
Dhooge; Canon; Hensley; Gizzi Guliuzza; Lenchner; Ringel; Smith; Weizer, 2004a and
2004b; Whitaker). In "scholastic moot court" students of a single undergraduate class,
such as Constitutional, International, or Business Law, or a Communications/Speech class
(among other academic subjects), are required to participate as a condition of successfully completing that class. Hundreds of American faculty -- primarily social science faculty -- require a simulation of the Supreme Court in their classrooms. (Knerr, Sommerman, and Rogers, 2001.)

A second, smaller stream of commentary and research exists regarding American undergraduate moot court intercollegiate competitions {See Chan; Collins; Curran, Takata, and Acone; Knerr; Weaver; Weizer (a).} Tournaments concern undergraduate students voluntarily competing for trophies or for other personal rewards. The only role for an undergraduate student - contestant in the tournament form is that of “attorney.” Judges are graduate students, faculty, members of the local bar association, and, on occasion, actual judges from the local community. More than two dozen campus-wide, statewide, regional, and national tournaments are regularly organized across the United States: in Arkansas, California, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Texas. See Appendix includes a listing and contact information of known American undergraduate moot court tournaments.

COSTS AND BENEFITS OF MOOT COURT:
AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH AND COMMENTARY

Australian undergraduate faculty have generated interesting data regarding the value of undergraduate moot court "down under." Professor Andrew Lynch (1996) employed focus groups in a study of undergraduate law students, and found moot court participants: (1) gain practical preparation for the real world; (2) learn from peers and
develop group skills; (3) suffer emotional extremes -- fear and elation; and (4) learn a large amount of substantive law.

In the second study, Professor Mary Keyes and Michael Whincop (1997) surveyed one hundred students completing a three week long experimental "formative moot" involving only written briefs (no oral argument). The authors concluded students benefited from (1) performing legal research, (2) learned how to apply principles to a factual situation, (3) formulated written delivery, (4) developed persuasion skills, (5) learned how to "run" a case, and (6) developed group coordination skills.

Professor Duncan Bentley (1996), of the Bond University School of Law, Australia, reports his moot court in a tax classroom improves students' problem solving skills, legal analysis and reasoning, legal research skills, and communication skills. Professor Duncan, however, offers only his personal impressions of the benefits of undergraduate moot court; no empirical data is offered to support his claims.

BENEFITS OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOL MOOT COURT

Although all American law schools apparently require moot court in their curricula, no known research project has been undertaken by law or (other faculty) which examines the costs and educational benefits of participation. However, several American law faculty have offered anecdotal commentary -- their own personal observations and impressions -- regarding the benefits of moot court.
*Improved oral communication skills* is mentioned by several observers as a benefit of law school moot court. (Dickerson, Hernandez, Greene, Kozinski, and McCarter).

According to Professor Hernandez:

> Moot court provides valuable experience in appellate oral advocacy. Moot court programs clearly simulate appellate arguments in the real world. . . . The process of answering questions and reasoning through issues is precisely the same as in practice. (at 73)

*Enhanced legal writing skills* has also been cited by several of these law school faculty. (Dickerson, Greene, Hernandez and McCarter). According to Professor Hernandez:

> Law students do not have adequate opportunities to sharpen their persuasive writing skills, even at schools where legal writing and skills are more heavily emphasized than under the traditional legal education model. Most law classes are graded solely on a final exam, and exams, of course, do little to improve writing skills. (at 72).

*Improved legal analytical skills* has been mentioned by several law school moot court commentators (Dickinson, McCarter, Kozinski, and Gaubatz). As noted by Professor Gaubatz:

> The sort of analysis and synthesis implicit in arguing any appeal is the meat of legal education in the normal classroom. In the latter, however, the give and take between the teacher and the reciter can lose a lot in translation to the more passive student listener. But in moot court the student has several weeks to dig into an analytic problem. He or she can slowly develop an understanding of the uses to which prior authority can be put. Potential analogies can be posited and restructured again and again until the finest of distinctions
are apparent. . .  In moot court, cases and their use are the problem, not merely the medium for education. (at 89)

*Improved legal research skills* has been claimed by several commentators to be a benefit of participating in law school moot court. (Dickerson, Greene, McCarter).

As Greene notes:

> For many students, moot court can be their first experience doing a substantive legal research project. Before you do that first big project, you have no idea how to tune your research skills. Moot court forces you to do research until you find the answers you need to make your legal argument. This skill is precisely what you need to develop as a lawyer, whether you will be preparing a motion, a brief, a research memo for a senior partner, or the legal bits and pieces of your presentation at a hearing. (at 6)

*Increased self-confidence* has been claimed by several law school professors as a benefit of moot court. (Dickerson, Hernandez, and McCarter). As Hernandez notes:

> I have seen people literally transformed for the better by their experience in moot court. Students who were petrified by the thought of speaking in public, much less making an oral argument before a panel of real judges under adversarial fire, suddenly come alive in the heat of battle. (at 77).

*Enhanced employment opportunity* after graduation has been cited by several commentators (Dickerson, Greene, Hernandez, and Kozinski). Even Kozinski, a sharp critic of certain aspects of law school moot court, notes:

> Judges would all prefer to know precisely how a particular law student will do during the full six semesters he spends in law school. If a decision could magically be delayed until after graduation, we would have all of an applicant's grades. . . . Did she do an excellent job as a law review editor? Did she publish, and if so, what does the product
look like? Did he compete in moot court and, if so, how high did he place? . . . . All of these would be mighty helpful hints when picking clerks. (at 1710)

Other benefits purported to be associated with law school moot court include: enhanced relations with alumni and the local legal community (Martineau; Gaubatz); an increased passion or zest for the practice of law (McCarter); improved teamwork skills (Dickerson); and improved time management skills (Dickerson).

No commentary can be identified which discusses the costs of moot court: to participants, to faculty, to the law school generally, or to the legal community.

A dissertation has been written on “success” in law school moot court competitions. Ms. Carole Butler carefully studied verbal and nonverbal communications in some three hundred rounds of law school moot court. One conclusion was that winning teams cited case materials twice as often as teams moot advancing. (Butler)

AMERICAN UNDERGRADUATE MOOT COURT:

BENEFITS AND COSTS

No known empirical study has been conducted which examines the benefits and costs of American undergraduate moot court. Moreover, great variation in the conduct of this form of moot court can be noted. For example, some undergraduate classroom moot courts and tournaments -- such as the Texas and the University of California Berkeley tournaments -- require only oral presentations; briefs are not required as
commonly found in law school moot court programs. (Chan; Knerr, Sommerman, and Rogers). And, in some of the scholastic forms of moot court, undergraduate students serve as judges, clerks, even court reporters. In some scholastic simulations and tournaments a real case pending before the U.S. Supreme Court is used; these examples of appellate simulation could not properly be called "moot" court. Thus, generalizations are treacherous, or at best, tenuous. Nonetheless, Faculty involved in both forms of undergraduate appellate simulation—tournaments and scholastic—have offered some commentary, entirely anecdotal in nature, regarding the benefits and costs.

*Improved oral communication skills* have been reported by a number of undergraduate professors (Chan; Collins; Cooper; Dhooge; Hensley; and Knerr).

*Improved legal research skills* have been claimed to be a benefit of undergraduate moot court (Cooper; Knerr; Tankel and Sherr; Whitaker). Several faculty—those who require the submission of briefs—have asserted that legal writing skills improve as a result of participation (Collins; Cooper; Dhooge; Guluizza; Hensley; Tankel).

Four faculty report moot court participants enjoy *enhanced rates of acceptance into graduate school or law school* (Collins; Knerr). Seven commentators (Chan; Claude; Hensley; Knerr), report *enhanced legal analytical skills* as a byproduct of participation. Enhanced relations with alumni are claimed by several faculty (Dhooge; Knerr). Other benefits reported by commentators include: *enhanced knowledge of legal decision making processes* (Chan; Gizzi; Knerr); *motivation to excel by peer pressure* (rather than by
moot court makes the law come alive and reduces the monotony of the classroom lecture/discussion format (Knerr, comments of Professor Rogers regarding her scholastic moots.) Chan and Knerr report many students exhibit increased levels of self-confidence from involvement in moot court tournaments.

The costs of participation have also been examined by several undergraduate faculty. The time-consuming nature of undergraduate moot court has been raised by several faculty (Cooper; Knerr). The costs of travel to and from tournaments for students and faculty and the loss of income for working students has been mentioned (Knerr). Stress of competition has been reported as a “cost” (Chan; Knerr). Finally, Professor Suzy Rogers notes: "It may be debatable as to whether this is a cost or a benefit, but some students report a side effect of moot court participation: they have ruled out law as a career choice." (Knerr).

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED AS FACULTY

Students benefit in a number of important ways from participation in undergraduate moot court — improved communication skills, self confidence, poise, knowledge of the law, and so forth, as reported in the literature. And certain costs of participation have been mentioned. But some benefits have not been explored in the literature. For example, moot court students are often extremely loyal to their faculty and their college. To prepare students for tournaments, for example, the authors invite alumni to serve as help “practice” judges, and they are always eager to assist. When we have asked about
this, these alumni have informed me that moot court was the “best thing they did as students.” Perhaps it is the shared experience of academic competition -- a phenomena similar to that of collegiate athletes.

We have learned from the process, as well. For example, we have learned to be more compassionate and more patient. Not all students will win a trophy in moot court competitions; indeed, the vast majority of my students over the years received no allocate to bring home to show their friends and family. After a day or two, or a week, almost all of these students bounce back, and are eager to prepare for the next contest. Faculty have to be patient and understanding and supportive of students; the stress of competing and the agony of defeat passes quickly.

One final point: When we first became involved in undergraduate moot court more than ten years ago, we never imagined that we would someday be writing conference papers and articles and book chapters on the subject; we never anticipated that we would be organizing national tournaments; we never imagined that we would be invited to serve as a judges at moot court competitions, here in the United States and in Europe and in Asia. When we first became involved with undergraduate moot court, it was for the students; we failed to grasp how much we would be affected during the journey.

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**APPENDIX**

**THE AMERICAN COLLEGIATE MOOT COURT ASSOCIATION**
In the Spring of 2000, the American Collegiate Moot Court Association (ACMA) was established by the authors. The ACMA is oriented toward building a system of top-quality undergraduate moot court competitions in America. Achieving this goal requires the meeting of specific objectives, including the following: a carefully drafted problem with associated authority list, clear, comprehensive, equitable, and uniform rules refined through experience; well-planned, publicized, and directed tournaments; and informed and uniform judging. The first national American undergraduate moot court tournament was organized in January 2001 at the campus of the University of Texas at Arlington; nineteen two person teams from six states competed for various trophies.

Growth has been very rapid since these modest beginnings. During the 2006–2007 academic year, seven regional tournaments are scheduled. (See Appendix.) The 2006 national tournament attracted seventy two person teams; additional regional tournaments will be added years ahead. A handbook of undergraduate moot court has been published by early organizers of the ACMA. (Weizer, 2004a).

All American moot court tournaments are listed below.

AMERICAN COLLEGIATE MOOT COURT ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL TOURNAMENT
Contact: Dr. Charles R. Knerr
Department of Political Science
University of Texas at Arlington
P.O. Box 19539
Arlington, Texas 76019

Voice: 817-272-3985
FAX: 817-272-2525
e: knerr@uta.edu
http://honors.uta.edu/acma/
NORTH EASTERN ACMA UNDERGRADUATE
MOOT COURT TOURNAMENT:

Contact:
Professor Paul Weizer
Fitchburg State College
160 Pearl Street
Fitchburg, MA 01420

pweizer@fsc.edu
Voice: (978) 665-3272
Fax: (978) 665-4530

SOUTHEASTERN ACMA UNDERGRADUATE
MOOT COURT TOURNAMENT:

Contact:
Professor Beck Kohler da Cruz
Armstrong Atlantic State University
Department of Criminal Justice,
Social and Political Science
Savannah, GA 31419

dacruzbe@mail.armstrong.edu

http://www.cjsocpols.armstrong.edu/kearnes/mootcourt/seugmootcrt.htm

SOUTHWESTERN ACMA UNDERGRADUATE
MOOT COURT TOURNAMENT:

Contact:
Professor Kimi King
Department of Political Science
University of North Texas
P.O. Box 305340
Denton, TX 76203-5340

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1. Title of the Submission
   Dissociation Seen in the Drawings of Youths.

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6. Abstract and/or Full Paper
   See an attached document.
**Dissociation Seen In The Drawings Of Youths**
Yoshiya Kurato, Ed.D. (Kansai University)

**Abstract**
This study examined the state of dissociation in youths through the drawings of their image of themselves. Six drawings were arbitrarily selected among 60 drawings drawn by college students for this study and were evaluated on the SD scale by 40 adults and 40 high school students. Results showed that adults tended to see the drawings significantly more toward dissociated than high school students. This tendency was discussed why it was so and some speculation in relation to the unpredictable and unstable society.

**I. Purpose**
This study aimed at investigating 1) how the state of dissociation in college students were observed through the drawings of their self images, and 2) how the drawings were seen by adults in comparison to high school students.

**II. Method**
Sixty college students in two colleges were instructed to draw drawings by self-image. 1) Then the drawings were examined whether they would show some signs of dissociation. 2) Six drawings among them were arbitrarily selected and evaluated on the SD scale (Semantic Differential by Osgood, E.) by 40 adults and 40 high school students. The SD scale consisted from 14 items were taken from the previous study (Kurato, 2004) and shown as follows;

1. **Lists of Adjectives**
   1. Open-Close
   2. Bright-Dark
   3. New-Old
   4. Healthy-Decadent
   5. Strong-Weak
   6. Large-Small
   7. Heavy-Light
   8. Narrow-Broad
   9. Complex-Simple
   10. Active-Inactive
   11. Tensed-Dull
   12. Hot-Cold
   13. Secure-Insecure
   14. Youthful-Not youthful

2. **Subjects** were as follows;
   1) College students
      
      | Colleges | Number |
      |----------|--------|
      | A college | 30     |
      | B college | 30     |

   2) Adults and high school students
      
      | Age     | SD     | Males | Females |
      |----------|--------|-------|---------|
      | Adults   | 37.73  | 12.07 | 10      | 30      |
      | High school | 16.85 | 0.36  | 11      | 29      |
3. *Six drawings* chosen arbitrarily were as follows;

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

III. Results
1) Results showed that over 90 % of the 60 drawings were viewed as dissociated when evaluated by 2 psychologists. Conformity rate between the psychologists was .99.
2) Results of the t-tests between adults and high school students yielded 7 items that were significantly different as shown in the Table 1.
Table 1. t-tests Between Adults and High School Students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
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<td>40</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

3) t-tests between adults and high school students showed that 7 items among 14 items were seen by adults as significantly more toward dissociated in general than high school students. As shown in Figure 1 they were Open-Close (No.1 item), Bright-Dark (No.2 item), Healthy-Unhealthy (No.4 item), Narrow-Broad (No.8 item), Active-Inactive (No.10 item), Tensed-Dull (No.11), and Secure-Insecure (No.13 item).

Figure 1.
IV. Discussion

Drawing No.1 symbolically depicts that the youth today seems to be somewhat withdrawn from the society as if he were encircled by the fences. Only way out from there for him is by means of a handy phone. He depends on it so greatly that he has no way to relate to the outer world or others without it. However, this communication by a handy phone is not a face-to-face communication, hence, virtual reality, not real. For instance, he can’t see nor touch the counter-part when talking. It is as same as we climb up to the Mt. Everest on TV while wearing our pajamas in bed. But the reality is different. To climb up to the Mt. Everest he has to train himself physically to be good enough to adjust high altitude to begin with. Many documents necessary to be permitted to go to other country must be ready along with the permission to climbing. Money and supporters to assist his climbing are also the must. A lot more is necessary to be prepared. In the virtual reality he is easy to do almost any thing according to his wish. However, in reality everything is real and he is not accustomed to face the reality. Hence, he tends to hesitate to relate to outer world or others when he encounters a face-to-face relation. Unless he faces reality and experiences what is needed and done he doesn’t help much for developing his ego. Ego from a standpoint of psychology is a function to deal with what to do in reality.

Drawing No.2 is somewhat strong but withdrawn, covering her face with hands. She, or he, looks as if shutting off her door, not wanting to see the outer world. It may be that nothing in this world is left for her to see. However, strong and black lines indicate she has a power or a passion inside. The more she has a power or a passion the harder she struggles with the outer world that is not easy on her. Generally speaking, the woman in Japan is getting stronger these days and is given a wide variety of chances to choose her carrier. Nevertheless this creates a burden on her because it is she who has to choose what to do for her carrier and build a skill that enables her to do so. It is not easy for most of the women in Japan today. Moreover, she thinks she is evaluated according to what she does for her living. In addition scarce job availability makes it more difficult on her in these days.

Drawing No.3 shows a state of running off the tracks as if showing that the youth is thrown out into the complex and uncertain society. He was running all right on the track up to this end, that is, near the end of school days. Then he suddenly realized that he would have no way to keep going, not knowing what to do as his profession since there is almost no opportunity to have his choice in terms of job availability. Hence, confusion and abandonment are popular feelings among the youth. According to a statistics the government announced there are more than 650,000 NEET. NEET stands for Not in Education or Employment, or in Training. This tendency among the youth seems to be caused by the fact that 1) the economy hasn’t recovered yet and 2) severe and scarce carrier opportunities after having done a hard study for entrance examination for college and 3) heavy schedule from the childhood leaving no time to play. Recently it has been said the youth more or less doesn’t have a motivation to work and doesn’t want to get married even if he or she gets older enough to do so.

Drawing No. 4 also indicates a complicated state of the present day youth by showing his confusion as to what to take for his future since there may look many choices but what he can choose is only one among them. He is not accustomed to make a choice by himself because up to then his father or mother, or even teacher decided every thing for him. So it may be the first time for him to make a decision as to what to do for his future. Besides when it comes to availability of job or career there may not be many in reality, which adds more to his confusion. However, the drawing is colorful and bright enough to give an impression of possibilities.

Drawing No.5 clearly shows a dissociated state of the youth today. It can tell how badly dissociated or even split today’s youth is. It gives an impression of “divided self” to use a Lowen’s expression. It can be said as a half-dead. At the same time it can also be said that the youth today can’t live without
becoming a half-dead. It seems not easy to live in this world of unpredictable and uncertainty. At the same time, it can also be said that the youth today is strong enough to survive even if he becomes a half-dead. This personality of the youth can be said as an urban personality, that is, a dissociated personality.

Drawing No. 6 depicts an immobilized state. After repeated pressure to meet over expectation from the parents upon the youth since his childhood he seems to have no room left to maneuver. He is in a box. Because of it his shadow instead of himself tries to move out. The words on the drawing say, “I can’t move. I won’t move. I am not moving.”

The youth today has many things in hand, wearing costumes with brand names on them and having a little money by doing a part time job. Also he is physically well grown. So, he looks quite nice and free. However, in reality he is not so, only being exploited by materialism. He is not hungry for anything anymore. I should rather say he is mentally unstable and uncertain, not knowing where he is at and hence, where he is going. Yet he is in a state of overwhelming due to the too much information and stimulus around him. It is coming from dissociated state from outer world or others and, to exaggerate a little, dissociated within himself.

As to the comparison between adults and high school students, adults when compared with high school students tended to see the drawings more Close, Dark, Unhealthy, Narrow, Inactive, Dull, and Insecure. What this result indicates leads to a discussion as to how pessimistically, that is, badly dissociated, adults see the youth. This is probably due to their value judgment. For most adults a handy phone is new and convenient but they still prefer and practice a face-to-face communication better than a communication by the handy phone, whereas the youth looks too depended on it. For adults the youth who is somewhat withdrawn from the society or others is looked as being not good, hence, close. But his appearance looks optimistic and free. So, there is a discrepancy between what is experiencing and what looks from outside. The youth depicted on the drawings also looks Dark for the adults since he doesn’t have much choice in his process of growing up. Also as already mentioned above a heavy schedule with no time to play from the childhood on is Unhealthy for an ordinary child. Child grows and learns while playing. Since the youth hasn’t had enough time to grow, he is limited to relate with the outer world. He doesn’t know what is going on in the outer world. Hence, he is Narrow and Inactive. Because he is Narrow and Inactive, he naturally becomes Dull. And he feels Insecure inside due to the dissociation he is experiencing, by not relating with outer world. He is even split within himself.

These are all adults’ view on the youth as far as drawings are concerned. And the drawings are probably more pessimistic than expected by the adults. The youth sees the same tendency but less pessimistic. This may be because high school students themselves are already involved in such society as stated above and they have not seen it yet as to the degree the adults see it. Is it rather nice, or bad? Again it is a value judgment. However, it is responsible for the adults to give an enough room to grow for the youth. Meanwhile the adults have to become aware that when they live happily and enjoy living, the youth is most encouraged to follow the adults and from there he becomes able to find his way. Thus, he willingly wants to become an adult.

References
1. Title of the Submission:

   A Community Support Project for Child Rearing in Japan

   -In case of Pre-Kindergarten Children-

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   See an attached document
A Community Support Project For Child Rearing In Japan

-In case of Pre-Kindergarten Children-
Yukiko Kurato (Otemon Gakuin University)

Abstract
This is a second report of the study I presented at the 4th HICSS, specifying a community support project for child rearing in kindergartens in the local government of Toyonaka city. Eleven kindergartens participated to the project and each kindergarten offered a program to the community once or twice a month. Each program consisted of such as “Reading a picture book with mother,” “Cooking a pan-cake with children,” “Playing and singing a song,” “Activity with father,” “Consultation with clinical psychologist,” or “Group talk.” To support the above programs the supporting committee on which I have been a chairperson met once a month for a year. This project is accordance with the child-rearing support policy of the central government of Japan. The feedback from the program and whole activities of the project showed in favor of the project. The study reports the outcome of the project.

I. Purpose
This study is to report the results of the project that was carried out for supporting the child rearing in kindergartens in a local government, Toyonaka City. Toyonaka City is located at the suburbs of Osaka, Japan as a growing city having 386,000 inhabitants. The project was sponsored by the public school system of the city and named as the community support project for child rearing. The purpose of the project was to help parents who have pre-kindergarten children and help develop skills of child rearing. In addition, the project aimed at building models for child rearing for parents. It is assisted by the Ministry of Education and Sciences since the population of Japan is decreasing and parents today tend to feel the child rearing is hard and burdensome as reported in the previous paper (Kurato, 2005).
II. Method
Eleven kindergartens participated in the project. Each kindergarten offered a program to the nearby community once or twice a month. Each program consisted of such as “Reading a picture book with mother,” “Cooking a pan-cake with children,” “Playing and singing a song,” “Activities with father,” “Mother’s chorus,” “Consultation with clinical psychologist,” or “Group talk.” To evaluate the project a feedback that was filled out on the papers from the participants and kindergarten teachers were collected and put into analysis.

III. Results
Type and contents of activities took place in kindergartens for 4 months as of the end of January 2006 were as follows; “Reading a picture book with mother” took place for 9 times. “Activities with parents” such as cooking a pan-cake with children, exercise with parents, craft and paintings, and singing a song with parents were for 24 times. “Programs for mothers” such as mother chorus, learning on child rearing, and counseling with clinical psychologist took place 10 times. Home coming like program for families in kindergartens was held for 6 times. Both parents and kindergarten teachers reported they enjoyed the activities and rated in favor of the project as shown in the Table 1. More detailed figures were shown in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 1. Feedback by teachers and parents

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Feedback by teachers</th>
<th>by parents</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyed</td>
<td>28(27.0%)</td>
<td>42(44.7%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>73(70.2%)</td>
<td>48(51.0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>3(2.8%)</td>
<td>4(4.3%)</td>
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<td>104(100%)</td>
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Table 2. Contents of “Enjoyed.”

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<td>Interest in reading books</td>
<td>8(28.6%)</td>
<td>10(23.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyed activities</td>
<td>13(46.4%)</td>
<td>21(50.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broaden interest</td>
<td>5(17.8%)</td>
<td>6(14.3%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive thinking</td>
<td>1(3.6%)</td>
<td>1(2.4%)</td>
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<td>Attainment</td>
<td>1(3.6%)</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

Table 3. Contents of “communication.”

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<td>Physical contact</td>
<td>4(5.5%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Between parents and child</td>
<td>18(24.8%)</td>
<td>14(29.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between children</td>
<td>11(15.1%)</td>
<td>7(14.5%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Between parents</td>
<td>23(31.5%)</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>0(0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secure feeling</td>
<td>3(4.1%)</td>
<td>5(10.4%)</td>
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<td>Curiosity</td>
<td>2(2.7%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
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<td>Relieved</td>
<td>2(2.7%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oriented</td>
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<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discovery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Play by child himself</td>
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<td>73(100%)</td>
<td>48(100%)</td>
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IV. Discussion

Overall the project was well functioned and well accepted. One reason why the project functioned well was that participants enjoyed activities whereby they learned how to relate to other parents. The percentage for Enjoyed activities showed higher in the parents (44.7%) than teachers (27.0%). It meant that parents appreciated and
enjoyed more than what the teachers observed. Another contributing factor was that fathers took part in the activities that gave a pleasure for children and mothers. Generally speaking most fathers today seldom do not have time to relate to children. In addition some activities that played with large equipments and toys were only possible in such a wide space as a kindergarten. It was nice that activities were led by specialists and were practiced safely.

As to the area of Communication the teacher rated higher (70.2%) than parents (51.0%). It meant that the teachers expected more than parents in facilitating communication during the activities. However, it seemed that parents were more interested in their children rather than paying attention to other parents. It is rather understandable if we take consideration of the fact that children in those days tend to pay attention to how their mothers pay attention to them, and hence, mothers know it well and return their responses to children. It was indicated from the contents of communication; teacher was 24.8% while parents was 29.1% in between parents and children and teachers was 31.5% while parents was 8.3% in among parents.

The parents (18.8%) reported higher than teachers (2.7%) in Discovery. Discovery meant that parents found new perspective in observing other children and parents for one. And they assured that they were doing all right in their child rearing, for another.

The above was based on the fact that every activity was well organized and protected in terms of safety. Therefore, it could be said that the project seemed to have contributed greatly for helping and promoting parents in terms of empowerment or enrichment in their child rearing.

V. Future study
1. The present study was based on feedbacks parents and teachers gave on blank sheets, so that they could write anything they wanted. However, questionnaires would provide more specific information on child rearing in the future study.

2. More frequent activities would provide better results. It was once or twice in the present study and parents wanted more opportunities. The problem with it would be whether it would be possible in terms of expense that has to be provided by the local government. Another would be whether teachers who help activities could be organized.

3. To obtain better quality of activities the project would have to have a set of
successive session or a program with a series of more varieties.

4. Some programs would better be organized after entering kindergartens as an extended program since children in those ages would be out from the homes for the first time and have some adjustment problems. For this professional staff with skill would be needed.

5. Parents in general are said to have no one to talk with about their concerns and worries in terms of their child rearing. So, any gathering place or activities would meet to their needs. This is probably due to the fact that almost all parents live in nuclear families and have nobody to consult with regarding child rearing. Also it would be a matter of how to inform the above place or activities to parents in need who are in general withdrawn and hesitate to participate.

References
A study of Macau’s primary and secondary school systems through statistical figures

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University of Macau
Abstract

The sovereignty of Macau has returned to China for more than five years. Education is a key sector in sustaining the development of Macau in the 21st century. During the colonial period, the Government played a limited role in education. The signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration in 1987 provided premises for the Special Administrative Region Government of Macau to formulate policies on the development and improvement of education. This paper studies Macau’s primary and secondary school systems by investigating official statistical figures which spanned from academic year 1996/1997 to 2003/2004. These figures cover two main areas: the nature of educational provision and the nature of student composition. They illustrate diversity in education and portray both opportunities and threats that the Government needs to tackle with great care.

Keywords: return of sovereignty, primary and secondary school systems, diversity, educational provision, student composition
A study of Macau’s primary and secondary school systems through statistical figures

1. Introduction

After four and a half centuries of Portuguese administration, the sovereignty of Macau was returned to China in December 1999. After the handover, Macau is practicing the “one country two systems” policy. According to the Joint Declaration of the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Portugal on the Question of Macau, the Macau Special Administrative Region shall on its own decide policies in the fields of culture, education, science, and technology. All educational institutions may remain in operation and retain their autonomy.

Macau is located on the southeast coast of China to the west of the Pearl River Delta. The current land area is about 27.3sq.m. Macau has a population of about 482,000. 95% are of Chinese nationality, 2% Portuguese, 1% Filipinos, and 2% of other nationalities. Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages. More than 97% of the people speak Chinese. Portuguese is spoken by about 0.7%. The remaining population speaks English, Filipino and other languages. 45% of the population was born in Macau and another 45% was born in mainland China. The rest was born in other places (Geography and Population, 2006).

Owing to the liberation of the gaming industry, the economy of Macau has risen dramatically during the past few years. In 2004, Macau’s GDP hit MOP82.69 billion (USD10.34 billion) and per capita GDP is MOP180,965 (USD22,620). In the first three quarters of 2005, gross gaming revenue recorded MOP34.18 billion (USD4.27 billion). It generated MOP13.07 billion (USD1.63 billion) in direct tax for the Government (Economic Development, 2006).

The current impetus can only be sustained if the education sector provides human resources that meet the social demands. However, the sector is not without its own problems. During the colonial period, the then Government paid most attention on a small number of Portuguese schools. Private schools which occupied a major proportion in the system were subjected to very little control. Therefore, very diverse sub-systems were formed. This phenomenon created interesting features many of which are still existing today.

This paper studies Macau’s primary and secondary school systems by investigating official statistical figures. It provides a clearer factual view of Macau’s current education situation and highlights some of the opportunities and threats that the Government must tackle with great care.

2. Background Information

Macau has been a city of great interests. The Portuguese administered the city for more than four and a half centuries but its sovereignty was not clearly defined. Its political status was eventually settled in 1987 when the Joint Declaration was signed between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of Portugal. In December 1999 the sovereignty of Macau was eventually returned to China. The city began a new era under the “one country two systems” policy.
During the Portuguese rule, the Government paid little attention to the development of education. It only focused on the public schools which occupied a small proportion of the system.

Rangel (1991, p.315) notes:

For many years there was an almost complete divorce between the Government Department of Education, catering only for a small number of schools, and different private entities, using various systems of education not subjected to any kind of Government control or guidance and instead surviving by their own means.

The consequence of this colonial policy gave rise to a diverse education system. Bray and Hui (1991, p. 299) argue that Macau “has an uncoordinated collection of institutions based on models from Portugal, the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.” These sub-systems rarely communicated with one another and the Government acted indifferently towards their development.

After the signing of the Joint Declaration, Macau’s outlook became clearer. For the first time in Macau’s history, a large seminar on education was organized in October 1989 and a set of reform proposals was released in May 1990. The Government determined to look at four issues (ibid.). First, it would implement a progressive compulsory and free primary and junior secondary education. Second, there would be a revision of the Portuguese language policy. Third, the education system would need to satisfy the need of the society. Fourth, there would be a development for the continuous education system.

Five years have passed after the political transition. It is an appropriate time to investigate the status of education development in Macau. The following sections present and discuss some official statistical figures concerning the territory’s primary and secondary systems.

3. Figures Showing the Nature of Educational Provision

3.1 Primary Schools

Macau’s primary education lasts 6 years. The age requirement for students receiving primary education is between 6 and 15. The primary schools in Macau can be classified by four different categories: (1) nature of sponsorship, (2) span of education provision, (3) medium of instruction, and (4) teaching time (Table 1).
Table 1. Classification of primary schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Types of Primary Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature of sponsorship:</td>
<td>● Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Span of education provision:</td>
<td>● Primary only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Kindergarten + primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Primary + secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Kindergarten + primary + secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium of instruction:</td>
<td>● Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching time</td>
<td>● Day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 present the number of primary schools based on the nature of sponsorship, span of education provision, and medium of instruction. The figures are compiled from documents provided by Education and Youth Affairs Bureau, Government of Macau (http://www.dsej.gov.mo/). In the following tables, C, E, and P stand for schools using Chinese, English and Portuguese as medium of instruction respectively.

Table 2. Number of schools offering primary education only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Public (C, P)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (C, E)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 3. Number of schools offering kindergarten and primary education.

<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (C, E)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Number of schools offering primary and secondary education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (C, E)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (P)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Number of schools offering kindergarten, primary and secondary education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public (C, P)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (C, E)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (P)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above four tables show that the major trend in Macau is to have schools that offer education that spans from kindergarten to secondary. There are 28 schools that are currently doing this. The second biggest group is schools that offer kindergarten and primary education. There are 23 of them in 2004/2005. But it seems that the number is reducing. Schools that offer primary and secondary education, and schools that only offer primary education are much less than the previous two categories.

The number of schools that offer kindergarten, primary and secondary education in fact has been increasing. There were only 19 such schools in 1996/1997. Therefore, the increase rate is 47%. This is a major development trend in educational provision. On the other hand, there are 6 schools that offer primary education only in 2004/2005. This is the lowest figure in nine years and it seems that there is a continuous reduction trend.

The four tables also show that there are more private schools than public schools. Table 5 shows that schools offering kindergarten, primary and secondary education, are all private. Table 4 shows that schools offering primary and secondary education, are all private. For schools offering kindergarten and primary education, twenty out of twenty-three are private. For schools offering primary education only, half of them are private. Therefore, private schools play extremely important roles in the territory.
Table 6. Number of primary schools according to the nature of sponsorship.

<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public (C, P)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (C, E)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (P)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of primary schools</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows that the number of public schools has been decreasing since 2003/2004 while the number of private schools has been quite stable over the years. The proportion of private schools ranges from 87.9% to 91.3%. Since the medium of instruction for public schools is Chinese and/or Portuguese, this may imply that more students prefer to study with Chinese and/or English. The importance of Portuguese as an education language may become less after the political transition. At the same time, English may become a more important language as the economy becomes more open to international business firms.

3.2 Secondary Schools

Secondary schooling is divided into two stages: junior secondary and senior secondary. Junior secondary lasts for 3 years. The maximum age for students receiving junior secondary education is 18 years. Senior secondary lasts for 2 years minimum and 3 years maximum. The maximum age for students receiving senior secondary education is 21 years.

Similar to primary schools, secondary schools can be classified into different categories according to the nature of sponsorship, span of education provision, and medium of instruction. Table 7 shows the classification of secondary schools in Macau using these categories: (1) nature of sponsorship, (2) span of education provision, (3) medium of instruction, and (4) teaching time.

Table 7. Classification of secondary schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Types of Secondary Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature of sponsorship:</td>
<td>● Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Span of education provision:</td>
<td>● Secondary only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Primary + secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Kindergarten + primary + secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium of instruction:</td>
<td>● Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching time</td>
<td>● Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>● Evening</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similar to primary schools, secondary schools can be classified by their nature of sponsorship, span of educational provision, medium of instruction, and teaching time. Based on the span of educational provision, secondary schools can be divided into three types: secondary only, primary plus secondary, and kindergarten plus primary plus secondary. The latter two types overlap with the primary sector. Therefore, their figures will not be presented in this section.

Table 8. Number of schools offering secondary education only.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public (C, P)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (C, E)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private (P)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows that there are only 9 schools that offer secondary education only. This number is much smaller than schools offering kindergarten, primary and secondary. It seems that the number of schools is coming down from the peak in 2000/2001 with 13 schools. Among the 9 schools, 6 are private and 3 are public. The number of public schools has been quite stable over the years while the number of private schools seems to be reducing. The percentage of public schools in this category is relatively higher than that in other categories.

Table 9. Number of secondary schools according to the nature of sponsorship.

<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public (C, P)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of schools</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private %</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>95.2</td>
<td>95.2</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public %</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows that the number of secondary schools has been increasing except for year 2004/2005. The number of private schools has increased from 29 in 1996/1997 to 43 in 2004/2005. The number of public schools has been stable for the past three years. Similar to the primary sector, private schools occupy a large proportion. The percentages range from 91.7% to 97.1%.
3.3 Primary and Secondary Schools Compared

Base on the span of education provision, there are five types of primary and secondary schools. They are those that offer: (1) primary education only, (2) kindergarten plus primary, (3) kindergarten, primary and secondary, (4) secondary education only, and (5) primary plus secondary. Among these five types, most schools are offering kindergarten, primary, and secondary education.

In both primary and secondary sectors, more than 90% of the schools are private. Most of the private schools use Chinese and/or English as the medium of instruction. In 2002/2003, there was only one private Portuguese primary school and one private Portuguese secondary school. The number of public secondary school has remained stable over the past three years. However, the number of public primary school has fallen from 8 in 2002/2003 to 6 in 2003/2004. This may signal that the demand for Portuguese language education is decreasing.

4. Figures Showing the Nature of Student Composition

Macau’s population comprises 52% female and 48% male. 17.1% is under 15 years old, 74.76% is aged between 15 and 64, and 8.12% is aged 65 or older. The population is increasing at an annual rate of about 4%. There is a large amount of people moving in and out of the city, with 25 million entries and exits recorded annually. Within this context, this section discusses the change in student composition during the past few years.

4.1 Primary Schools

Table 10. Number of registered primary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>47629</td>
<td>24764</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>47483</td>
<td>24875</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>46747</td>
<td>24534</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>47622</td>
<td>24966</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>46260</td>
<td>24336</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>44434</td>
<td>23470</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>41962</td>
<td>22216</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>39734</td>
<td>21082</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 10 shows that the total number of registered primary students has decreased from 47,629 in 1996/1997 to 39,734 in 2003/2004. This shows that the population is aging severely and the demand for primary education may become lower and lower.
Table 11. Annual quantity change and annual change rate based on the number of registered primary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of registered primary students</th>
<th>Quantity Change</th>
<th>Annual Change Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>47629</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>47483</td>
<td>-146</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>46747</td>
<td>-736</td>
<td>-1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>47622</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>46260</td>
<td>-1362</td>
<td>-2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>44434</td>
<td>-1826</td>
<td>-3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>41962</td>
<td>-2472</td>
<td>-5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>39734</td>
<td>-2228</td>
<td>-5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the figures of table 10, table 11 illustrates the number of registered primary students has been increasing except for year 1999/2000. Since 2000/2001 the annual change rate has been negative. In 2002/2003, the rate has been a serious -5.6%.
Table 12. Place of birth of primary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of students at the end of academic year</th>
<th>Macau</th>
<th>Macau %</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
<th>Mainland China %</th>
<th>Portugal</th>
<th>Portugal %</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Hong Kong %</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Others %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>47300</td>
<td>41285</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>3542</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>47235</td>
<td>41668</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>3555</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1393</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>48269</td>
<td>41348</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>5145</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1217</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>47059</td>
<td>40173</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>5309</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>45474</td>
<td>38763</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>5332</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>43709</td>
<td>37171</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>5295</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>41535</td>
<td>35542</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>4800</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>39278</td>
<td>33803</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>4318</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 12 shows that the number of primary students who were born in mainland China has increased from 7.5% in academic year 1996/1997 to 11.0% in 2003/2004. There was a jump from 7.5% to 10.7% during the 1997/1998 and 1998/1999 period. This resonates with the political situation of the city and the fact that more people moved from China to Macau. At the same time, the number of students who were born in Portugal has decreased from 0.6% in 1996/1997 to 0.2% in 2003/2004. This implies that many Portuguese people have left the territory. The number of Hong Kong born students also dropped significantly from 3.3% in 1996/1997 to 1.4% in 2003/2004. An interesting point to note here is that the percentage of others has increased gradually from a low 0.8% in both 1997/1998 and 1998/1999 to 1.4% in 2003/2004. It is believed that a major proportion in this category is the children of Filipino family who moved and settled in Macau. They begin to form a significant minority community in the city.
Table 13. Medium of instruction for primary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of primary students at the end of academic year</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Chinese %</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Portuguese %</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English %</th>
<th>Chinese-Portuguese</th>
<th>Chinese-Portuguese %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>47300</td>
<td>40756</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3553</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2121</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>47235</td>
<td>40975</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3526</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>48269</td>
<td>42973</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2606</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2083</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>47059</td>
<td>43319</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2916</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>45474</td>
<td>42350</td>
<td>93.1</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2785</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>43709</td>
<td>40667</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2748</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>41535</td>
<td>38403</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2855</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>39278</td>
<td>35936</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3089</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Resonating with table 12, table 13 shows that the number of primary students who are using Portuguese as a medium of learning has decreased from 1.8% in 1996/1997 to 0.6% in 2003/2004. Although Portuguese is one of the official languages in Macau, its importance as an education language has weakened. On the other hand, more students are using Chinese and English as the medium of learning. Those who are using Chinese as the medium of learning have increased by 5.3 percentage points. This shows that Chinese has become a more significant education language.
4.2 Secondary Schools

Table 14. Number of registered secondary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>24515</td>
<td>11371</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>27092</td>
<td>12594</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>28691</td>
<td>13350</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>31941</td>
<td>15158</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>37144</td>
<td>18419</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>40137</td>
<td>19931</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>42963</td>
<td>21412</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>45103</td>
<td>22689</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The number of registered secondary students has been increasing dramatically during the past eight years. In 2003/2004 there are 45103 students, which is a near 84% increase of the 1996/1997 number. These students most likely come from families which moved from mainland China to Macau. The rapid increase poses challenges to both the quantity and quality of secondary education.

Table 15. Annual quantity change and annual change rate based on the number of registered secondary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of registered secondary students</th>
<th>Quantity Change</th>
<th>Annual Change Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>24515</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>27092</td>
<td>2577</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>28691</td>
<td>1599</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>31941</td>
<td>3250</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>37144</td>
<td>5203</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>40137</td>
<td>2993</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>42953</td>
<td>2826</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>45103</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The annual change rate recorded a significant high in 2000/2001. However, the number of students has been coming down gradually. The annual change rate of 2003/2004 is the lowest among the few years.
Table 16. Place of birth of secondary students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of students at the end of academic year</th>
<th>Macau</th>
<th>Macau %</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
<th>Mainland China %</th>
<th>Portugal</th>
<th>Portugal %</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Hong Kong %</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Others %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>24145</td>
<td>15685</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>5739</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>26406</td>
<td>19208</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>5053</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1447</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>28543</td>
<td>21799</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>4786</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>30685</td>
<td>24373</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>4645</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>35850</td>
<td>28932</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>5175</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>38751</td>
<td>31451</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>5628</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1288</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>41551</td>
<td>33630</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>6304</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1249</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>43251</td>
<td>34823</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>6887</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1173</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From 1996/1997 to 2003/2004, the number of secondary students who were born in mainland China has increased from 5,739 to 6,887. However, in terms of percentage, there is a decrease from 23.8% to 15.9%. The number of students who were born in Portugal has dropped severely from 528 in 1996/1997 to 90 in 2003/2004. Similar to what happened in the primary sector, this implies that after the political transition many Portuguese families left Macau. This trend will most likely continue in the future if the bonding between Macau and Portugal becomes less intimate.
Table 17. Medium of instruction for secondary students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of secondary students at the end of academic year</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Chinese %</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English %</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Portuguese %</th>
<th>Chinese-Portuguese</th>
<th>Chinese-Portuguese %</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Others %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>24145</td>
<td>18972</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>3287</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>26406</td>
<td>21074</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>3061</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>1105</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>28543</td>
<td>23994</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>2713</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>30685</td>
<td>26436</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>2691</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>35850</td>
<td>31328</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>3721</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>38751</td>
<td>34053</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>3831</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>41551</td>
<td>36901</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>4137</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>43251</td>
<td>38508</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>4247</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 17 shows that Portuguese is becoming less important while Chinese is becoming more important as a medium of instruction for secondary schools. The drop in using Portuguese as medium of instruction is a serious 4.2 percentage points when comparing the 2003/2004 figure with the 1996/1997 figure. For Chinese, the increase rate is a significant 10.4 percentage point between the 2003/2004 figure and the 1996/1997 figure. Although the number of secondary students studying with English has increased from 3287 in 1996/1997 to 4247 in 2003/2004, the proportion has dropped slightly from 13.6% to 9.8%. But generally speaking, the proportion of this category has been relatively stable. This shows that both Chinese and English are important education languages.

4.3 Primary and Secondary Schools Compared

The number of registered primary students has been decreasing while that of registered secondary students has been increasing. This may imply that many secondary students are newly immigrants from mainland China. In 2003/2004, 11% of primary students and 15.9% of secondary students were born in mainland China. In both sectors, the number of students who were born in Portugal has reduced seriously. This is particularly true
with secondary students. In 1996/1997 the percentage of Portuguese born students was 2.2%. In 2003/2004 the number fell to 0.2%. The number of Hong Kong born students was also reduced. In the primary sector, the number of students who were born in other places was slightly increased from 0.8% in 1998/1999 to 1.4% in 2003/2004.

In 2003/2004, 91.5% of primary students are learning in schools which use Chinese as the medium of instruction and 7.9% in schools which use English as the medium of instruction. Comparatively, 89% of secondary students are learning in schools which use Chinese as the medium of instruction and 9.8% in schools which use English as the medium of instruction. This may mean that English becomes a slightly more important language in secondary than in primary.

In the same year, only 0.6% of primary students and 1.1% of secondary students are learning in schools which use Portuguese as the medium of instruction. The fall is particularly serious for secondary students. This signals that Portuguese language education needs to re-position itself in order to maintain its presence.

5. Findings and Suggestions

The statistical figures reveal some special features about Macau’s primary and secondary school systems. Firstly, the number of primary students is decreasing seriously. This is a challenge to schools which are operating under tight budgets. If the trend continues, it is possible that many primary schools will have to close down in the near future. The Government needs to monitor this situation carefully to devise appropriate teacher training and development policies. The number of teachers and the skills they acquire need to match the actual demands of the society.

A major proportion of Macau’s primary and secondary school are private. They are sponsored by different organizations and they have their own sub-systems. This creates great diversity in Macau’s education system. It is good in the sense that students can select the type of school that best fit their needs. However, diversity poses problems in assuring quality of education. There is no public examination in Macau. Parents and outsiders do not have sufficient objective information about how schools are doing. They have to rely a lot on informal communication to make their decisions in selecting schools.

Many schools in Macau provide education from kindergarten to secondary level. This is a good practice because students do not need to go through vigorous streaming practices. It will be easier for students to develop their sense of belonging. But at the same time, there is a lack of co-ordination among schools. If a student fails in his/her original school, there is little mechanism for him/her to change to another school. Therefore, the Government needs to encourage schools to develop more dialogues and build connections among themselves.

The number of Portuguese schools is decreasing and more students are studying in schools which use Chinese and/or English as the medium of instruction. This echoes with the political situation of the territory. Nevertheless, Portuguese is still one of the official languages of Macau and the Government also wants to develop the city into a business platform for Portuguese-speaking countries. Hence, the importance of Portuguese language should be sustained and not minimized. The Government needs to develop long-term policies in balancing the importance of the three languages – Chinese, Portuguese, and English.
The number of students who were born in mainland China has been increasing. This is particularly true for primary schools. These immigrant students represent a significant source of human resource for Macau since the local birth rate has been low. The Government needs to pay attention to the needs of these students and to ensure they can integrate properly into the local society.

Lastly, the number of students who were born in other places has also increased in the primary sector. A proportion of them may be children from Filipino families which gradually settled down in Macau. Although there is no statistical figure revealing the number of Filipino residents in Macau, it is observed that there are more Filipino people working in different areas. Their children demand proper education. Therefore, the Government needs to set up policies to provide assistance to these non-Chinese residents.

6. Conclusion

The major characteristic of Macau’s education system is diversity. In fact, this is a manifestation of the city itself. During the colonial rule, the Government adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards many aspects of the administration. The change of Governors was frequent and it was difficult for the authority to implement long-term policies. The territory was allowed to develop by itself. Different parties began to develop their own fortresses and many sub-systems were established. This style of operation seemed alright during the 1970s and 1980s. But as the economy became more and more open to the international community, many things were forced to change.

After the change of sovereignty, the economy has been developing at great speed and the Government gains high revenue from tax. On the surface, the territory seems problem-free. But there is a lack of long-term planning and control. The current economy relies too much on the gaming industry. Property prices soar high and there is a lot of speculation going on. The quality of life, in fact, is decreasing.

In the education sector, the number of primary students is decreasing at a dramatic speed. Chinese and English are becoming more important as education languages while Portuguese is losing its popularity. What should the Government do to address these issues? It seems that there are a lot of unanswered questions. We think that this is the appropriate moment for our Government to make the use of its resources to research on the future direction of the education system.
References


Title: The American War on Terrorism: A Critique
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Abstract

The use of terror as a strategy for achieving political goals has a long history but its use has become more prevalent in recent times through the application of modern weapons technology. For America the 9/11 attacks taking down the World Trade Center in New York and part of the Pentagon provided a dramatic introduction to what President George Bush called a War on Terrorism (WOT).

America's desire for retaliation materialized in a military campaign against the Taliban forces in Afghanistan which destroyed the terrorist base of Al Qaeda there but failed to capture its leader, Osama Bin Laden. At that point in the struggle against terrorism American and Coalition forces shifted the focus to a war in Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power and the possible threat of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and away from the pursuit of Osama and the core of his organization.

Questions were raised about proceedings in the United Nations over the search for WMD in Iraq and the interpretation of intelligence to justify a war there. The acquisition of terrorist-related information became a major concern when the use of torture in the process of handling detainees became widely known.

Alternatively some critics of the WOT suggested that military action was counterproductive and that the application of a criminal mode in which terrorist leaders would be indicted as international criminals would be more realistic and effective. It was argued that this approach would bring more widespread participation among nations around the world.

Meanwhile the organization of a coalition force for military action in Iraq brought the United States into conflict with France and Germany among others, undermining long-standing alliance arrangements. More recently major terrorist attacks in Madrid and London along with those in Southeast Asia such as Bali underlined the global nature of the challenge.

A major contribution to the analysis of the terrorist threat involving causes and responses within a democratic framework has been made by the Club de Madrid. In a program of systems analysis in 2005 a comprehensive strategy grew out of a conference of over two hundred scholars and specialists in terrorism who had spent a year of study on the problems.

Prospects for future actions in counterterrorism may be evaluated with the template offered by the Madrid critique. Unfortunately plans can not be forged with a clean slate because they require acceptance of the current situation for development.
The Study of Taiwanese College Students’ English Reading Comprehension Strategies

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Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to help improve Taiwanese college students’ reading comprehension of English text. The participants in this study were freshmen enrolled in the departments of Mechanical Engineering and International Business at a private technology college in Taiwan. This study required 75 participants to read three articles. Afterwards each participant completed a strategy questionnaire. First, this study was to investigate what kinds of reading comprehension strategies used by the college students most and least frequently to comprehend the text in English. Furthermore, the study was to explore whether there is a difference in applying the comprehension strategies during the reading process between the two groups of participants with different academic backgrounds. As well, implications for improving the instruction of Taiwanese college students’ English reading comprehension are presented.

Keywords: English reading comprehension; comprehension strategies.
Introduction

Comprehension strategies demonstrates “how readers conceive a task, what textual cues they attend to, how they make sense of what they read, and what they do when they do not understand” (Block, 1986). In general, Block (1986) pointed out two major groups of researchers in the strategy use of second language readers. One argues that language skills can be developed in a linear way moving from lower level of letter- or word- skills to higher level of cognitive ones (Cziko, 1980). The other group acclaims that higher level strategies develop in a first language can be transferred to a second language and can operate alongside lower processing strategies (Coady, 1979, Hudson, 1982). Several studies were conducted to figure out what strategies can readers use to comprehend text. The categories of strategies vary from study to study with different ages and grade levels of the participants, the tasks, and the reading material (Barnett, 1986, Anderson, 1991). These studies do not adequately account for a detailed description of the comprehension strategies used by EFL students while reading English material with different readabilities.

The study was firstly to explore what strategies technique college students use most and least frequently and secondly, to examine whether there is a difference in applying the comprehension strategies during the reading process between the two groups of participants with different academic backgrounds.

Method

Participants

A convenience sample of 75 first-year college EFL students joined this study. 35 participants in this study were enrolled in the department of International Business (IB) and 40 in the department of Mechanical Engineering (ME) at a private technology
college in Taiwan. Their ages ranged from 18 to 21. According to the scores of the college entrance exam in Taiwan, the IB students have higher averaged scores in the English subject than the ME students’ scores. The English teacher of the two classes described that the IB students’ general English proficiency level can be considered to be high beginning level and the ME students, beginning level.

**Reading Material**

Since the study is to investigate what strategies can the college students use and some of the participants’ English proficiency level is at the level of beginning. The researcher did not choose the articles by which the participants were frustrated and gave up reading, and as well, the ones that the participants feel easy to read without any challenge. The readabilities of the three articles included in this study are Level 1, level 2 and level 3. The topics of the three articles are general ones without any academic bias (see Table 1 for the details of the three articles). The three articles were selected from Leslie and Caldwell’s Qualitative Reading Inventory (2001).

**Table 1. The selected reading passages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage Topic</th>
<th>Readability</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Number of post-reading questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What you eat?</td>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>123 words</td>
<td>Expository</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasons</td>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>249 words</td>
<td>Expository</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do people live?</td>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>288 words</td>
<td>Expository</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strategy Questionnaire**

The questionnaire was designed to examine what strategies most college students use to comprehend English text. Most EFL students rarely provide their response to the open questions. Furthermore, they did not have any idea about what the reading strategy is. Thus, the researcher listed out four reading strategy items and asked them to rank these items according to the frequency of the usage when reading the three
passages respectively. The four strategy items include Paragraph Structure (PS), Syntactic Structure (SS), Word Meaning (WM) and Topic Prior Knowledge (TPK). The rationale for the selection of the four strategies is that PS, SS and WM are the strategies frequently instructed in the initial stage of the reading comprehension course in Taiwan. TPK strategy is one of higher-order comprehension skills assumed to be important for effective text comprehension (Jordan, 1997).

**Administration and Analysis**

*General procedure.* To avoid the participants’ tiredness of reading the three passages together, the data was collected in English class for three weeks. The teacher asked each participant to read one passage in each week. They started to read the easier passage (Level one). Each participant was requested to read the passage silently first and then answer the questions. They were allowed to look back while answering the questions. This is because the researcher assumed that student’ abilities to look back is a reading strategy to comprehend the text. After they finished reading the three passages, in the forth week the teacher asked the participant to fill in a strategy questionnaire. The teacher provided the explanation of the four strategies.

*Analysis.* 75 participants completed the strategy questionnaire. In the questionnaire, the researcher asked the participant to rank the four strategy items from the most frequently used to the least frequently used. Some participants only ranked three or two items. Such kind of response was still considered effective. For each question, each participant’s response can be categorized as the most frequently and the least frequently used strategy. Then, each response was calculated and added up respectively.

**Results and Discussion**

The collected data from the questionnaire were grouped into two major
databases – one for the department of Mechanical Engineering (ME), the other for the department of International Business (IB). Each database includes the analysis of the most/least frequently used strategy vs. three levels of passages.

The Most/least Frequently Used Strategy by ME Students

Table 1 shows that out of 40 ME participants, when reading Level one passage, 22 participants used the Word Meaning strategy (WM) to comprehend the content of English text; twelve, the Topic Prior Knowledge strategy (TPK); four, the Paragraph Structure strategy (PS), and none of them used the Syntactic Structure strategy (SS). Thus, the most frequently used strategy is the Word Meaning strategy. When reading Level two passage, the ME group received a closely similar distribution among the four strategies as that in Level one. In general, most ME students may prefer to use the Chinese definition of words to help themselves to make sense of English text whose readability is suitable to students’ English reading proficiency level.

Table 1. Most Frequently Used Strategy by the ME group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>L2</th>
<th>L3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(7.5)</td>
<td>(35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(55)</td>
<td>(47.5)</td>
<td>(50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPK</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(42.5)</td>
<td>(37.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( n = 40 \)
Figure 1. The most frequently used strategy by ME students

However, it is interesting to note that the ME participants tended to utilize one more strategy when reading Level 3 passage than the situations when they read Level 1 and Level 2 passages. The data from Figure 1 show that 50 percentage of ME participant used the WM strategy, 37.5 percentage of participants use the TPK strategy, but interestingly, 35 percentage of participants used the PS strategy. The finding is that more ME students utilized the PS strategy when reading the higher level of graded reader (see Figure 1). It can be explained that when the difficulty of the reading material is raised, the reader may try to utilize more strategies to comprehend the text.

As to the least frequently used strategy, 65 percentage of the ME participants expressed they do not use the SS strategy; 40 percentage do not use the PS strategy; 1 % do not use the WM strategy and as well, 1 % do not use the TPK strategies. The sequence of least frequently used strategy is as this pattern: SS > PS > WM = TPK. It can be tempting to conclude that that for most ME participants, the least frequently used strategy is the SS strategy when reading the passage at Levels 1, 2 and 3(see Figure 2).
The Most/least Frequently Used Strategy by IB Students

When reading Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3 passages, the pattern of the strategy usage by the IB group occurred in a similar hierarchy according to the order from the most frequently used strategy: WM > TPK > PS > SS and on the other hand, the order from the least frequently used strategy: SS > PS > TPK > WM. See Figures 3 and 4 for the general patterns. The data from Table 2 show that throughout reading the three levels of passages, the average of 59% of IB participants used the WM strategy whereas less 1% of IB participants used the SS strategy to comprehend English text.

Table 2. Most Frequently Used Strategy by the IB group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L1</th>
<th></th>
<th>L2</th>
<th></th>
<th>L3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>5 (14.3)</td>
<td>3 (8.6)</td>
<td>3 (8.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>1 (2.9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>19 (54.3)</td>
<td>22 (62.9)</td>
<td>21 (60)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPK</td>
<td>13 (37.1)</td>
<td>14 (40)</td>
<td>14 (40)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(n = 35\)
The Most/least Frequently Used Strategy by ME and IB Students

For the use of the strategies, there is not much difference between the two groups. A general strategy usage tendency can go like this: Word Meaning > Topic Prior Knowledge > Paragraph structure> Syntactic Structure. That is, the most frequently used strategy is the WM strategy; in contrast, the least frequently used strategy is the SS strategy.
Table 3. Least Frequently Used Strategy by the ME group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th></th>
<th>L2</th>
<th></th>
<th>L3</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>(65)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(62.5)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>(57.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(12.5)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPK</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(12.5)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(17.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( n = 40 \)

Table4. Least Frequently Used Strategy by the IB group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th></th>
<th>L2</th>
<th></th>
<th>L3</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(25.7)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(25.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(71.4)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(71.4)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(71.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(5.7)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPK</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(14.3)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(14.3)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(14.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( n = 35 \)

Tables 2 and 3 offer the percentage numerical data for the least frequently used strategy by the ME and IB groups. There is a different percentage range between the two groups in terms of the first and the second least frequently used strategy. Throughout the three passages, the average percentage of the first least frequently used strategy (SS) by the ME group is 61.7 % and the average percentage of the second strategy (PS) is 36.7%. The percentage range is 25. In contrast, the average percentage of the first least frequently used strategy (SS) by the IB group is 71.4% and the second strategy (PS) is 23.8%. The percentage range is 47.6. The percentage range of the first and the second least frequently used strategies by the IB group is far higher than that by the ME group. Figure 5 below summed up the results. The general finding is that among the least frequently used strategies, ME participants may not prefer to using the SS strategy and the PS strategy to comprehend English text whereas the SS strategy is the strategy IB participants obviously did not like to use.
Instructional suggestions

In the present study, whatever the difficulty of the passage, the ME and IB college participants approach the similar order of strategy use in terms of the most and the least frequently used strategies. A general finding of the study is that most college students rarely use the syntactic structure to comprehend text. This may suggest that it is not necessary for the instructor to provide students the analysis or the explanation of grammatical rules while the theme of the reading focuses on comprehension task.

Another result shows that for this group of Taiwanese college students, they perceived recognizing word meaning as the primary strategy of comprehending English text. The educational implication suggestion based on this result should, of course, be interpreted cautiously in case not to lead a traditional isolated vocabulary based instruction in the reading course. Since students have been influenced with such long-standing reading strategy, most of them may be fundamental deficiencies in higher-order language processing, an inadequate topic prior knowledge base or weak metacognitive skills. By the definition of metacognition, Wixson and Lipson (1991) explained that it refers to the ability to reflect one’s own thinking and to manage one’s learning actions. Though a number of invention studies have documented the
effectiveness of metacognitive strategy training within the context of reading comprehension (e.g., Palinscar & Brown, 1984), the development of metacognitive skills takes place over extended periods of time and that deficiencies in the above mentioned areas may require intensive, long-term interventions (Derry & Murphy, 1986). In this study, the researcher would like to suggest that as the instructor encounters such group of EFL students, he/she may try to first provide students the suitable strategy to increase their word knowledge rather than the metacognition strategies. For EFL students, the process of reading English text can be like an adventure in an unknown area. The knowing of vocabulary is like a tool they have to handle the unpredicted problem. The more vocabulary knowledge they learn, they feel more confident when they are confronted with English text.

With such bottom-up model of the reading instructional suggestion, it does not mean that the researcher ignores other influential top-down factors to passage comprehension. The bottom-up reading model claims that reading begins with the text and proceeds systematically from letters to words to phrases to sentences to meaning (LaBerge & Samuels, 1974). In contrast, the top-down reading model assumes that readers start initially by predicting meaning and then identifying words (McCormick 2003). In this study, the second strategy college students mostly used is the Topic Prior Knowledge strategy. Most students may once in while activate their prior knowledge to facilitate their understanding of English text. Thus, students’ abilities to recognize or retrieve the definition of words are correlated with their abilities to use a passage’s context and their general world knowledge. Vocabulary knowledge can be affected by learners’ prior knowledge. The finding may be consistent with the results from Lin’s research (2004) on EFL students’ reading comprehension and ensure the important role of culturally specific prior knowledge. Lin (2004) pointed out that the
English text comprehension of EFL students could be influenced by the amount of their prior knowledge related to the content of the passage. Sufficient prior knowledge of Chinese and non-Chinese topic passages can enhance the reader to comprehend the text well; in contrast, lack of proper prior knowledge of Chinese and non-Chinese topic passages may thus hinder the reader to comprehend the text. In this current study,

**Conclusion**

Poor knowledge of word meanings can be an obstacle to their understanding of English text in the beginning stage of learning to do English reading. Moreover, poor abilities to handle metacognitave strategies can hinder their mature reading. To lead the college students from beginning reading to mature reading, the researcher would call for a careful training of the Word Meaning strategy and a training to foster college students’ prior knowledge. Components to reading comprehension can be various. Word meaning can only be one of these components. With the perspective of interactive reading model, word meanings can be driven by a meaningful, holistic context in the text and be interpreted by the reader. The strategy instruction should include both the bottom-up and the top-down level of strategies. In addition to the practice of the level of strategies, such as decoding or retrieving word meanings, the students may simultaneously develop top-down level of strategies, like the application of readers’ prior knowledge. With such strategy instruction, EFL reading pedagogy may provide a holistic way to educate college students to read comprehensively and independently.
References


Foreseeing the Cross-strait Relations
from the Cultural Difference & Adult Education

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Abstract

Both sides of cross-strait have developed different cultures & adult education since 1949, the year of separation. Mainland Affairs Council, Executive Yuan, deems that the cultural communication & adult education between both sides is the foundation of the reconciliation and prosperity. At present, the culture and adult education are the first priority in the process of the communication between both sides, and therefore, the culture & adult education is the vanguard of the development of the relation between both sides. But does the cultural & adult education difference become the trouble of the communication between both sides? And what does it influence the cross-strait relations? Therefore, this article will explore the cross-relations from the point of view on the cultural difference & adult education. Therefore, the research Purpose is that:

1. Exploring the cultural & adult education difference of both sides.
2. Comparing the cultural & adult education difference of both sides.
3. Looking for the direction of the future development on the cross-strait relations.

The Research Method is History Study & Document Analysis. Firstly, the meaning of culture & adult education will be defined. The meaning of culture is nothing more than the system combining four elements—languages, norms, beliefs, and values. The system provides us the category of life. The culture is of continuous change due to the interaction among the different cultures and the natural environment. Then to understand the status of relative study about the cultural & adult education difference, and to talk about the Ronen’s, Shincha’s (1984) & Hofstede’s (1980) cross-cultural studies. Thirdly, to discuss the point of view on the culture & adult education of Mainland China from Taiwan, and vice versa. Fourthly, to compare the cultural & adult education difference of both sides by the guideline of comparing the four elements of culture and according to the above sequence of ideas. Fifthly, to discuss the reason of causing the cultural & adult education difference by separating the history to seven periods—Aboriginal Tribe, Holland & Spain, Ming-Zheng (1661-1683), Ching Dynast (1684-1895), Japanese Ruling (1895-1945), KMT Governing (1945-2000), and Post KMT Governing (2000-). Finally, to try to discuss
the future development of cross-strait relations with the cultural & adult education difference. Hoping to predict the future development on the cross-strait relations with the point of view on the cultural & adult education difference.
I. Foreword

It has been more than fifty years since the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) separated from the Chinese Communist Party. Under the separation, the cultures at the two coasts develop differently. Now the imperative of the cross-strait exchange lies in culture and education which lead the development of the cross-strait relations. To meet people's need for further education, institutions of adult education are widely established and opened up in public and private sectors at the two coasts. In fact, the adult education not only provides opportunities of learning, allows people of both coasts to learn from each other, advances exchanges, but also diminishes the distances among citizens, villages, communities and countries, leading to a harmonious international relation among members of the global village. Therefore, the essay will explore the cross-strait relations from the angle of cultural difference and adult education. It will first examine studies on the cultural difference; second, discuss the cultural difference between the two coasts; third, draw on the meaning of adult education; forth, explore the status of the development of adult education at the two coasts; fifth, analyze the status and trends of adult education at the two coasts, in order to lead to a conclusion as reference.

II. Studies on cultural difference

The cross-cultural studies of Ronen & Shincha (1984) and of Hofstede (1980) are among the most representative in the field of cultural difference.

Addressing the issue of global cultural difference, Ronen & Shincha divide cultures of different countries into nine clusters: cluster of Near Eastern, cluster of Nordic, cluster of German, cluster of Anglo American, cluster of Latin European, cluster of Latin American, cluster of Far Eastern, cluster of Arab, and cluster of Independent. They think the countries in the same cluster tend to have similar cultures.

Hofstede (1980) appropriates four constitutive aspects\(^1\) in his cross-cultural study. However, both Hofstede and Ronen & Shincha apply an etic idea to define culture. They do not distinguish among the East Asian countries, and suggest the cultures in East Asian have common nature. However, the cultural structures they establish do not exactly represent the nature of the culture of the Chinese diaspora. For although both Taiwan and China belong to the cluster of Far Eastern, there exists great cultural difference in-between. We can only assure that in comparison to the cultural tendencies of other clusters, the two have more similarities than differences. The essay takes the four cultural elements (Language, Norms, Beliefs, Values) as object of research in analyzing the cross-cultural difference between the two coasts. However, since the four elements are quite general, the essay further defines ‘language’ as the official languages in use at the two coasts, ‘norm’ as the codes in daily life and in the interpersonal interactions, ‘belief’ as the religious faith, and ‘values’ as the values

\(^1\) They are: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity. Later he adds the fifth constitutive aspect, long-term—short-term orientation.
of the peoples of the two coasts.

III. The cross-strait cultural difference

(1) History of the two coasts

The Chinese culture originates from mainland China. Even if the Taiwanese culture is largely influenced by mainland China’s culture, there is relevant difference between the two, since Taiwan is surrounded by the sea and situated at the northern end of the Austronesian language family, so it also bears features of the oceanic culture and the Austronesian culture. Besides, later came the Dutch-Spanish culture, the Christian Presbyterian church, the Japanese culture, the American culture, etc., thus differing the Taiwanese culture different from the mainland’s. Below are several periods of culture development focusing on the Taiwan region.

1. The aborigine period: The condition of Taiwan is essentially autarkic, and rather isolated and primordial. However, coppers of the Tang and the Song Dynasty are found in the relics at Taiwan’s west-coast, suggesting trades and small-scale commerce between the Taiwan aborigines and the mainland. However, great difference exists in-between.

2. The Dutch and the Spanish period (1624-1662): Occupying Taiwan with then dominating Mercantilism, the Dutch took Taiwan as its beachhead for international transit trade. The economy in Taiwan progressed rapidly with its prime industries of rice, sugar and tea. Taiwan was thus ranked among the civilized countries, jumping from pre-historical era to the early modern era after the era of voyage. The Dutch set up policies executed by the Han people. Together they built a new Taiwan. In this period, there still existed great cross-strait cultural difference.

3. The Ming Dynasty and Cheng Cheng-Kung period (1661-1683): A great number Han people settled in Taiwan very early. But it was until 1661-1662 that Cheng Cheng-Kung established the first Han regime in Taiwan. Meanwhile, in southern Taiwan, the Han won over the aborigines as the dominating race, providing the base for an overall assimilation of Han culture in Taiwan, to be realized in the Ching Dynasty. In the period, the cross-strait cultures became similar.

4. The Ching Dynasty period (1684-1895): In 1683, the Ching Dynasty overthrew the regime of Cheng Cheng-Kung and Taiwan was, for the first time, integrated into China’s territory. It lasted for a hundred and twenty-one years, until 1895 when Taiwan was ceded to Japan. In the period, the two coasts united for the first time and influenced Taiwan greatly. Abundant Han

Since the written history of Taiwan is rather short, here is taken the written history of both coasts in comparing the cultural difference.
people settled on the island and occupied the essential plains, replacing the aborigines as the dominating race. The cultural difference between the two coasts was less.

5. The Japanese colonial period (1895-1945): Following the western model, the Japanese colonization governed Taiwan with absolute authority. The Taiwanese suffered from inequality and revolted against the colonizer. Meanwhile, the colonizer actively made abundant constitution and progress in Taiwan’s material and cultural aspects. The Taiwanese were much more cultivated, a fact relevant to the postwar historical development. In the period, the cultural difference between the two coasts becomes greater.

6. The period of the Chinese Nationalist Government in Taiwan (1945-): In 1945, the Japanese army surrendered to the allied army. Taiwan was back to the hands of China. In 1949, the Chinese Nationalist Government was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party and installed in Taiwan, inaugurating the period of the Chinese Nationalist Government. The Government executed coercion with the martial law and simultaneously developed the economy, creating the ‘miracle of economy’. Apart from elevating the manufacturing technique and the cultural standard, the Government also educated people with nationalistic spirit, with the attempt to influence people with the Chinese culture. Therefore, the history and geography of China and the ‘Three Principles of the People’ were highlighted in the curriculum of high schools and universities, prospering the education in Taiwan. Early in the period, the cultural difference between the two coasts tended to diminish.

But during more than five decades when the two coasts have been led by different governments, the cultural difference became greater. Even though the Chinese Communist Party carried out reformation and open policies in the 1980s, for which they launched the movement of ‘Five respects, four beauties, three passions’, the effect was little. The factors above caused the cultural difference between the two coasts today.

(2) Chinese Communist Party’s view of Taiwan’s culture

The Chinese Communist Party holds the general view that contradictoriness characterizes Taiwanese’s culture, regarding: 1. Conflict and tolerance (the question of the race is raised during elections, but fades once the elections end.) 2. Strong superiority and intrinsic sadness (proud of being rich yet belittling themselves). 3. Canny and generous; unwilling to be disadvantaged yet willing to volunteer. 4. Superstitious yet emphasizing science and education. 5. Ideal counter reality; society counter life. (The public order worsens, yet more people become charitable.) 6. Civilized yet absurd (Formosa vs. the Island of Greed.) (He

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3 Ref. official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China, concerning a concise history of Taiwan.
4 Five respects: for civilization, politeness, hygiene, order and moral. Four beauties: of spirit, language, action and environment. Three passions: for the country, the socialism, the Chinese Communist Party.
The Chinese Communist Party thinks Taiwan’s culture belongs to the ‘eggshell’ type. It grows inside the egg and is self-centered. However, the protecting shell is as susceptible as eggshell. In the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese officer Goto Shinpei thought the Taiwanese were paradoxical, that they were mercenary and afraid of death; however they could risk lives for the sake of face. But, looking from the other angle, they represent the Taiwanese’ adorable and pure sides.

(3) Taiwanese’s view of the Chinese Communist Party’s the culture

After the communication between mainland China and Taiwan was open, more and more Taiwanese visited mainland for touring, meeting relatives or trading. Facing a mainland for long closed to them, the Taiwanese had a special complex toward it. But after frequent exchanges and contacts, the Taiwanese come to realize that the mainland is different they imagine:

1. The values inherited from the traditional Chinese civilization no longer exist. Especially affected by the Culture Revolution, regrettably, there is no trace of the old Chinese culture.
2. The Chinese tend to be agonistic, dishonest and pretentious. The Culture Revolution evoked many negative traits in the Chinese. For example, there are full of disputes and fights among people in institutions. Therefore it seems that being Chinese is difficult and tiring.
3. The China-centric ideology prevails. The Chinese tend to emphasize the Chinese characters, the national situation and going the Chinese way.
4. Utilitarianism prevails. The Chinese only care for their aims so that their behaviors are not under the control of morals and conscience.
5. The phenomenon of the end of the century prevails. The greedy Chinese officials are not responsible and lack a moral sense for the society. They run after money and material. Although the above are negative aspects, however, the Taiwanese still think the mainland as lovable even if the people are not. Therefore many Taiwanese tend to immigrate to mainland, and some Taiwanese merchants invest there.

(4) Comparison of the cross-strait cultures

According to the four cultural elements, below is an analysis of the cross-strait cultural difference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 1. Comparison of the cross-strait cultures
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language and characters</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Chinese</td>
<td>In 2004, the rate of the illiterate was about 2.8%, top ten in the world and top one in Asia.</td>
<td>Simplified Chinese&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt; In 2000, the rate of youth illiterate was about 5%, number eighty-six in the world.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Norms(habits)</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smaller city-rural difference</td>
<td>Articulated concept of private property</td>
<td>Great city-rural difference&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt; Lack of ideas of privacy and of respect for private property</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A mix of the Confucianism, the Buddhism and the Taoism, added the folk belief. People are rather religious, some are even superstitious.</td>
<td>Freedom in religion is reduced to freedom in belief. People are allowed to decide one’s own belief according to free will. But since it is something individual, it is not allowed to found associations. Therefore it is impossible to register and legitimize new belief. Meanwhile, the traditional religions are controlled by the Communist Party. Freedom in religion is almost non-existent in mainland. (Liou Sheng-ji, 2001)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values (of the youth)</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

From the Taiwanese’ perspective, mainland China’s culture is one among the representations of Taiwan’s culture, whereas from the perspective of the Chinese, Taiwan’s culture is a part of the Chinese culture, eg. a marginal culture. However, there are domestic problems of differences inside mainland, waiting to be resolved. Therefore, as early as September 1995, the fourteenth National Assembly’s fifth Central Committee Meeting of the Chinese Communists Party adopted 'China Government’s Propositions on Setting The Ninth Five-year Plan and Long-term Goal of 2010 for Economic and Social Development',

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<sup>5</sup> Ref. HDI, United Nations, 2005.
<sup>6</sup> It is the result of ‘simplification project of Chinese characters’ executed in mainland in 1956.
<sup>7</sup> Mainland’s prosperous areas like Shanghai surpass Taiwan, but the villages there are included in the poor areas. According to the international standard of poor area (each person’s daily expense under one U.S. dollar), these villages are at the level of 60%.
suggesting to ‘insist on the coordination and development of regional economy, gradually lessen the development difference among regions’. These measures will lessen the cross-strait cultural difference.

IV. Meaning of Adult Education

(1) Meaning of adult education

‘Adult’ means individual in a matured state, regarding the mental, social, lawful and physical aspects. The mental aspect contains proper attitude, idea and behavior. The social aspect implies that the individual behaves in the way corresponding to social conventions and attains a harmony in a group. The lawful aspect relates to individual’s responsibility in respecting the law. The physical aspect denotes the physical maturity.

The adult education was ‘coined in early 19th century England…intends the dynamic-and debatable-assumptions that underlie centuries of western effort; that man is improvable, if not indeed perfectible; that he can by thoughtful effort improve both himself and his circumstances; that society can be changed, and for the better; the knowledge is power, over both self and circumstances; and that man can acquire and use it, throughout life, for his own and the general good,’ (Knowles, 1960)

According to Merriam & Brockett (1997), ’adult education: activities intentionally designed for the purpose of bringing out learning among those whose age, social roles or self-perspective define themselves.’

Adult education helps adults solve their problems and develop proper behavior, idea, value and attitude. It allows the adults a permanent growth, eg. becoming a social adult. It also provides necessary education for mental and physical growth and career development, including formal, informal and unofficial educations, aiming at personal growth and social development.

(2) Properties and scope of adult education

Adult education has its own particularities and complexities. Its properties and scope are delineated as follows (Huang Fu-shun, 2000):

1. Properties

Adult education has four features . First, its objects are general. Second, its activities are diverse, so are the institutions which organize them. Third, its ways of operation are various. Fourth, its content is complex, according to the heterogeneity proper to the adults.

2. Scope

The scope of Taiwan ‘s adult education contains :

(2.1) Basic adult education

It is to provide basic courses on reading, writing and counting for the citizens who drop out of schools.
(2.2) Formal education in unconventional ways

It opens up various unconventional ways of learning for those who cannot continue formal education.

(2.3) Courses of vocational education

They provide professional skills and knowledge for the employees, vocational trainings for those not yet employed. For those who think about switching to other works, they provide training on second specialty.

(2.4) Courses of Leisure and Entertainment

They provide the adults with necessary knowledge on leisure and entertainment, in order that they may lead a healthy and happy life.

(2.5) Courses of new knowledge and of better living

They provide diverse new knowledge concerning government and law, culture and personal development, enriching adults’ capacities and their living.

(2.6) Education for the elders

Its course concerns the physical and mental developments in the adulthood and guides the elders through their periods before and after retirement, as well as helps them adjust to the different life situation, and plan for their later years. It also provides continuing learning and continuing training.

As for the adult education carried out by the Chinese Communist Party, it covers elementary, junior, senior and continuing educations. Each has different content. (ref. Figure 1 below)

In mainland China, apart from adult education, there are also social education systems and professional education systems. The former contain libraries, museums, mass media, community education, education of leisure and education for the elders, whereas the latter include continuing education.
Mainland China’s Education system

School education
- Average education
  - Elementary education
    - Elementary adult education
  - Junior education
    - Junior adult education
- Senior education
  - Universities of radio and of television
  - Universities of profession and of agriculture
- Education without degree and continuing education
  - Universities of administrators
  - Colleges of education
  - Correspondence colleges
  - Evening universities and correspondence institutes in senior schools

Internet education

Vocational education

Social education
- Library, etc.
- Community education
- Education for the elders

Mainland’s adult education
- Continuing education
  - Training before/after work or for changing profession

Figure 1: Mainland China’s adult education system
(resource: Ge Hong, Hu Jing-shun, 2005, Permanent education, 3, (4), 24)
Seen from above, adult education helps individuals’ maturity in order that they adapt to social development, take lawful responsibility and solve diverse problems. The education allows an entire progress of life and growth. Therefore, for the individual, adult education helps his/her development, whereas for the society, it creates harmony. It is also part of a country’s development, and plays an important role in gaining universal peace.

In comparison, mainland China’s adult education has more divisions, featuring elementary, junior, senior and so on; each contains different content. Taiwan’s adult education system is simply divided into elementary, vocational and elder education. Besides, mainland China’s community education system belongs to its social education system, whereas its continuing education is integrated into its vocational education. Taiwan’s community education and continuing education are both in the category of adult education. They mark the differences between the education systems of the two coasts.

V. Adult education at the two coasts

(1) Taiwan

Adult education is a new department in Taiwan’s education system. In recent years, the prolonged longevity, the elevation of standard of living, the proliferation of professional knowledge and the influence of western culture have contributed to the promotion of the concept of lifelong education. Consequently, the adult education in Taiwan has become more relevant.

In Taiwan, the only institution that has made research on adult education is the Adult and Continuing Education Department of the National Taiwan Normal University. Since the development and improvement brought about by the five-year project of adult education, not only the National Kaohsiung Normal University, the National Chi Nan University, the Hsuan Chuang University and the National Chung Cheng University have established departments of adult education, but the Ministry of Education has consigned more research projects to outside contractors. Besides, the Chinese Adult Education Association-Taipei was created in the end of 1990. It publishes the bimonthly Adult Education, holds national and international symposiums and exchanges on adult education. Gradually, adult education research in Taiwan is catching up with the world. (Yang Guo-de, 1996)

According to the development described above, we may demonstrate the points of adult education research in three ways:

1. Courses and dissertations of departments of adult education in universities

Departments of adult education in the category can be divided into three kinds:
(1) Basic courses: adult education, philosophy of adult education, psychology of adult education, sociology of adult education, adult’s development and aging, history of adult education, etc.
（2）Methodological courses: methods of research on adult education, statistic of higher education, calculator application, etc.

（3）Special courses: teaching adults, adult learning, courses of adult education, programs design and evaluation of adult education, marketing and administrating adult education, administration of adult education, counseling adults, media of adult education, organization of adult education, comparison of adult education, thinkers of adult education, adult educations and continuing educations.

2. Research projects and essays by institutions and groups of adult education

The Chinese Adult Education Association-Taipei is the major research group of adult education in Taiwan. It has existed for fifteen years, contributing greatly to advances of studies in the field. It publishes periodicals and books on adult education, and compilations of documents in Chinese on the topic.

3. Archiving of papers on adult education

It includes: publishing periodicals, books on adult education, and compilations of documents in Chinese, etc. Some institutions are consigned by the Ministry of Education to operate research projects like the Women education Center, adult education of universities in mainland, etc. It also engages in organizing national and international symposiums, like symposiums on distance education, elementary adult education and education for the elders.

The three kinds of examples induce and illustrate points of adult education study, serving as a reference for those who study theories and practice in the field. It is hoped that the demonstration will allow for proper choices on topics and orientations of research practice, so as to elevate the level of research on a localized adult education. (Yang Guo-de, 1996)

（II）Mainland China

Below is an introduction to mainland China’s adult education, referencing the education policies proposed in the Green paper on education in China of 2004.

In Beijing was established the ‘Integration of three educations’. The three educations include elementary, vocational and adult educations, with the latter being emphasized. Besides, it was determined that educational function develops in the elementary and junior high schools, as well as vocational schools in the country. The overall ‘Integration of three educations’ allows the popular and the vocational educations to function at their best in constituting a learning society.

According to the reference, there are community education centers and sites established in twenty-nine popular and vocational schools, and ninety committees spread in the Beijing district; branch schools and training institutes affiliated with village adult schools are set up in fifty-seven popular and vocational schools, and eighty-six villager committees spread in the district. All these form a preliminary network of community education and training.
September 1, 2003, the State Council of China held the National Working Meeting of Country Education in Beijing. It aimed at concentrated learning, uniting thoughts, enriching knowledge, exchanging experience, carrying out missions, under the guidance of the thinking of the ‘Three Representatives’ and the sixteen major spirits of the Party, thereby further mobilizing and organizing forces of different sectors, accelerating the development and renovation, and finally reforming the country education in the country.

The Meeting aims at integrating local governments in exactly effectuating meetings. One of the propositions concerns the installation of village adult schools, which is necessary for adult education development. In each suburb area, there should definitely be one adult school set up. Besides, suburb lands of newly built adult schools and the standard of architecture should be delineated, and there should be an independent system in establishing village adult schools, while an organization of teachers should be realized according to the rate of 0.15-0.2% of each village’s population. Now the independently established village adult schools occupy a rate of 61%.

Besides, among the ‘six constitutions’ proposed in mainland’s ‘new century project for education revival’, the second concerns vocational education, and training and innovative work, devoting to various adult educations and continuing educations. It is insisted that the ‘Integration of three educations’ combine with agriculture, science and education to construct a training network covering village pragmatic education, multi-functional vocational education and adult education, hoping to expand the scale of village adult education. Other propositions include: advancing community education and learning-oriented community construction with emphasis on improving knowledge and skills, operating popular education and lifelong education for community members, developing village community education, opening the access of community education resources to the communities, enhancing modern distance learning, and creating an education and training network to meet people’s expectation for lifelong education. (National Center for Education Development Research, 2004) Besides, schools of all levels also provide adult education courses with diploma and courses of continuing education.

The systems described above contribute to the development of higher education institutions of all levels and sorts, and to the function of institutions concerning adult education and continuing education. They also advance various distance continuing educations, accelerate the reform of training, integrate the guarantee system of quality of teaching and actualize quality evaluation and certificate system, meeting people’s increasing demand for education. (National Center for Education Development Research, 2004)

To conclude, both Taiwan and mainland China are situated in East Asia and are susceptible
to social changes, prolonged longevity, and people’s increasing need for knowledge. In responding to such condition, the governments create adult education institutions and related courses. Also, both governments are aware of the importance of adult education and propose relevant administration projects to improve it with proper budgets.

The difference of the adult education of the two coasts lies in that, adult education in Taiwan used to be part of the field of social education. Therefore its antecedent should be approached through the social education development. As for mainland, its adult education derives from village education and vocational education. In recent years, it has transformed into adult education, allowing villagers further education and therefore decreasing the rate of illiteracy. Concerning higher education, it has grown for more than a decade with the teaching practice in mainland, which forms a multi-level structure of higher education for adults. Trained adult graduates from correspondence schools and evening universities spread around the country and become the core of administrations in the field of education and of production. It has gained positive response and make people more interested in further education for adults.

VI. Statuses and tendencies of adult educations of the two coasts

The different national situations cause the adult educations of the two coasts to differ and to present different tendencies:

(1) Taiwan
Taiwan's adult education institutions belong to the department of social education of the Ministry of Education. Below shows several adult education projects executed in the twenty-first century.

1. Lifelong education
Taiwan's lifelong education system can be approached from the tendency toward a learning society (Ministry of Education, 1998) and the Law of lifelong learning (actualized in 2002). Its major policies are: issuing lifelong education cards to encourage individuals to take courses, developing learning-oriented organizations (learning-oriented families, enterprises, hospitals, etc), promoting refresher courses (numerous classes are opened in colleges) and providing employees the chance to learn and at the same time being paid, for which the central governments rewards the institutions or patrons who practice it actively.

2. Education for foreign spouses
Influenced by globalization, distances among countries are shortened. With the advanced transportation and the facility of traveling among countries, some Taiwanese men marry with foreign women and face with problems of culture impacts, languages, children education,
accommodation, etc. The government thus budgets for educating foreign spouses. The principles are (Chou Hsio-Huei, 2004):

1. Designing programs with regards to foreign spouses’ needs and taking local conventions and culture as materials for practical teaching.
2. Learner-oriented, providing teaching materials, and encouraging learner to apply their daily experience in the programs.
3. Providing chances for the learners to design programs and creating contents corresponding to life experience.
4. Opening a space for diverse points of view and encouraging dialogue among members.

3. Education for the elders

With the advent of the twenty-first century, the longevity increases and the birth rate decreases. Under such influence, Taiwan’s society is aging. Moreover, seen from the population structure of Taiwan, it is also one of the countries where the aging process goes faster. In responding to the aging phenomenon of the society, Huang Fu-shun (2005) proposes following education policies:

1. Later retirement, to decrease the population of the dependent and to solve the problem of lack of working force.
2. Encouraging more people at the age for work to engage in work, thus enhance labor force.
3. Expanding labor force by educating the elders and providing them with the know-how of life, the new knowledge of reentering the working field, cultivating their attitude of volunteer, and inspiring them to realize the meaning of life.

3. Accreditation of informal learning

The informal learning in Taiwan used to be led by non-official social-educational institutions, including: social education centers, libraries, culture centers, worker centers, providing courses on daily expense, art and culture, leisure, etc. to enrich the life of community members. (Wang Shih-jhe, 2005)

Accreditation of informal learning is an international trend and is necessary in realizing lifelong education projects. To actualize lifelong education for everyone, Taiwan’s Ministry of Education issued the ‘Law of Accreditation of Informal Education Results’ on October 20, 2003, set up the ‘Committee of accreditation for informal learning’ to plan an operating system and executed assigned works from the accreditation centers. At present, the assignment is pinned down and will be formally actualized by the department. Huang Fu-shun (2005) proposes the following principles on the accreditation of informal learning:

It should have common levels and standards with those of the formal education system, therefore parallel transfer and connection will be possible. Thus the imperative is the quality.
Accredited people with proper achievements in learning should be hired to form a sector in charge of guaranteeing the content of education, and avoiding any dominant personal bias. The evaluation of achievements in learning depends on both the theory and the practice of the subjects concerned. It should also correspond to academic norms, especially regarding the period, content, quality and terms. The organization should consider the quality of teachers and the equipments. The range should be wide and diverse, covering all fields of learning. There should be multiple accesses to achievements, covering learning by experience, self-learning, learning in class, distance learning and e-learning. Policies and processes should be transparent in order that people understand the meaning of them and how to apply for accreditation. The operation procedure should be simple and the charge should be modest according to the service. The execution of accreditation of informal learning is a gradual process. A supervising system should be established at the same time. The sectors operating the accreditation should be checked and evaluated on a regular base, in order to provide basis for improvement and to perfect a proper system.

( 2 ) Mainland
Since the fifteenth National Assembly of Chinese Communist Party, a series of important education policies have been set by mainland government. To realize the spirit of the sixteenth National Assembly of Chinese Communist Party and the sixteenth National Assembly’s third Central Committee meeting of the Chinese Communists Party, the Ministry of Education made an overall plan on reform and development of education in five years. Accordingly was drawn the ‘Education revival project 2003-2007’ featuring establishment of lifelong education and learning-oriented society. ( National Center for Education Development Research, 2004 )

1. Lifelong education
In 2005, the ‘Enactment of lifelong education in the Fujien Province’ was executed. To promote the lifelong education and to train technicians, the government proposed to emphasize on the vocational education training and cross-strait exchange, especially on developing private vocational training sectors. Through ‘promotion of government, multiple investment, market operation, cross-strait exchange’ and development of idea of vocational training in province, it hoped to attain, in 2007, a scene where open and various vocational training and exchange exist between the two costs, and to develop a training unity with larger scale, focusing on domestic and oversea enterprise investment, multiple investment and marketing-oriented operation. Actively form a more integrated policy system concerning the promotion of vocational education and development. ( Rao Wei-ping, 2005 )

2. Community education
Mainland’s government encourages community education. For example, the Zhang Jiang Zheng Community faces an important transformation in its society. To elevate the level and understanding of culture, the government explored and practiced community education, and regarded community education as a systematical work requiring strong organization and mobilization. The first measure was to, as the point of departure, construct a civilized village and a village of technology. A four-level network was set up accordingly, composed of community education improving committee, village schools, branch schools of village committee, Dong Jian sections and families. The second measure aimed at improving people’s quality and led to the actualization of a three-year plan concerning community education as well as disposition list in order that the orientation of the plan and its operation integrate organically. The third measure aimed at the self-discipline of community education and explored the education concept of ‘Five educations in one’. (Huang Shih-rong, 2005)

The work represented several tendencies such as rapid expansion, reinforcing the concept of service, perfection of network, gradual-increasing depth and elevation of standard. (Sun Cheng. Jin Bao-cheng, 2004)

3. Education for the elders

Take Xiamen University’s university for the elders as example for such education in mainland China. The university was established in 1985. With its twenty years of existence, exploration and practice, it has developed several policies. The first policy is advancing with the practice and cultivating ideas of education. Education for the elders is a recent enterprise, so is its task of exchanging with other countries and setting up classes for foreigners. The second is consolidating ‘basic implementations’ in order that such education keeps an active and energetic exchange with the outside and perpetuates. The third policy is applying multi-channel method to unite several institutions to hold courses, and establishing collaborations among schools. The last policy is integrating the experiences and making progress. Furthermore, a particular emphasis should be put on the Taiwan region through exchanges and collaborations, in order that an outward education for the elders can prosper. (Lin Chao. Huang Sian, 2005)

In conclusion, there are common issues with regards to the education for the elders at both coasts: the attention for the increasing elder population and for the education for the elders, taking care of the elders and at the same time developing the society through such education, combining the experiences from exchanges to advance such education, etc. Moreover, the lifelong education issue has emerged respectively in Taiwan with its ‘Law of Lifelong Education’ in 2002, and in mainland with the same law issued in 2005. In this regard, both are toward the same goal of encouraging individual’s learning, and developing the enterprises and industries. As for the accreditation of informal learning, it is a new issue in Taiwan, and
education for foreign spouse is an issue unique to the region. There are particular phenomenon and trends in its society which lead to certain changes of population structure resulted from the large amount of foreign spouses. Therefore education for foreign spouse is more emphasized in Taiwan.

VII. Conclusion

The essay proposes points of view on adult education from the angle of cultural difference, hoping to foreground the cultural and educational aspects between the two coasts apart from the political and economic aspects, and to provide more substantial help for the public. The position of the essay is that, if both coasts are preoccupied with their own points of view, the culture of the other side would be regarded only as a part of its own culture. However, looking from the point of view of globalization, the cultures of both coasts are just among the many cultures in the world. Seen from the cross-strait cultural difference and their common attention to education, development in this field at the two coasts will parallel even more. Such a trend suggests a prosperous cross-strait relation.

Closer cross-strait relation can also be achieved through adult education institutions, by proposing issues and holding events. Below are some suggestions.

(1) **Academic exchange**

Academic meetings and symposiums held by academic institutions or private sectors at both coasts not only allow exchanges among the scholars from both sides but also propose issues around adult education for further examination and learning from each other. Growing together will make Asia more prosperous and build up a major force in the world.

(2) **Cultural exchange**

Although the two coasts are not so distanced from each other, there lies differences in their cultures. However, the learning process of adult education allows an understanding of the cultural difference. Regular events of cultural exchange is an occasion for both peoples to know the culture of the other side and to accumulate knowledge, which lead to progress in economic collaborations.

(3) **Spread of knowledge**

The range of spreading and applying knowledge is indeed boundless. Now adult education can be a pioneer in furthering such spread and exchange. In the future, all kinds of professions and industries can apply the same method to grow with such collaboration.

(4) **Distance education**

Researches or explorations on certain issues can be done by way of distance education. In
the future, it is possible to establish associations among schools of both coasts and students can follow courses of other schools by way of distance learning, which also contributes to the exchange.

(5) Communicating experience

Related projects or organizations concerning adult education may further spread proper ways and concepts to people of both sides. Such practicing experience will enhance the adult education development.

The essay regards the cross-strait relation from a broader prospective, especially from the angles of cultural difference and of adult education. Due to the limited space, it only makes a concise analysis on the cultural difference according to the four cultural elements and the developments of adult education. However, there are many areas left unexplored. It is hoped that more researchers may examine the issue from a more subtle perspective and study individual corresponding differences, like comparing the culture and education of the cities or the villages of both sides combining with field study, which may capture the actuality of culture and education of the two coasts.

References

The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique on the Mechatronics Instruction

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Abstract

The purpose of the study is to apply the virtual reality technique to the instruction of mechatronics. The general instruction of mechatronics is undergone on the blackboard to introduce the theory and the operation of the experimental equipment. Under such condition, it is hard for the beginning learner to understand the theory of mechatronics, such as mechanism motion, electricity combination and PLC control. To promote the effect of the instruction, the study is to construct an interactive model of mechatronics simulation mechanism teaching system by combining the virtual reality software and technique. The teaching system may provide the beginner the opportunity to practice repeatedly without the limitation of space and time. As well, the system can be constructed on the website. The learner may receive benefits from practicing in a nearly realistic learning environment.

Keywords: mechatronics; virtual reality technique ; interactive model

Introduction

Recently, due to the rapid development of computer information, the application of virtual reality becomes more and more important in various fields, such as computer-aided design (CAD), airplane design, architecture design walk through, stereo system design, radioactive rays treatment plan, surgical operation simulation, driving training, network sitemap, sign language input, virtual keyboard, distance learning, recovery training, virtual physical laboratory, virtual outer space exploration, virtual wind tunnel, remote control robot, video game, and etc. The high flexible application ability makes the user apply it to different fields efficiently. The application of virtual reality is on behalf of the assumption of “creative design, creative marketing, and creative teaching,” to promote the global competitiveness of enterprises, schools and research institutes substantively. In general, computer-aided design is often used as an assistant tool in designing products in industry. Currently, the industrial designers aid the technology of virtual reality to make the products even more vivid. Scott and Rajit [1] had reported that it serves to identify technology developments in virtual reality hardware devices that may allow for
development of a more efficient user interface for computer-aided design packages of mechanical design functions. It is because that the virtual reality itself contains the characteristics of interaction and authenticity. Due to these characteristics, designers can follow the engineering design to execute the simulation and well plan many aspects. Therefore, the products can achieve the needs of designers and users. At present, the applicable range of virtual reality technique is very wide. The technique of virtual reality is used as an assistant tool practically, when CAD technology is used in the industries, including automobile manufacturing, machine manufacturing, landscape designing, factory planning, room design, construction, and etc. Lee et al. [2] had indicated that the virtual manufacturing is an emerging technology that mimics real manufacturing operations with models, simulations and artificial intelligence. Baydar [3] used the virtual manufacturing to do tasks of forecasting and diagnosing the system. Ong and Mannan [4] used the technique of virtual reality in simulation of NC teaching system in mechanical finishing. These simulations and animations provide the capability of training students in NC programming and operations without the need to work on actual NC machines in the laboratory. Mujber et al. [5] applied the technique of virtual reality in simulating the procedures of training the personnel and product testing.

In educational aspect, the teaching of so-called virtual reality means to instruct the learners to cognize and understand the unknown thing. Schroeder [6] investigated the application of virtual reality in education. It drew particularly on three projects, the West Denton High School in Newcastle, the Human-Computer Interface Technology Laboratory's summer school in Seattle and the Shepard School for children with special needs in Nottingham. Lin et al. [7] had established the CNC milling learning system and found that the student had better learning efficacy with VR (virtual reality) environment than with only reading operating manual. Gierach et al. [8] studied an approach using an architectural framework for remote entity integration within distributed systems. Barraclough and Guymr [9] had played important roles in the research field of virtual reality in environmental engineering education. In the past, the traditional multimedia skill was constrained by the traditional technique. At present, the main method of teaching is to utilize computer as an assistant tool, as a result, the effectiveness is much more significant than traditional teaching method. In addition to increasing the infinity of teaching, the virtual reality can also make the learners have the feeling of being in reality, and promote the interaction and cognition between the learners and the circumstances. Compared with video and music panels, which can be defined as constrained teaching methods, the virtual reality is entirely different. The users can achieve their goals in learning, practicing, and simulating the test in the real-time operating environment and interaction. It also provides the learners the opportunity to practice repeatedly. Therefore, it will supply a more real and better learning environment for learners when CAI teaching method with the technique of virtual reality are used.
The general instruction of mechatronics is undergone on the blackboard to introduce the theory and the operation of the experimental equipment. Under such condition, it is hard for beginning learners to immediately understand the theory of mechatronics, including mechanism motion, electricity combination and PLC (Programmable Logic Control). To improve the effectiveness of the instruction, the study aims to apply the technique of Virtual Reality into the interaction when mechatronics is being taught. Furthermore, the application of Virtual Reality technology in various fields can also be understood.

**Introduction of Virtual Reality**

Virtual Reality is defined as the three-dimensional space produced by computer, and the users can interact with the spatial objects in the environment. Besides watching, they can also freely move some elements in the environment and can be entirely participated. There are five characteristics as follows: 1. It has to be produced by computer. 2. The space is three-dimensional. 3. The user can interact with spatial objects in virtual environment. 4. It can be freely moved by users in virtual environment. 5. Users have the feelings of deep participation. These five essential characteristics can demonstrate the definition of Virtual Reality. Still, there may be some problems needed to be solved. However, if these five characteristics do not exist concurrently, it can not be defined as Virtual Reality.

In reality, people are exposed to 3D (three-dimensional) objects in the living environment. People would have different feelings with the changes (such as sound, image, or smell) in 3D spaces. How to make people feel like being real in VR? Virtual Reality is a virtual space that comes from the computer cartography and image synthesis technology, also combining with the processed sound. Then, the 3D space was produced. Users may go through a specific input device to interact with the virtual space, such as head-wearing hard helmet monitor, hand-grasping 3D mouse, and digital gloves. It makes the user feel like being in the environment and having a sense of involvement and participation.

**Virtual reality software EON Studio**

The virtual reality software EON is a type of animation software invented by EON Reality Company. The interaction type of virtual reality animation software, which is commonly been seen before, is often produced by the software firm, using the programming language to transform the physical phenomenon in daily lives into a virtual scene, which were written in a function database. However, the users’ abilities of writing the program language have to be taken into consideration. Moreover, the function of this database certainly can not meet the user’s demands. The biggest difference between
EON virtual reality software and the previous virtual reality is that EON has the windows panel which can provide the users to obtain the simplest design when constructing the virtual reality environment. In virtual reality environment, users often use mouse, and keyboard to interact with the virtual reality environment. The window “Route” provides the specific function, which can help the designers to complete the setting when they hope one item and another item can interact via the mouse or the keyboard. For instance, the movement of the axes of machine arm is controlled by the keyboard, the user only has to follow the designed keyboard, and then the mechanical arm in the virtual reality can be moved according to user’s operation.

This study uses EON Studio virtual reality software. It provides the function of light source pastes the chart, counter-saw tooth device and etc. It can make the simulated scene highly real. Furthermore, because of its small file, it is very suitable to show such interactive 3D scene on the internet. This way can help achieve the function of the creative design and distance learning among many people. Figure 1 shows the end points and the simulated tree-shaped structure by EON Studio virtual reality software. The necessary construction of virtual scene can be completed. Figure 2 shows the scheme of simulated window by EON Studio virtual reality software. This window can establish the interaction and connection between various items in the simulated scene.

EON Studio provides user a very operating-friendly interface, and the position of the interface can be adjusted according to user’s preference. As for the command of instruction, according to the pattern, users directly put it into the area of model tree shape structure by dragging the image. The model can immediately simulate the requested action based on the parameter. It is important for the users who do not understand how to write the programming language. Certainly, the software itself also includes the requirements of program designing amateur. By combing the Script function which is built-up inside, and the modulus with VC++ can meet the requirement of formula design development system. In the world of Web 3D/VR, there is lots of possibility. Beside manufacturing content, it can not only integrate various mechatronical programs to produce lots of applications. In addition, it also provides the function that can directly select the desired template inside the software and then announce the simulated results onto internet with a webpage format. It simplifies the model, which is originally produced by CAD or animation software, into a degree which is acceptable. The simplified model could be presented vividly by pasting the image. Polygon reduction and geometry compression are different. Pr (polygon reduction) reduces the amount of polygon in a model in order to replace the amount of 3D model files. And gc (geometry compression) compresses the quantity of overall things by releasing the file. Both of them aim to cut down the amount of files. Therefore, using both of these two simultaneously can reduce the maximum amount of files. In the world of virtual reality, the advantage is that it can process file reduction in real time. However, in many models file reduction needed to be dealt with
again. At present, this function in virtual reality software is a pioneering invention. As far as the customers who hope frequently exchanging the image files through internet or uploading the latest virtualized product on the internet for their customers to access and understand the function of product, it is a very important function.

In the lifeliness of objects and scene, the performance of EON Studio is excellent. From the point of view of virtual reality, there is rarely VR software that could achieve the goal of not only being real but also interacting immediately. And from the view of 3D animation, it is quite easy to perform real. However, achieving the goal of performing real time and immediate interaction concurrently is not easy. Making web3D as the animation style is another way to express lifeliness and interaction. Nevertheless, it still can not be as virtual reality. The biggest difference between animation and virtual reality is that, one has undergone the script (animation) which is arranged in order, and the other one does not undergo the script (virtual reality). At present, most available methods of performing lifelike rely on the animated software. Compared to CAD software, the lifeliness of animated software is much better, but it lacks the real-time interaction, which was enhanced by EON Studio. For those who would like to use these two functions, this excellent software is recommended.

Results and discussion

This study has obtained the technique of how to apply virtual reality software in various teaching aspects from the manufacturing process. Also, it can accurately be much more comprehensive on each item of mechatronics simulation mechanism, i.e. control principle. Moreover, the mechatronics simulation mechanism, manufactured by using virtual reality software, may be applied in interactive teaching and distance learning in the future. The above listed characteristics are definitely complementary to the traditional teaching. The study not only applies the technique of virtual reality in complementary teaching in mechatronics simulation mechanism but also applies the technique of 3D constructed software and virtual reality in the dynamic homepage design of 3D industry, e-commerce, and various kind of distance learning in the future. It is expected to be a solid demonstration and research material in teaching aspects. Furthermore, virtual reality provides users to use it without the limitation of time and space. The teaching system can be built in the internet in the future, to make learners overcome the limitation of time and space. No matter wherever or whenever the learner is, he can still study by logging on the internet system environment.

First, using Solid Work software constructs the required part drawing files which include the feeding mechanical arm, divider, assembly of feeding mechanical arm, motor foundation assembly, switch seat, tabletop face plate, assembly of the divider and the motor, the central drill mechanism assembly, and feeding cabinet assembly etc. Like
Figure 5 to 8, each is a detail drawing file of the feeding mechanical arm, divider, central drill mechanism assembly, and feeding cabinet assembly.

After completing part drawing files of mechatronics simulation mechanism, the files can be separately imported into EON Studio software and then the linkage of each movement between each item can be completed. In the simulated tree-shaped structure, after all the objects (the STL files) were imported into the system, by selecting material node in the left-hand side, it was Texture in the red elliptic frame, as shown in Figure 9. By clicking the left key of mouse, material node was dragged to simulated tree-shaped structure, and the setting objects (STL object) were showed in Figure 10.

The setting procedure is to click double the left key of mouse and then a window with input the pathway of the material node will appear, as showed in Figure 11. Under the packing list, a suitable type of material drawing can be selected. The surface, the circular cylinder, the sphere, metal color or no color, each type of pasting the drawing presents different gloss of the material, as showed in Figure 12.

Following the above steps, all objects can have suitable material images. Fig. 13 is a complete simulated figure, where the material pasting image can represent the material object so that the browsers clearly see the appearance of the object. As shown in Fig. 14, by adding background, a gained momentum appeared and differed from the previous simulated figure.

By clicking the icon “Camera”, the content shows “Headlight”, where we can set the light source of the object. Moreover, “Ambient” is used to set the light source of the environment. The icons “Headlight” and “Ambient” include different types of lights, such as the light of environment, the light of direction, parallel spot, dot, condensed light and etc. In the color list, users can change the color of light up to their preferences. By clicking the icon “change color”, and then a palette will appear in a pop-out window, which makes user freely select a suitable color for the light source themselves, as shown in Figure 15. In the Color attenuation parameter list, users may set the strength and the weakness of attenuation of the light source. It would make the object more real after adding the light source, as shown in Figure 16. When completing all these settings, users can view the object with different angle by towing the mouse to observe form different point of view by using the function of mouse drag.

The node can be moved to be located under the object by dragging (Place node ) and the name should be changed in order to perform the following movement, as shown in Figure 17. Double-clicking on the left key of mouse on the node (Place node), and then a setting window will pop out. According to the default setting by designers, users can even set the moving direction (X, Y, Z), or the moving time., as showed in Figure 18. In the database of object node, users can select the keyboard Sensor as the beginning of the event trigger and then drag it to a simulated tree-shaped structure. On the node of keyboard sensor, double-clicking the left key of mouse, and then a window where users can set up
the key of the event trigger will pop out. The above picture is set to be S key. When completing all these movement settings, users can press the S key of simulation windows, and then the simulation will begin, according to the setting movement.

After completing the above setting of keyboard Sensor node and the above node, users can start the movement series connection setting. The keyboard sensor node was dragged undergone to the simulated tree-shaped structure in the simulated windows on the right-hand side, as shown in Figure 19. In order to avoid confusion, the movement should be dragged onto the simulated window in order. In Figure 20, it shows all the required movement of the node in the simulated machinery.

The left key of mouse on the node of keyboard sensor should be clicked to generate the following moving instruction. After selecting the expected movement, it would generate a scheduled route. By choosing the blue circle, we can carry out the movement on the coming-up connected windows, as shown in Figure 21. According to the above movement, we connect each node and perform the required movement instruction, as showed in Figure 22. As a result, each node can be connected, as shown in Figure 23. After completing the connecting movement, clicking the green arrow of red frame, we can start to simulate a picture. From the simulated picture, we could clearly see whether the objects follow the path we set to carry on the movement. If the movement does not fit our expectation, we can change it by replacing node parameter or connecting movement instruction, as shown in Figure 24.

**Conclusions**

The study uses the established software of 3D Model (such as AutoCAD, Solid Work) to construct the required 3D drawings and virtual scenes of mechatronics. Secondly, the tool list and “edit” function of EON Studio virtual reality software were applied to give each object different characteristics, and even applied on specific simulation function to build up the association and interactive relation between every object in the virtual scene. Therefore, the design of virtual object interaction and the active simulation of mechanism were established. Finally, the interactive mechatronics simulation mechanism was established as well. In this study, the mechatronics simulation mechanism with animation was developed.

The application of virtual reality technique in the simplified interactive teaching of mechatronics, and design of the mechatronics simulation mechanism teaching system with interactive function can be applied on the interactive teaching system and distance learning system. In addition, it is expected to complementary on the traditional teaching. We hope to provide our results, including demonstration of the teaching process and research materials. Furthermore, the teaching system can be built on the internet, which makes learners more easily approach to this system without the limitation of time and
space. No matter wherever and whenever the learner is, he can study by logging on the internet system.

Acknowledgements

The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support of this research by the National Science Council (Republic of China) under Grant NSC 93-2815-C-237-002-S.

Reference

Figure 1 The nodes and tree-shaped structure of EON Studio software

Figure 2 The scheme of simulated of EON Studio software

Figure 3 The processing model of EON Studio

Figure 4 The lifelikeness of EON Studio

Figure 5 The feeding mechanical arm

Figure 6 The divider
Figure 7 The central drill mechanism assembly

Figure 8 The feeding cabinet assembly

Figure 9 The material node

Figure 10 Drag the item to simulated tree-shaped structure

Figure 11 Input the given path of material drawings

Figure 12 Select a suitable file of material drawings
Figure 13 The completed simulated picture

Figure 14 The completed simulated picture with background

Figure 15 Selecting the color of light source

Figure 16 The scheme with adding the light source

Figure 17 The use method of Place node

Figure 18 Setting the moving time
Figure 19 Drag the item to the right side in the simulated window

Figure 20 All node of required movement in the simulation

Figure 21 The window with scheduled route

Figure 22 Connection of the two place node

Figure 23 Connection of the each place node

Figure 24 Starting to simulate the scene
Title:

E-Mentoring Undergraduate Social Work Students: A Pragmatic Approach to Support Prospective Professionals

Topic area of the submission:

Social Work & Education

Presentation format:

Poster session

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Description of the Presentation

E-MENTORING is a promising approach to enhance students’ professional awareness, resiliency, and career networks. Our poster will illustrate ways to conceptualize, implement, and monitor E-mentoring programs for undergraduate social work students. Visionary leadership in social work education and practice will notice where students are going (on-line), and lead them there.

Specific Learning Goals

Visitors to our poster presentation will increase their understanding of—

✓ Purposes and roles that e-mentoring can serve;
✓ The recruitment process;
✓ Constructive efforts to forge mentoring relationships; and
✓ Methods used to evaluate the impact of E-MENTORING
✓ Preliminary results of the Social Work e-mentoring program at the College.
ABSTRACT

Undergraduate social work educators are challenged to prepare students with knowledge, skills, and heightened appreciation of professional ethics and standards. In short time, students are expected to become integrated into a profession which encompasses an extensive range of practice fields and settings.

Presently, students may be uncertain about embarking on a career path in social work if their decision is based primarily on their experience in one field practicum. As social work students construct a professional identity, they would benefit from communicating with professionals from a multiplicity of practice fields and experiences. E-mentoring provides an avenue of communication for students to explore the wide possibilities that social work has to offer.

Many educators and professionals from varied disciplines have recognized the virtues of mentoring. Educational achievement, college retention, social development, and career prospects have been positively impacted by mentoring (See The National Mentoring Project.). Mentors are respected individuals who are willing to share their knowledge and life lessons to assist an individual who has or is about to enter an educational/career pathway. Protégés AKA “mentees,” in turn, desire guidance and support from mentors whom they view to be wise, experienced, and generous in offering their time, advice, encouragement, and networks/connections (Ehrich et al., 2004; Mertz, 2004).

Although mentoring relationships are recognized as valuable, it is difficult to find time to cultivate a mentoring relationship through conventional, face-to-face meetings. Today’s students have competing priorities, including work and family responsibilities, in addition to their schoolwork. The presenters believe that E-MENTORING—AKA online mentoring, telementoring, or teletutoring—is a practical approach for developing social work students’ professional awareness, resiliency, communication skills, and career networking. Its objective is to establish trusting, positive relationships between caring, experienced practitioners and students, using the Internet.

The Women’s Bureau has discovered that e-mentoring is one of the best ways to inform and educate women (See U.S. Department of Labor.). The Global Action Network (GAN) E-Mentoring Program provides some structure to e-mentoring pairs by offering topics for conversation, e.g., issues in the field, professional and personal backgrounds, and goals for the future. (See GAN.). E-mentoring relationships can be supplemented with face-to-face and telephone conversations and on-line resources. Regarding the latter, innumerable listservs, chat groups, links to virtual communities, on-line journals, instructional material, self-assessment and self-help guides are readily available. The domain of helping professionals has been extended globally, 24-7 through the Internet.

Our poster will outline various approaches that conceptualize, implement, and monitor the impact of e-mentoring. We will feature the purposes and roles that e-mentoring can
serve, the process of recruiting mentors and “mentees,” efforts to forge mentoring relationships, and methods for evaluating the impact of E-MENTORING. Visionary leadership in social work education and practice will notice where students are going to supplement their education (on-line) and will lead them there. We hope to show a way and, by example, inspire our future professionals to give back to the profession, by modeling the behavior that benefited them when they were students (See NASW Code of Ethics, 5.01.).

REFERENCES


The National Mentoring Partnership at http://www.mentoring.org/

The US Department of Labor, Women’s Bureau at http://www.dol.gov/wb/media/newsletter/e-news8artl-03.htm

Title:

Comparing Teaching Modalities for Social Work Research Methods & Statistics: Learning by Being a Research Subject vs. Learning through Case Studies

Topic area of the submission:

Social Work & Education

Presentation format:

Paper session

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ABSTRACT

Undergraduate Social Work students are resistant to learning research and statistical methods, which are fundamental to evaluating the impact of Social Work interventions with client systems. Yet this is a primary objective of the Social Work Department and the Council on Social Work Education. Epstein's (1987) observation that "no other part of the social work curriculum has been so consistently received by students with as much groaning, moaning, eye-rolling, hyperventilation, and waiver strategizing as the research course" (p. 71) has been cited repeatedly to describe student attitudes about research (Dunlap, 1993; Green et al., 2001; Montcalm, 1999; Royse & Rompf, 1992; Royse, 1995). Furthermore, studies and social work research texts (Royse, 1995; Rubin & Babbie, 1997) have documented students’ initial apprehension and negative views about taking research courses (Bogal & Singer, 1981; Lawson & Berleman, 1982; Poulin, 1989). Therefore, social work research educators continually search for teaching strategies to counteract negative attitudes and to motivate interest in the subject (Epstein, 1987; Ramachandran & De Sousa, 1985; Royse & Rompf, 1992; Wainstock, 1994).

In the summers of 2004 and 2005, 21 social work students enrolled in a 3-week research course designed to motivate resistant learners by engaging them in a 4-hour educational intervention. Mediation was selected as the content of intervention because it is a core social work function which is difficult to learn. Potential participants were informed that their knowledge of conflict and ways to resolve it, and their own approaches to conflict would be studied in a pre-post group design. Remarkably within 5 days the nine students in 2004 and twelve students in 2005 successfully completed the intervention and the analysis, earning over 90% on the Data Analysis Assignment. They determined that the findings supported the research hypothesis: Subjects participating in a pre-post pre-experimental design, attending a 2-day workshop on conflict and conflict resolution, will demonstrate a significant increase in knowledge and a greater awareness of their own personal conflict style post intervention. Group solidarity, although an unintended result, was most definitely a positive effect. The students remained invested in their learning and understood the purpose and steps involved in evaluating social work practice.

Despite the positive learning outcomes, the research design was limited because there was no comparison group to determine whether the study of research methods was facilitated by student participation in the in-class intervention. The proposed study is an improvement upon this simple pre-post pre-experimental design. The researcher-educator will utilize a quasi-experimental design which employs experimental and comparison conditions to test a different hypothesis:

Students who participate in a short-term educational intervention and an individual, self-improvement study will show more positive changes in motivation and anxiety level about learning research methods and statistics, and in their conceptual understanding compared to students who learn through hypothetical case studies.

Method

Selection Procedure
The research-educator will be teaching two class sections of Social Work Research in the 15-week spring semester of 2006. The section with the smallest number of students (N=18) will arbitrarily be deemed the experimental condition, also known as the active intervention-research
condition. The larger class section (N=19) will be taught group and single subject designs and statistics using a personally distant, case example.

**Measurement Procedure**

Early in the semester and again approximately 8 weeks later, students in the experimental and comparison conditions will complete survey questions about learning research methods and statistics. Specifically, the students’ motivation and anxiety levels constitute two of the dependent variables. In addition, the remaining dependent variables address a primary educational objective for social work students, that is, student comprehension of group and single-subject designs to evaluate practice effectiveness. Statistical analyses of the four dependent variables will underscore the comparison between students who were in the active intervention-research condition vs. the hypothetical, case study condition.

**Measurement Indicators**

*Student learning motivation* specific to research methods and statistics, dependent variable 1 (dv-1), will be measured using a modification of Richmond’s (1987) motivational scale composed of 5 bipolar adjectives situated along a 7-point scale: motivated-unmotivated; excited-bored; uninterested-interested; involved-uninvolved; dreading it-looking forward to it. Students will be asked about their motivation to learn research methods, and statistical methods.

Emotional disposition—sometimes experienced as apprehension toward the learning material—is another significant factor which appears to influence learning outcomes. A derivative of McCroskey’s public speaking apprehension scale, PRCA-24, (http://www.jamescmccroskey.com/measures/prpsa.htm) has been designed to measure the second dependent variable (dv-2), *apprehension toward learning material about research and statistical methods*. Student apprehension scores will be attained by totaling Likert-type (Strongly agree-Strongly disagree) responses to ten statements: *When I think about taking a test or doing an assignment related to research methods*, (followed by 5 sentence completions listed below; and *When I think about taking a test or doing an assignment related to statistics*, , (followed by 5 sentence completions listed below).

- I have no fear.
- Certain parts of my body feel tense and rigid.
- My thoughts become jumbled and confused.
- I feel very relaxed.
- I face the prospect of with confidence.

Test questions to measure student *comprehension of single-subject* (dependent variable-3) and *group designs* (dependent variable-4) to evaluate practice effectiveness will be administered before and after class instruction. Written assignments grading the same material will also be used to measure these variables.
The Experimental and Comparison Conditions

Students in the experimental condition will actively participate in two intervention research assignments. The first assignment involves an individual, self-improvement project in which students identify a target problem and goal, enact a change plan, and measure treatment effects. For the second assignment, students in the experimental condition will participate in the educational group about conflict and mediation strategies. Students will be informed about the intent and procedures, and asked whether they consent to participate. Students who participate will be completing the measurement tools early in the class and approximately 8 weeks into the term. Experimental group students will complete a—(1) Conflict Knowledge Test; (2) Conflict Style Survey; and (3) estimates about the percent of time they use each of the conflict styles and how much they knew about conflict. The exact same instruments will be completed post-intervention. They will be expected to analyze their own pre-post changes in knowledge and awareness of conflict style.

Didactic and Experiential Learning about Conflict and Mediation

A mediation role-play, coaching and feedback constitute the active learning component of the presentation. This will only be experienced by students in the experimental condition. Students in both conditions will be presented material about conflict and mediation. The definition of conflict, common approaches to deal with it and the role of the mediator will comprise the didactic elements.

Students in the comparison condition will complete two similar class assignments, but their behavior or learning outcomes are not the dependent variables targeted by these assignments. In their first assignment, comparison group students will be presented with a hypothetical client. They will be asked to develop and implement a single-subject design for this client. For the second assignment, students in the comparison condition will be told about a pre-experiment group design on conflict and mediation and asked to analyze the data from these subjects. Control group students will be shown the tools used to measure the study’s dependent variables and comment about ways to test the reliability and validity of these measures.

Proposal Objectives

The researcher-educator will analyze and present the findings of the proposed study. Qualitative results will also be discussed during the presentation.

Those who attend the workshop will be—

1. Able to answer the research question:
   Do undergraduate social work students who participate in a short-term educational intervention and an individual, self-improvement study show more positive changes in motivation and anxiety level about learning research methods and statistics, and greater conceptual understanding compared to students who learn through hypothetical case studies?
2. Aware of the learning conditions and assignments used in this study to teach social work practice evaluation.

3. Aware of how Excel was used by the students to evaluate the impact of an intervention.

4. Asked to share teaching strategies that seem to increase student interest in their subject matter.

References


1. Title of submission (#361)

CREATING PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS TO PROMOTE PERMANENCY AND EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE (EBP) IN CHILD WELFARE

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6. Abstract of presentation (Short version)

The presentation is designed to focus on factors and strategies promoting collaborative partnerships between public and private non-profit service providers to promote evidence based practice and permanency for children in the child welfare system.
The presenters focus on a public-private partnership in Virginia (Piedmont Adoption Coalition – PAC) as a case study that defied the odds and worked collaboratively to bring permanency to the so-called “hard-to-place” children in the foster care system. This presentation provides information on the know-how to establish healthy working interagency relationships by discussing and analyzing the results from a three-year research study utilizing the experiences of PAC as a case study.

Participants in the workshop will learn what factors and strategies support collaborative cross-agency partnerships and what factors and strategies are counterproductive, based on the experience of the PAC/QICA project. This information is valuable to people in the social sciences interested in building relationships across disciplines and sectors. The value of the presentation is that it is based on a three-year research project. A second benefit is that participants will learn hands-on skills from an interdisciplinary team perspective and experience. The project manager of PAC is a child welfare specialist and practitioner while the program evaluator/researcher is in academia and teaching in public policy and program evaluation – both a micro and macro perspective on partnerships are provided.

Abstract (Extended version)

The presentation is designed to focus on factors and strategies promoting collaborative partnerships between public and private non-profit service providers to promote evidence-based practice and permanency for children in the child welfare system.

The presenters focus on a public-private partnership in Virginia (Piedmont Adoption Coalition – PAC) as a case study that defied the odds and worked collaboratively to bring permanency to the so-called “hard-to-place” children in the foster care system. This presentation provides information on the know-how to establish healthy working interagency relationships by discussing and analyzing the results from a three-year research study utilizing the experiences of PAC as a case study.

In a time where funding sources are limited to support social sciences, collaboration among private organizations and public agencies are vital. Often collaboration fails between diverse agencies and organizations due to a lack of knowledge on how to develop relationships in the midst of differences. It is evident from many sources both media and academic, that the child welfare sector in the USA is under tremendous pressure due to multiple challenges. One main challenge is the numbers of children who are at risk and most vulnerable within the population of nearly 300 million. There are an estimate of 12 million children (2002 – US Census Bureau) living in families with incomes under the poverty line. Nearly one in six children is living in poverty or a total of 73 million children or 17% in 2003 in the USA. Of these children more than half a million are in foster care (September 30, 2002) and of the children in foster care in 2002, 53,000 were adopted and in addition
a 126,000 were still waiting to be adopted. What does this picture tell us? A number of conclusions relevant for this presentation could be made:

1) Too many children are at risk of neglect, abuse or exploitation within a developed nation such as the USA
2) The priority should be on prevention policies and implementation strategies especially in regard to economic well-being of families i.e. stable employment, health care, transportation support and most important a living wage.

The above two conclusions are of utmost importance and should be addressed by all sectors of society caring about children and families. However for this presentation the focus will be on a third conclusion:

3) The reality of the situation is that according to the figures mentioned above thousands of children are already in the child welfare system and many of them are stuck in permanent foster care while they could and should have the opportunity to be in a permanent family of their own, either by reunification with their biological parents or by adoption. The public welfare system is over-burdened with these numbers while their staff is bogged down by read tape and lack of resources. These agencies are unable to do what is necessary for the well-being of foster children.

The importance of permanency for children is well supported by research. Public child welfare agencies are focusing now more on concurrency planning to achieve permanency than ever before. It is found that about 60% of the children in foster care are above 9 years of age. In addition, African-American children are disproportionably represented within this group, as are sibling groups, and children with mental and behavioral problems. Many public child welfare agencies assume that once a child reaches the age of 9 or older no-one will be interested to adopt such a child. The decision is often made to place the child in permanent foster-care and let the child age-out of the system rather than finding an adoptive home.

To understand the historical development of the Piedmont Adoption Coalition (PAC) a contextual overview is provided. In fiscal year 2001, United Methodist Family Services of Virginia, Inc. (UMFS) was awarded a cooperative agreement to implement a regional Quality Improvement Center on Adoptions (QICA) funded through the Adoption Opportunities Program administered by the Children’s Bureau (CB), Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. UMFS was the only organization in the nation awarded such an agreement focusing on adoption; four other national organizations were awarded cooperative agreements for centers focusing on Child Protective Services. The QICs represent an experiment by the Children’s Bureau to examine the feasibility and benefits of increased regional involvement in designing, managing research, demonstration efforts and disseminating findings. In developing a “success” model for adoption, Quality Improvement Center for Adoption (QICA) did an assessment of adoption needs in Virginia in 2002. The needs assessment was framed by the following question: “What do we see and what in addition do we need to know to improve the effectiveness of practice?” The results of the needs assessment led to the funding of 3 demonstration projects in Virginia.
The demonstration projects were designed to evaluate multiple approaches and/or multi-site interventions concentrating on effectiveness of evidence-based models and its components or strategies. The findings will guide replication or testing in other settings.

The demonstration projects are funded for three years and started in November 2002 and ended in November 2005. A program evaluation logic model guided the implementation process of the projects with emphasis on three tiers: public/private partnerships, social worker specialization, and evidence-based practice in three areas: child assessment, child/adoptive parent preparation and post adoption support. The Piedmont Adoption Coalition (PAC) is one of the three demonstration projects representing seven Departments of Social Service agencies and one large private non-profit partner, De Paul Family Services in rural Virginia.

One of the main components of the presentation will be on the outcomes of the project as it relates to factors and strategies in developing and maintaining collaborative partnerships. Factors such as differences in organizational culture, funding bases, decision making styles, organizational structures, power base, conflict resolution and economic and political contextual factors will be discussed from the perspective of the program evaluator and project manager.

Participants in the workshop will learn what factors and strategies support collaborative cross agency partnerships and what factors and strategies are counterproductive, based on the experience of the PAC/QICA project. This information is valuable to people in the social sciences interested in building relationships across disciplines and sectors. The value of the presentation is that it is based on a three year research project. A second benefit is that participants will learn hands-on skills from an interdisciplinary team perspective and experience. The project manager of PAC is a child welfare specialist and practitioner while the program evaluator/researcher is in academia and teaching in public policy and program evaluation – both a micro and macro perspective on partnerships are provided.
1. Title of submission (#362)

Exploring the political intelligence (PQ) of Social Work students to promote advocacy for children and families

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6. Abstract (Short version)

A research study findings are presented on social work students’ perception of political competence and faculty response through assignments and course outlines to expand and enhance students’ political intelligence (PQ) to effectively advocate for the wellbeing of children and families.

Abstract (Expanded version)

A research study findings are presented on social work students’ perception of political competence and faculty response through assignments and course outlines to expand and enhance students’ political intelligence (PQ) to effectively advocate for the wellbeing of children and families.

Goals of the presentation

1) To explore the centrality of political competence for social work students
2) To explore what political intelligence (PQ) is within the context of social work
3) To explore strategies social work faculty utilize to assist students to become political competent social workers
"All Social Work is political” (Haynes, 2004)

If this premise is accepted, two questions come to mind: 1) What is the political competence of social work students and 2) to what extent do social work educators consciously prepare students to be political competent?

Even though politics is a reality in everyday practice for all social workers, not many Social Work programs incorporate it directly or even indirectly in their curriculum (Haynes, 2004). To be effective policy advocates students need to learn to be political competent. One of the major resistances against learning about politics is the negative perception of politics. Students feel resistant towards the way politics are practiced in the public and private sectors. It is important to help them understand what politics intended to be: the ability to attain, acquire and control resources. Once students understand the true meaning of politics and how they can learn to positively participate in the dance, then they are more likely to willingly and consciously participate.

What is political competence? Through the research study a working definition was constructed and guided the research. Both faculty and students contributed from their own perspective what they perceived political competence mean in Social Work. A description is provided on the specific political knowledge, skills and attitudes students need to have to be competent in the political arena as identified by students and faculty. To following is a list identified by faculty and students. These include but are not limited to

- Critical thinking skills
- Openness to change
- Understanding the different political processes and how to access them
- Analytical skills
- Problem identification and resolution skills
- Economical skills
- Inter actional skills
- Value clarification skills
- Ability to network
- Building relationships with diverse groups of people

Social work faculty across the curriculum participated in defining political intelligence (PQ) and shared their assignments and class discussions that specifically were initiated by the faculty as part of the syllabus for the class in preparation for political competence.

Findings alluded to the centrality of culture and socialization in the formation of political awareness and political orientation. The inclusion of specific political assignments in course work depended mostly on the faculty’s personal orientation towards politics in general.
Toward a Typology of Family Resiliency Rhetoric
Voiced by Hurricane Katrina Survivors

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April 4, 2006
Toward a Typology of Family Resiliency Rhetoric Voiced by Hurricane Katrina Survivors

ABSTRACT

This is a work-in-progress study that will ultimately examine the communication expressed by families who have seemingly “bounced back” or recovered from Hurricane Katrina. Several members of those families will be interviewed and specifically asked how their families have endured this natural disaster. Specific types of talk will be investigated. A comprehensive rhetorical analysis will be done of the taped interviews. Narratives, words, themes, metaphors, reasoning, logic, words, and vocal expressions of the interviewees will be analyzed and categorized. Additionally, observations gathered from an ethnographic study of the New Orleans community this summer will be used to complement the rhetorical analyses. This specific paper addresses the concept of resiliency and stress in families and constitutes the beginnings of a pilot study for the larger project. The interview questions that will be used with the targeted families surviving Hurricane Katrina will be shared. From the literature review, potential categories of rhetoric have been developed that could provide insight into a family’s ability to recover from crisis situations – hence, the movement toward a typology of family resiliency rhetoric.

This study is a result of a service learning project born in a family communication class at the University of Northern Colorado in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. A total campaign entitled “Talk, Share, Care” is being carried out by 35 students and their professor in an effort to create and distribute communication materials that will help families get through “tough times.”
Introduction

We, as human beings, are likely to experience crises or troubled times throughout our lives. Some individuals face these times more frequently than others; some individuals fare much better during times of adversity and tend to recover more quickly than their ill-fated counterparts. Events that are irreversible; experiences that, for better or worse, alter our personal paradigms. Although researchers have typically studied negative outcomes of crises, there is hopefulness that evidence exists toward positive change occurring after times of crises or stress. Often labeled as stress related growth (Park, Cohen, & Murch, 1996), positive changes can occur such as heightened appreciation of life, marking new priorities, and improvements in family relationships. But why is it that some individuals or families are able to recover more effectively than others from a crisis? What communication practices are used that propel families to move forward with their lives following crises instead of succumbing to the adversity? To gain better insight into the phenomenon and answer these questions, it becomes necessary to probe further with a formal research plan. To that end, this study investigates the following: 1) a review of the concept of crisis recovery known as “resiliency” in families; 2) a needs analysis of families who experienced the specific crisis of Hurricane Katrina, August 2006 in the Gulf Coast; and 3) a research plan that will help create a beginning typology of family resiliency rhetoric, i.e. the associating communication that families may practice during crisis that empower them to “bounce back” and move forward with their lives.

Literature Review

Resiliency

The concept of “resiliency” has been a popular research topic for the past twenty years, specifically in the mental health fields (Milliren & Barrett-Kruse, 2002). The characteristic itself is framed as “a descriptor of one’s behavioral responses to adversity (Bernard, 1991; Grotber, 1999; Linquanti,
1992; Miller, 1988) and, when applied to families, refers to the behaviors that families use to respond to the problems associated with living.

According to Milliren and Barrett-Kruse, ‘family resilience’ is synonymous with the drive for survival that underscores a family’s patterns of interactions” (p.225). While these patterns can be functional or dysfunctional, it is said that all families possess resilience; it is in the hands of the counselor who works with the dysfunctional family to identify the coping strategies needed to achieve more desired outcomes. The counselors must become a partner with the families to evoke change and stimulate the inherent resilient tendencies, often using the Adlerian counseling techniques of relationship, analysis and assessment, insight, and reorientation/reeducation.

Other researchers address how families may increase their resiliency tendencies. Rutter (1991) recommended the following four habits: 1) have adults minimize children’s exposure to traumatic events; 2) when trauma is imminent, confirm the child’s perceptions of the event; 3) families need to encourage creative expression and emotional reaction in the trauma’s aftermath; and, 4) expose the children to multiple and innovative problem-solving strategies.

Grotberg (1999) suggested that counselors emphasize the importance of supportive environments, helping children recognize their likes/dislike and talents, and by teaching relational and problem-solving skills. She had conducted a five-year study that examined the gendered perspective on resiliency in children finding that girls are more likely to access their caring relationships in an attempt to achieve resiliency; while boys, more often, rely on their own problem-solving skills to achieve resiliency. Also, Grotberg advanced that resilience was not related to a child’s socioeconomic status or intelligence, and that, during periods of adolescence, peers played a more important role in impacting resilience in a teen as much or more than family members.
Continuing, an extensive overview of family resilience research can be found in the article entitled “From Family Deficit to Family Strength: Viewing Families’ Contributions to Children’s Learning from a Family Resilience Perspective” (Amatea & et.al, 2006). The authors cite several articles that address resiliency influenced by the home and school environments. Walsh (1998, 2003) was able to synthesize much of the family resiliency research and identified nine key family processes within three major areas of family functioning that contribute to resiliency: the family’s belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes.

Conger & Conger (2002) address the value of clear communication within the family and its role toward resiliency in academic environments. Specifically, these resilient families use communication consistently and congruently, in that their actions and words are non-contradicting. Members in these families are able to discuss their fears, stresses, and other feelings with each other rather than stifling them, and both parents and children tend to be included in decision-making and problem-solving situations.

Additionally, Hawley (2000) addresses the clinical aspect of resiliency and offers numerous suggestions for the counselor to use with families working toward this goal: focus on family strengths; recognize that resiliency is a developmental pathway, and place an emphasis on helping families develop their own family schema. Hawley and DeHaan (1996) contend that the definition of resiliency has three themes: 1) resilience rises from hardship; 2) resilience is buoyant where individuals can bounce back or rebound from adversity; and 3) resilience is generally described in terms of wellness and strengths.

While the investigation of resiliency is becoming increasingly popular, there are still aspects of this concept that remain understudied. Specifically, the role that communication plays in families following traumatic events that help families overcome their struggles and hardship as addressed in the literature. To that end, further investigation begins.
Family Needs for Resiliency Information

Everyday, families endure some semblance of struggle. Whether facing death, divorce, economic woes, addiction or natural disasters, these families often experience communication breakdowns resulting in dysfunction and despair. Worldwide, children endure a staggering number of traumatic events and are subjected to crisis situations in which communication plays an important role in recovery. We must address the growing problem of these breakdowns and help children and parents rebuild their lives through family communication.

For example, millions of children experienced Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and are still dealing with the aftermath. Although relief workers attempt to address the emotional needs of these children, many times physical and financial needs interfere with the child’s ability to communicate his or her concerns. FEMA reports that the efforts to rebuild the lives of Louisiana families is slow and will take years. The American Red Cross reports that as of January 2006, they have provided survivors with nearly 3.42 million overnight stays in nearly 1,000 shelters across 27 states and in the District of Columbia. Clearly, families across the United States are still dealing with the trauma of being displaced and will be doing so for some time to come.

We must remember also, that hurricanes are not the only issues that families face. For example, in February 2006, President Bush declared major disasters due to flooding in California and Nevada, and crippling winter storms in Kansas and Nebraska. The DEA reported that an average of 45 toxic methamphetamine labs are seized every day and that 20% of those labs have children present. The latest statistics show that 45% of all marriages end in divorce, and an estimated 3.3 million children are exposed to violence by a family member each year. These events are traumatic, yet we haven’t even mentioned deaths, unemployment, disabilities, and suicides; the list goes on and on.
Some may say that these communication issues can and are being handled by social service and child welfare agencies. However, this is generally not the case. With a growing number of program cuts and overwhelming caseloads, children fall through the cracks everyday. And, when faced with natural disaster situations such as Hurricane Katrina, the chasm between the number of counselors and caseworkers per suffering child increases greatly. Additionally, there are those children who were not directly involved in the hurricane that may fear such a disaster happening in their area, these children also need to have an opportunity to talk about their concerns. The need to provide alternative methods for children and families to receive communication skills is overwhelming. And the need to know the specific rhetoric that resilient families have used to successfully rebound from their adversities would be a critical piece toward helping other struggling families move toward recovery.

Method

In an effort to create a typology for the rhetoric of resiliency, it is first necessary to develop a research plan for gathering data from families that have experienced crisis or extreme stress. The event that will serve as the primary stressor in this study is Hurricane Katrina, 2006, affecting families residing in New Orleans and many parts of the Gulf Coast region. Using a snowball sample originating from a hospital network that served relocated families in Colorado (from the Gulf Coast region), approximately 15 families will be initially interviewed. A research team of twelve undergraduate and graduate students in a family communication course will ask an adult(s) representative from the family to answer a series of related questions:

**Interview Questions:**

Describe how the hurricane season (Rita/Katrina) involved you?

What physical actions did you take as a result of the hurricane? (leave New Orleans area; stay in the area; FEMA trailer; temporary shelter or residence for how long and with whom? Safety issues)
Describe the emotional reactions to the storm(s) before/during/after (what did you/your family do to become physically safe, before, during, and after?)

Explain how you and your family communicated about this event together: Silence? Action? Words? Time set aside for communication?

What particular phrases or words surfaced, or were repeated during this event, if any?

Describe your “darkest hour” affiliated with this event.

What did you and your family do to get through the darkest hour of this event? (Talk? What was said? What did you do during this time?)

How were you and your family able to pull together? What worked and what didn’t work?

Describe how you and your family talked with each other during this event? What worked and what didn’t? Is the family stronger now? If so, what made it stronger?

Where and how did you find the emotional and physical strength to get through this event?

On a scale of 1-10 (10 = most togetherness), how would you rate your family’s sense of togetherness before/after this event? How did that change in number “happen”? Please elaborate.

Evidence of Resiliency

Currently, various models of resiliency assessments that have been developed are being considered to be given to the participants in the study. The researchers cannot make assumptions that these families have experienced resiliency; therefore, an instrument that measures reliability or a direct question that pertains to the family member’s perception of their overall resiliency will be administered prior to the interview questions. The specific instrument or adaptation of the instrument will need to be secured prior to the interview recording. Such an instrument or adapted model would address a few of the following questions:

Gainful employment now?
Children fully enrolled in school/make-shift school?
New support systems, i.e. friends, relatives, institutions?
Normal day-to-day activities?
Emotional moods and temperament?
Stress relief?
Sleeping patterns?
Other areas?
End of interview

These interviews will take place in the homes of the families, or via telephone outreach. Various demographics will be asked of the subjects such as gender, current age, income, religious affiliation, familial and friend support, etc, including the interview questions. The researchers will tape record the interviews and transcribe the data. After reviewing the data and performing open, axial, and vivo coding procedures, a typology of resiliency rhetoric is likely to evolve.

Discussion

Because typologies are typically developed following the examination of the data in inductive fashion, it is ill-advised to fully predict the typology categories; however, the following categories are most likely to emerge that will, at the very least, serve as a beginning framework for typology development:

Internal locus of control vs. external locus of control – how much rhetoric “recognition” is given to oneself; or to a force, power, or influence outside of oneself?

Religious references – what role if any does a religious or spiritual orientation play in the family experiencing resiliency?

Direct support of another – Is there a certain person, living or dead, that the family was “honoring” or played a significant role during the resiliency process?
Safety/physical fear – Was the family’s concern for safety or physical fear their primary motivator to become resilient?

Emotional expressiveness – Were there certain emotions that the families used to get them through the ordeal?

Self-empowering communication – Did the family engage in certain “mantras” or self-affirmations that helped them experience resiliency?

Nonverbal communication – What role did nonverbal communication play in your coping style in this event?

While these speculative criteria are by no means exhaustive, perhaps, they represent identified areas to be included in a typology of resiliency rhetoric expressed by recovering families. This research study will, most likely, experience modifications before being implemented; yet the ultimate goal of this project – rebuilding lives through family communication- fueled by faculty and student enthusiasm will, hopefully, make a lasting impact on the particular families it touches.
References


Additional Works Cited


*Special Note of Thanks to UNC Student Carrie Coyne for contributing to the Family Needs for Resiliency Information portion of this submission.
Offenders’ personal and social characteristics as determinants of punitiveness on home detention

Topic Area: Other areas of Social Science

Presentation format: Research paper in a Paper session

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Abstract

Home detention as a sanction has become an emerging force in the field of corrections throughout the Western world during the last two decades. Although the same direct restrictions and indirect effects are imposed on offenders on home detention offenders are differentially equipped to cope with the demands and obligations of this sanction. This is because they are not homogenous as they are drawn from a variety of situations, backgrounds and experiences, they live in different milieus, and they experience differential pressures and impingements. Consequently, from a qualitative content analysis of Western world studies, it emerges that at least ten personal and social characteristics result in offenders experiencing varied levels of punitiveness and in turn having a unique experience of punishment on home detention. It is recommended that in order to avoid inequitable punishment when sentencing offenders to home detention sentencing judges and magistrates should carefully consider offender’s personal and social characteristics and impose individually tailored conditions which are specifically punitive for each offender.
Chapter One: Why We Need this Book

The world is changing. Our human activities are clearly becoming global in nature. Our understanding of nature – the infrastructure upon which all humankind rests—is changing as well. Yet social work continues to insulate itself from what we now see are international social problems. These problems cannot be solved through a casework approach. We have reached a point in our understanding of systems wherein “social welfare” must be seen as part of a larger global imperative of planetary survival. There is a connection between the “micro problems” manifested by individuals and families e.g. environmental pollution, the lack of sustaining and meaningful work, addiction, domestic violence, and the problems experienced by communities locally and globally. This “connection” is a most profound one. It takes a major shift in thinking about our work our world and our mission to make change in the lives of people and their environment.

This book is about that change in thinking in a movement toward a sustainable future. In this introductory chapter we will discuss why the old paradigms are failing us. We will then take a peek at “new paradigm” literature that is evolving out of a new understanding of systems and sustainability. Four core themes of the literature will then be introduced and a rationale will be offered for why they are key in understanding the
current threats to global social welfare and the long term survival of our species and the planet.

First, let us look at how we got to our modern way of thinking about the world.

**The Modern Paradigm**

To begin with, what is a paradigm? Thomas Kuhn, in his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), speaks of modern scientific paradigms as coherent traditions of scientific research. These traditions rest on the commitment of a scientific community to the same rules and standards of scientific practice, which include laws, theories, application and instrumentation. Broader than scientific theories, paradigms are

philosophical and theoretical frameworks of a scientific school or discipline, within which theories, laws, and generalizations, and the experiments performed in support of them are formulated (Webster, 1995).

Fritjov Capra has taken Kuhn’s definition and enlarged it to that of a “social paradigm” which is:

a constellation of concepts, values, perceptions and practices shared by a community that forms a particular vision of reality that is the basis of the way the community organizes itself (Capra, F. and Stendl-Rast, 1991, p. 34).

So, a paradigm is larger than a theory. It is a way of looking at the world. Kuhn has written extensively about when and how the paradigms of so-called normal science shift, when various problems addressed by the field or discipline can no longer be solved within the framework of the existing worldview e.g. Newtonian science’s inability to explain the atom. It is the thesis of Capra, a physicist and philosopher, and a growing number of transformational thinkers, that we are in a situation
today where the old social paradigms have reached their limitations. Threats such as nuclear war, environmental degradation, and persistent world poverty cannot be solved through the modern paradigm of viewing the world.

Let us now define modernism. Then we will discuss why the paradigms of modernity have reached their limitation and may no longer be sustainable.

Although the Latin term “modernus” was used to distinguish Christianity from the pagan Roman past (Lyon, 1994), the most common way we use it today stems from the French Enlightenment, and refers to post-medieval civilization. The new social order that emerges is characterized by its achievements in science, technology, political democracy, capitalism and the market economy, and the questioning of both man and God’s place in the universe. Lyon (1994) identifies several elements which summarize the essence of the modernist paradigm, or way of seeing the world.

The first is the rise of science. As we move from Galileo and Copernucus to the 18th and 19th scientists, Newton, Bacon, and Descarte, we shift from a medieval worldview to a materialistic mechanistic one. The world of nature and, later, the social order, are huge machines, with identifiable parts that are separate from the scientific observer, and can be measured and calculated. This metaphor of the machine calls for differentiation or specialization in science and in one’s social life. Life, then, becomes differentiated, laborer from capitalist, work from home, public from private domains, leisure from work. The lives of men and women become differentiated and their roles refined, according to a rational process. Rationalization assists men and women to escape from the “spirits and demons” of traditional culture, and make sense of the world around them. Man is no longer ruled by myth, superstition, or fate, but can take the helm
of his ship and steer it forward. He can contain complexity and confusion, tame nature, all toward the goal of progress and efficiency in the rapidly growing industrial, secular world. **Secularism** replaces the role of religion. The new principles of industrial and social organizations, such as scientific management, replace those of the church as organizing principles of human enterprise. The French do away with God in this modern paradigm. However, it is important to note that America, though it embraced progress, rationalism, and utilitarianism, still clung to the Puritan values of work and productivity as evidence of man’s godliness. Jeremy Rifkin, in *The European Dream*, argues that a major difference between the American and European Dream is our continued belief in two principles: 1) rugged individualism as the driving force for continued economic progress and 2) continuing commitment to religious redemption (Rifkin, 2004).

Rifkin summarizes the rise to modernity as follows:

Contrast the life of a medieval man and women with their modern heirs….Spiritual values have been largely replaced by material values. Theology gave way to ideology, and faith was dethroned and replaced by reason. Salvation became less important than progress. Tasks and daily rounds were replaced by jobs, and generativity became less important than productivity… Personal relationships were no longer bound by fealty, but rather by contracts….The sacred lost ground to the utilitarian. Market price replaced just price. Deliverance became less important than destiny. Wisdom was narrowed to knowledge….Love of Christ was challenged by love of self. Caste was eclipsed by caste, revelation by discovery, and prophesy by the scientific method (p. 120).

The modern paradigm, then, is grounded in reliance on science and rational thinking, a specialization of scientific knowledge, a reliance on mankind, not mystery and fate, or faith, to provide needed direction for the future, and the belief in human ingenuity and technology to harness the natural resources toward human progress.
Is Modernism Failing US?

As the United States moves into the 21st Century we are faced with global threats to social welfare and, indeed, to our very survival. Brian McCartan, Director of the Global Trends Project, tells us the “good news” (2005). Worldwide incomes are at their highest in history, with more than a billion people pulling themselves out of poverty since 1960. Childhood mortality rates have declined worldwide. About ½ of the world’s population now lives in countries that have multiparty election systems. The number of armed conflicts has declined steadily from about 50 in 1990 to less than 30 today. These are valid indicators of progress. So what is the problem with the modern paradigm?

Social movements of the 1960s evidenced some of the first signs that the modern paradigms had reached their limits, with their questioning of power relations, disenchantment with materialism, and the growing sense of alienation in modern organizational life. Moving into the 1970s and 1980s, from an industrial to a global information age, we also began to question the congruence of the goal of unlimited progress with the carrying capacity of the planet. How much longer can we go on poisoning the air and water supplies? Why is there increasing disparity between the have and the have-nots? Is warfare an obsolete concept, given the capability of destroying the planet? The institutions that we have developed which have made us the richest country on earth may, at their roots, be reliant on paradigms that may have outlived their usefulness and future global sustainability. We are still faced, globally, with multiple problems of homelessness, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, physical dependency and isolation, to name a few of our challenges (Wilson, 1987).
In fact, in 1992, over 1600 scientists, including the majority of the Nobel laureates in the sciences, endorsed and made available a document entitled “Warning to Humanity.” In it, they stated, “human beings and the natural world are on a collision course…that may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know” (George, 1995). They asserted that there is a need for us to step back and gain a whole systems perspective on the physical, ecological, spiritual and social challenges that we face.

What is a “whole systems” perspective? New systems thinkers suggest that it calls for conceptualizing problems as interconnected, within a framework of international trends. For example, massive weapons and consumption patterns are threatening the planet as a life system (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Economist Hazel Henderson tells us that world social change is being driven by the internationalization of 1) technology and production; 2) work and migration; 3) finance, information and debt; 4) military weapons and the arms race; 5) the human impact on the planetary biosphere; and 6) culture and consumption patterns (Henderson, 1989). And these trends are directly connected to major threats to global social welfare: poverty, environmental degradation, terrorism and increased military means of problems solving, and unequal distribution of basic needs such as food, health care and to think employment. But is the problem just a lack of “The Big Picture” or do we need to think differently about the future?

**Social Workers and a Different Way of Thinking about the Future**

As a profession, social work has not been involved in much futurist thinking. Prior to the mid-1990s, the literature on the future focused primarily on demographic
changes and the implications for social welfare and social work (Macarov, 1991; Raffoul and McNeece, 1996). With the approach of the new millennium, however, we began to look at the future from a more global perspective (Reisch, and Gambrill, 1997; Ramanathan and Link, 1999).

A report from the 1980 Commission on the Future, developed by Dr. Bertram Beck, gives us a look into the future. Two perspectives were posed which offer us some descriptions of different plausible outcomes given certain discernable trends (Dea, 1998). Two different worldviews of “post-industrialism” and “transformationalism” were envisioned for the future. The scenarios based on the modern, or post-industrial view associated with Kahn (1976) and Bell (1973) assume that knowledge, science, and technology are the key forces of social change. In contrast, those of the transformational worldview, derived from work done at Stanford University Center for the Study of Social Policy, are based on a social and cultural shift, predicated on values of conservation and ecological ethics. The importance of the second scenario is its challenge to modern thinking about progress and the reliance on technology to ensure our future survival.

The two perspectives envision:

- the 1980s as a time for struggle between the achievers or “traditionalists” and the “conservers” or non-traditionalists, in a world torn by waning energy resources. The achievers espouse the benefits of rational, scientifically based decision-making, and extol the virtues of individualism, competition, and materialism as the qualities which “make the country great and will guard her superiority.” The conservers recognize the finite nature of our fuel and mineral resources and hence, the need to reduce demand on these resources by curbing unnecessary consumption. “The notion of voluntary simplicity thus [is] translated into an ecological ethic by which humankind [is] viewed
as part of the natural system rather than manipulator of it.” “Bigger is better [is] replaced with “small is beautiful.” (NASW news, 1979).

Though not furthered by many social work scholars, the ideas from this conference are supported, in years to come, as “new paradigm thinking” in both popular and scholarly literature continues to emerge. Let’s explore it a bit.

**What is This “New Paradigm” Thinking?**

Since the 1980s, a growing body of literature of scientists, futurists, and social thinkers suggests we are at the turning point of a new period in human evolutionary history. They “share a planetary perspective, a tempered optimism about technology, a long range view of the continuing evolution of humanity, and a hope for an emerging integral culture of….connectivity, between humans and nature, humans and the spirit (variously defined) and humans and humans all over the globe” (Spayde, 1998, p. 43). In 1996 Duanne Elgin and Coleen LeDrew (1997) reviewed this “new-paradigm” literature through internet sites, surveys, libraries, data bases and reports and published “Global Consciousness Change: Indicators of an Emerging Paradigm.” Two primary features of the paradigm that emerged from this review are: 1) Human’s growing capacity for self-reflection, to observe the world and ourselves and be self-directing agents of our own evolution and 2) a “whole systems” or “living-systems” consciousness wherein the cosmos is seen as a living unified system and people, animals and all creatures are interconnected in a web of life. In addition, their study of global patterns identified five thematic areas where changes in consciousness and culture are taking place: 1) Global communications patterns and global consciousness 2) Global ecological awareness 3) Post-modern social values e.g. a shift from competition to partnership, grater tolerance of
diversity 4) Increased lay or personal “experiential” spirituality and 5) Shift toward sustainable ways of living.

About the same time Paul Ray, a sociologist and marketing researcher, published a report called “The Integral Culture Survey: A Study of the Emergence of Transformational Values in America” (1996). Sponsored by the Institute of Noetic Sciences and the Fetzer Institute, and using Family Opinion Inc. and a methodology based on eight years of consumer and opinion research, Ray found three significant values subcultures in the United States: The Modernists, the Traditionalists (or “Heartlanders”) and the Trans-Moderns or “Cultural Creatives.” The following are the five core cultural creative values: globalism (concern for planetary ecology and stewardship); ecological sustainability; feminism, relationship and family; spirituality, mind-body health connection, personal growth psychology; and social optimism and well developed social conscience. “Cultural Creatives” reject intolerance of the religious right, hedonism, materialism, and the consumer and business culture (pgs. 35-36).

Futurist Barbara Hubbard considers efforts such as the latter two as part of the “social-potential movement…the echo of the human potential movement of the 70s” (Spayde, 1998, p. 44). Though this scholarship is provocative and consistent in its recurring themes, it is tempting for newcomers to this literature to label this thinking as merely “new age” and thus minimize its legitimacy and importance. Within the past 25 years, however, scholars, across disciplines, have continues to research these ideas, and have described what appears to be a new paradigm of thinking. Who are some of these people? Some of the best known are physicist Fritjov Capra, feminist Riane Eisler, author and philosopher Ken Wilber, economist Hazel Henderson, visionary Willis Harman, and
social scientist Dwayne Elgin. We will explore them in much more detail in the following chapters. But let us take a peak at the scope of this thinking.

In 1987 at the annual American Political Science Association meeting, the Ecological and Transformational Politics Section of this organization was born and, in 1998 Stephen Woolpert and colleagues published Transformational Politics, a compilation of articles discussing a new paradigm of politics that places major change at its core. Among the themes discussed are the ecological focus and systems thinking; interdependence; partnership; flexibility (adapting to a changing environment); diversity; the linkage of the personal and the political, and the inclusion of the spiritual and the sacred. More popular in appeal, but equally important are works such as McLaughlin and Davidson’s Spiritual Politics (1994), Lerner’s The Politics of Meaning (1997), and Sam Harris’ Reclaiming Democracy (1994) in which new connections between morality and politics, and citizens and their government are explored, illustrating, in part, new paradigm thinking.

Riane Eisler, whose Cultural Transformation Theory we will explore, has written a blueprint for partnership education in Tomorrow’s Children (2000); the “partnership model” includes a number of the above themes. She is also on the editorial board, along with Jonathan Kozol of Encounter: Education for Meaning and Social Justice, a quarterly education journal for teachers which focuses on a holistic perspective, with articles on man of the above mentioned themes such as the global village and multicultural education.

Jeremy Rifkin, perhaps one of the most comprehensive social thinkers of our time, discusses global trends which are driving a new way of thinking about time and
space, work, the economy, energy resources, and the commodification of our biological. physical and social goods. In his latest, The European Dream (2004) he asserts that we human beings may be entering a new stage of consciousness where a global connectedness is imperative for our ultimate survival.

To summarize, then, what is new paradigm thinking? Some may dismiss this as “new age” thinking. Coates (2000) has called this moving from modernism to sustainability. Others have called it transformational thinking. New paradigm thinking, in a nutshell, is evolving from the need to move beyond modernity and consider theories and approaches, in both natural and social sciences, which embrace the following ideas: 1) the interdependence of all life forms 2) holism, or an integration of physical, mental and spiritual worlds rather than reductionism 3) collectivity and cooperation rather than individualism and competition 4) diversity of species, cultures, and worldviews and 5) ecological sustainability.

If the profession of social work is going to play a viable role in responding to social problems, should we not avail ourselves of this new thinking? We are unique as a helping profession, in targeting changes in the environment as well as changes in individuals and families. But “social welfare ultimately depends upon how well underlying economic, political, and intellectual models correspond with realities of the environment” (Garbarino, p. 21). Perhaps it is time to take a new look at what we now know about ourselves, our connections with the natural and spiritual worlds, our long term viability as a species and a planet, and our models of human interaction. This will, no doubt, expand our thinking and help us re-visit future roles we can play in the furtherance of global and local social welfare.
Four Themes of Sustainable Social Work

There are many ways to categorize the strains of this so called “transformational” thinking. After having examined this literature in natural, social, and behavioral science, I believe there are four cross cutting themes that are connected to the core threats to our long term survival and are thus key to a shift toward sustainable social welfare and social work. The following is a brief introduction of these themes.

The first is the theme of the physical and social words as Interactive Interconnected Webs of Life. This theme makes the connection between social problems such as poverty, environmental resources depletion, social injustice, global violence, and consumption patterns, at a global as well as local levels. When the prevailing winds shifted over northern Europe following the Chernobyl nuclear power plant eruption in the Ukraine in 1986, it looked like the fallout could be heading toward the west. Our consciousness in the US was raised. Many of us had a realization, similar to the new perspective gained by the Apollo space walkers upon eyeing planet earth from space, that we are all connected. The air has no boundaries, the earth and it’s inhabitants are fragile.

When we explore how small landowners in developing countries are pushed off their land to make room for their four legged competitors – the cattle raised to meet the demands of the US—we make the connection between consumption, world economies, and environmental decline (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). When we examine decades old political unrest middle eastern countries, it is impossible to point to any one cause. We cannot separate geopolitical history from differing religious worldviews, and the coveted resource of oil, upon which civilized
countries continue to pursue for energy and commerce. Our wars against poverty, our attempts to remediate environmental destruction cannot be dealt with from a specialized, one discipline perspective. They must be tackled with a “whole systems,” multidisciplinary perspective.

Our understanding of “system” is changing. New systems thinking poses a new metaphor for understanding the natural world: that of a “web.” What is important is understanding the constantly changing interconnectedness—the relationships between the parts of the web and the interactive process (vs. static structure) of living organisms, whether they be individuals, social groups and nations, or the planet itself. And finally, connections across systems are being made. Perhaps the fate of the individual is linked to the fate of the collective, in the family, the community, and at the global level.

The second theme is another important connection: the link between Science and Spirituality/Religion. The duality and separation of these is being challenged in our examination of human affairs and social intervention. Human behavior is driven, in part, by how people perceive the material world and its relationship to the spiritual world of beliefs, values and ethics. In understanding communities and countries, acknowledging the role of faith, mystery, and the the meaning of metaphysical worlds for diverse ethnic and religious groups cannot be overlooked. Wars are not fought over resources alone. Wars are also fed by different worldviews in the social construction of “Evil Empires.”

The challenge is twofold: The first is an epistemological challenge. If the spiritual and/or religious aspect of human beings and cultures is acknowledged, then the subjective, emotional, metaphysical realities experienced by diverse peoples must also be acknowledged. Rejected is the notion of an absolute reality.
The second challenge of the natural and spiritual world connection is the values question. From the perspective of our own professional value base, what is good, strong, and life affirming in various spiritual worldviews? How can we help individuals and groups use these values and beliefs to build better, more just lives. Can we, for example, find a balance between advocating social justice for women in a society which relegates women a lesser social position, in part, due to religious doctrine? Of course we can. If we are committed to living live side by side on a planet with people of different worldviews, can we just vote them off the island, until we have the “Survivors,” as depicted in a popular reality show? Is this not a sad metaphor for a mainstream mindset about how we decide who should prevail? I submit we must find that balance. I believe that we have knowledge of history and experience telling us that it is possible, and faith telling us it must be so.

The third theme is that of **Long Term Sustainability**. This theme is pervasive in new paradigm thinking. No longer do we reject the notion that our resources are limited. Even the US Senate has acknowledged “what those following the subject have long known; that world discovery of oil peaked four decades ago” (Kane, 2006). However, there was no talk of lifestyle change in a recent hearing on Peak Oil held by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Rather, the focus was “on making an unsustainable way of life—what Dick Chaney calls ‘the American way of life’ –more efficient” (Kane, pg.2). Our mode of reaction is often one of crisis, not prevention. It is the tinkering of air standards or the “quick fix” of energy credits, not long term, seven generations thinking.

But the threat to sustainability cuts across institutions, from an outdated measure of economic success, to political systems devoid of meaning with outmoded definitions
of national security, to agricultural, industrial and consumption patterns that fail to
preserve or recycle our natural resources. One sixth of the world’s families live in hunger,
eeking out a living off the land, while one sixth of the “civilized” nations’ family members
have “high standards of living,” yet many are alienated from their natural environment,
cought up in “online” quick time “virtual reality,” while spending little time in each
other’s company. What are the trade-offs? Is this technology helping nurture sustainable
family and community life? Many of us are connected to the information highway, but
haven’t a clue why we are on it and where we are headed.

The theme of sustainability embraces the notion that humans must live in
harmony with the planet and its cohabitants. It embodies the recognition that the natural
environment is an integral part and foundation of our world, and must be sustained as a
living and sacred part of our global social welfare. The institutions of economy, polity,
family, and technology, then must embrace and reflect this reality. This theme declares
that violence, in the form of warfare and the destruction of both natural and social worlds
is not sustainable, but is obsolete. Furthermore, long term sustainability and the rejection
of violence as a mode of problem solving are connected at every level. Domestic violence
is connected to violence in communities, and interacts with an acceptance of violence at
the level of the nation state. Sustainable economics, politics, and environmental policies
at macro levels of the community influence and interact with sustainable family practices,
for example, of recycling and caretaking of the natural environment.

The fourth theme is that of a Partnership Model of human relations. For
centuries the predominant model of human societies has been one involving the ranking
of one gender of human kind over another, or a “Dominator” model of society. A
sustainable natural and social world implies the need for movement toward a “partnership model” of social and cultural evolution, wherein relationships between genders, cultures, and with nature are more egalitarian resulting in increased social justice; power is more shared; hierarchies are not coercive; and technology is life enhancing and supportive of a healthy quality of life, with the goal of improving global social and environmental welfare (Eisler, 1987). Social work practice models congruent with this model are many, such as feminist practice, the empowerment approach, participatory community development and research, and more recent research on collaboration.

**The Plan for This Book**

So, where to from here? The format of this book is as follows: Each of these four themes will be explored in the following chapters. In each chapter the theme will be discussed along with some implications for understanding systems –human behavior and the social environment- as well as social work values and roles. Following the discussion there are questions to stimulate further discussion of the theme, and how it would apply when looking at behavior in small and large systems and at practice. Suggestions for additional reading will also be offered. Scenarios will be provided, as well, in appendices, in areas of both micro and macro practice, to “try out” some of these ideas in assessment and intervention.

Now, let us look at this thing called “The Web of Life.”
References


Teachers’ burnout, stressor, efficacy and coping behavior
Hitoshi MATSUI

Abstract:
In this study, we investigated teachers’ burnout related to their stressor, efficacy and coping behavior. One hundred forty three expert teachers answered our questionnaire. We examined these data by correlation, regression and canonical analysis, and discussed on the implication of teachers’ colleague and busyness.

Key words:
Burnout, Stressor, Efficacy, Coping behavior

1. In the education spot having various serious problems, in putting a viewpoint with pupils and students, on one hand, we must not overlook children's non-school attendance and class collapse getting worse in 1990's. In putting a viewpoint with teachers, on the other hand, they have a continuous feeling of busyness due to their heavy load, such as problems of human relations and cooperation in the work place and continual odd jobs as well as teaching. Among people in teaching profession taking ill
leave of absence, the ratio of people suffering from mental diseases, such as depression, increased largely from 29.8% in 1992 to 46.8% in 2000 (Ochiai, 2003). From this fact, it is assumed that among these people having mental diseases, there must be some people having a feeling of serious consumption. There will be more people taking ill leave of absence which have such a feeling of consumption while consulting specialists in other departments (Aikawa, 1997).

Maslach & Jackson (1981) defined a phenomenon of burnout somewhat broadly as “a syndrome to show extreme mental and physical fatigue and drying-up of feelings as a result of coping with a long-term excessive demand for mental energy in a process of assisting people”. This opened a road to argument about mental health of various professionals involved in human relations. The term “burnout” itself indicates the general idea that Fraudenberger (1974) advocated based on his observation of people engaging in social welfare institutions. By applying the aforesaid definition of “burnout” to a wider rage of jobs including teaching profession, it become possible to measure and demonstrate mental problems of people engaging in these jobs.

Stress reactions would be defined as the adjoin idea to burnout. Maslach & Schauferi (1993) defined that these have relativity in the viewpoint of time series and are not fundamentally distinguished. Burnout is defined as a long run state of stress reactions. But the unification of these definition and ideas is very difficult. Almost definition suggests that individuals can not react stressor as stimuli or demands from environment only with one's resource, and stress reactions are accumulated. In this study, burnout of teachers was discussed in the context confronted by teachers as stressor.

In the viewpoint of individual, it is important that the amount of resource used individually by a teacher is in inverse proportion to form symptom of burnout. In this study, efficacies that teachers would be able to express verbally and coping behaviors were thought as individual factors.

2. In this study, the investigation was administrated with the aim of getting fundamental data by which the way of prevention would be proposal. Burnout was treated as one of reactions, and efficacy of teacher and coping behavior were ranked as buffer.

3. The investigation was administrated in summer of 2004 for teachers working in public middle schools. One hundred and forty three teachers answered, their professional careers of 45% of subjects were over 20 years. Items of the investigation
were instructed to answer four or five point.

(1) Teacher burnout:

These scales were made referred Maslach & Jackson, Tao & Kubo. Symptoms that suggest exhaustion and drain of energy would be evaluated. It includes three subscales. “Emotional waste” is concerned with mental fatigue. “Dis-personalize” is concerned with flatten emotions by extreme high fatigue. “Retreat of individual achievement” is lack of full life.

(2) Teacher stressor:

In this area, displeasure daily events penetrating gradually were showed. “Conflict between teachers” were contents that showed dis-functioned relationship. Including differences of teacher’s own principle, various frictions interrupt their job. “Busyness” is concerned with the lack of leeway. The burdens of some teachers are so heavy. “Worry on results” is concerned with students’ achievement as the results of teachers’ leadership.

(3) Efficacy of teachers:

These scales were distinguished to three sub-scale. “Following efficacy” is concerned with teacher’s following attitudes. “Growth-promotional efficacy” is belief that teacher’s working on students would effect on various aspects. “Taking efficacy” is behavior that a teacher stands on the side of students.

(4) Coping behavior

In this area, three types of coping behavior were distinguished. In the case of “problem centered type”, a teacher actively has been trying to solve difficult situations with their devices and efforts. “Emotional centered type” is blowing off. Teachers of “self-control type” are trying to change and turn their cognition, and cope with situation preparing their own appreciation.

4. Psychometric properties were calculated on each subscales. Table shows a number of items, mean and standard deviation and cronbach’s alpha as estimates of reliability.

This questionnaire was edited by subscales extracted from some different studies. In this case, there are some regards on editing. If names of scales are different, there may be some laps on background constructs. In results, similar items may be assigned to different subscales. Avoiding these troubles, content validities were checked carefully. Content validities and reliabilities for each subscale were secured.

5. Correlation analysis was calculated with the aim of confirming the structure
among four domains (burnout, teacher stressor, efficacy, and coping behavior). Subscales of coping were calculated separately, because they were only independent.

A positive strong relation between teachers’ stressor and burnout, a negative faint relation between teachers’ efficacy and burnout suggest that teachers’ stressors are encouragement factors for burnout. On the other hands, efficacies would be buffering factors. It is easy to image that rising stressors is connected with burnout. It suggested that having confidences in teachers would somewhat influence students and suppress burnout.

6. Regression analysis was calculated with the aim of confirming effects to burnout. In results, teachers’ stressor (standard partial regression coefficient: .53), teachers’ efficacy (-.25), self-control coping (-.18) were effective variables. Square of multiple correlation coefficient was .38. In addition, regression analysis was calculated to each of three subscales. Emotional waste was influenced by teachers’ stressor (.59). Dis-personalize was influenced by both of teacher stressor (.41) and efficacy (.19). Retreat of individual achievement was influenced by teacher stressor (.28), efficacy (.35), and self-control of coping (.27). It showed that different factors of burnout were influenced by different external factors. It suggests that his/her change of cognition for his/her own practices may suppress one side of burnout.

7. Cannonical correlation analysis was calculated with the aim of confirm detailed relation. It was calculated between three subscales of teachers’ stressor and three subscales of burnout. In addition, it was calculated between three subscales of teachers’ efficacy and three subscales of burnout. In result, significant two dimensional solutions were calculated in both cases. Structural coefficients were shown. There were some complex results. One of them is that busyness of teachers’ stressor operates uniquely. Dis-personalize and retreat of individual achievement place a special emphasis on negative aspects of the rush of their work on one hand. On the other hand, Busyness place emphasis on neutral aspects including feelings leading up to worthwhile.

8. Strong relations between teachers’ stressor and burnout are comprehensive. But in this study, buffering factors were speculated by studying including efficacy and coping behavior.

From the discussion done by expert teachers based on this study, they pointed that it is solid that expert teachers accept goodness of younger, and raise their efficacy. They suggested that colleague of teachers was related with preventions of burnout.
In this study, practitioners discussed researchers based on substantiative data. It has value that each specialist confirm the directions of consideration.
Abstract: In a similar vein as Bill Moyers' works, *Genesis: A living conversation* (1983) and *Healing and the Mind* (1993) in which Moyers examines the topics by interviewing experts asking questions and letting the scholars speak at length to give elaborate insight into the subject matter, this researcher e-interviewed four respected scholars in the field of Deaf Studies or a closely related discipline to share their perspectives, research, and professional opinions about the phenomenon of D/deaf-hearing marriages. Over a course of several email exchanges, McIntosh compiled conversational threads that discuss issues that concern researchers, professors, and others who are affected by D/deaf-hearing marriages. This paper chronicles the researcher's quest to learn more about why the study of D/deaf-hearing marriages is "mysterious" and non-existent in academic circles and "gossip" at the grassroots level in the affected communities.
Marital Satisfaction and Conflict Styles in Deaf-Hearing Couples: A Comparison

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Abstract: This study concerns itself with better understanding the connections between marital satisfaction, conflict management styles, dynamics of deaf-hearing interactions, and perceptions of deafness. A sample of 143 spouses from 132 deaf-hearing couples self-reported on qualitative and quantitative measures their perceptions and behaviors in their own relationships. This study specifically examined perceived marital satisfaction with the conflict style most often exhibited by partners in the marriage. Results show that the deaf-hearing couples with self-reported higher levels of marital satisfaction tended to use collaboration and smoothing conflict styles. Implications are drawn about how these conflict styles may be affecting marital satisfaction based upon the existing research literature and information gathered off from qualitative measures that discussed perceived challenges of being in a deaf-hearing marriage and the assistive technology used to facilitate communication.
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ABSTRACT

A SEXUAL HEALTH CURRICULUM FOR LATINO MALES WHO HAVE SEX WITH MALES IN A DRUG RECOVERY PROGRAM

By

Derek J. McKernan

May 2006

Recent statistics have shown that HIV is a growing problem among Latino men who have sex with men (MSM) in the United States (CDC, 2004). While part of the problem may be due to apathy, a major consideration is the lack of educational interventions that address the Latino male. While most sexual health curricula address the basics of HIV and STD prevention, few take into account the cultural world of the Latino, and none take into account Latino MSM who are using drugs. Switching addictions is a common pitfall in recovery. Sobriety from one substance is often substituted for another addictive behavior, which is often sexual addiction for Latino MSM. The seven-module curriculum developed for this population addresses this need by takes into account the culture of Latino MSM who are in drug recovery while focusing on future HIV and STD transmission. This unique curriculum will covers seven thematic areas including (1) cultural mores, (2) HIV/AIDS education, (3) STD education, (4) safer sex, (5) risk management & negotiation techniques, (6) sex addiction, and finally (7) an expert panel. This important curriculum can be delivered in conjunction with substance abuse treatment programs, as a powerful intervention for Latino MSM who are facing addiction recovery, yet drawn to the growing problem of sexual acting-out. This curriculum attempts to fill a gap in addiction recovery programming for this population.
Japanese Latin American Internment and Redress
Abstract

During World War II, the United States Government interned not only Japanese Americans, but individuals of Japanese descent from thirteen Latin American countries as well. Although Japanese Americans were successful in attaining redress and reparations for the hardships they endured during World War II, the majority of Japanese Latin Americans have not been successful in obtaining comparable redress.

The two questions that will be addressed throughout the course of this paper are: 1. Why is it the case that the Japanese Latin American redress movement has not been as successful as the Japanese American redress movement? and 2. What can the participants of the Japanese Latin American redress movement learn from the Japanese American redress movement, and what elements of the Japanese American redress movement can be applied to the current movement?

Introduction

February 19, 1942 is a day that will live in infamy. It was on this day that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066, which allowed for the incarceration of individuals of Japanese descent during World War II. As a result, almost 120,000 Japanese Americans and immigrants were forcibly removed from their homes and placed into ten internment camps throughout the United States. The U.S. Government detained these individuals solely on the basis of their ancestry, citing possible espionage and national security reasons. The Japanese Americans were forced to live in hastily-made barracks and behind barbed wire until the War Department announced that it would lift the West Coast exclusion orders on December 17, 1944.¹

¹ Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/cc3o.htm
Though the camps were officially closed in 1944, the collective struggle of Japanese Americans regarding the internment experience was far from over. The year 1970 marked the beginning of the Japanese American redress movement, during which Japanese Americans fought back against the U.S. Government through its judicial and legislative branches. On the judicial end, three former internees, Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu and Minoru Yasui, petitioned for writ of error *coram nobis* in 1983; writs were granted and their cases’ rulings were overturned in favor of the Japanese Americans. On the legislative end, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians held hearings in several cities throughout the U.S., during which 750 witnesses testified regarding the Japanese American internment. This testimony influenced the Commission’s recommendations, which eventually led to the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.2

However, Japanese Americans were not the only individuals interned by the U.S. Government. During World War II, the U.S. decided to expand its internment program to Latin America on the grounds of “military necessity.”3 The U.S. Government interned 2,264 Latin Americans of Japanese descent from thirteen different countries, mainly at the Department of Justice camp in Crystal City, Texas.4 Although the U.S. Government claimed hemispheric security as the rationale for the internment of these individuals, it was actually racial prejudice, which helped to fuel the internment program.5 Due to the international nature of the Japanese Latin American internment, its aftermath has been filled with complications. The U.S. Government deported some of the internees to Japan, returned some of them to their home countries in Latin America, and kept some of them in the United States as well. The international

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2 Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3o.htm
3 Miller, 305
4 Hagihara & Shimizu, 204
5 Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3k.htm
nature of the Japanese Latin American internment also led to complications in the Japanese Latin American redress movement, which will be further discussed throughout this thesis.

In this paper, I will show that there are numerous parallels and disparities between the Japanese American and Japanese Latin American redress movements. It is these very similarities and differences that make it difficult to draw a simple comparison between the movements. Throughout the course of this paper, I intend to delineate and address the possible reasons as to why the Japanese Latin American redress movement has not been as successful as the Japanese American redress movement. These reasons include international law, the United States’ attitude toward minorities, prior compensation, and collaboration with other movement efforts. I hope to demonstrate that advocates of the Japanese Latin American redress movement can learn from the Japanese American redress movement. This paper will also shed light on what aspects of the Japanese American redress movement can be incorporated into the Japanese Latin American redress movement so that the latter, too, can be successful.

**Literature Review**

*Japanese American Internment*

Anti-Japanese sentiments in the United States can be traced back to initial stages of Japanese immigration. In the 1880s, Japanese immigrants came to the United States to become farmers and were often seen as competition by white laborers. The willingness of these immigrants to work long hours in unhygienic conditions put embittered white laborers at an economic disadvantage. Many Caucasians felt that “the Japanese are non-assimilable and undesirable; they are immoral, untrustworthy, tricky, clannish; they are, therefore, intrinsically unpleasant, untrustworthy, and unacceptable.”

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6 Gulick, 30-31
7 Gulick, 14
During the Second World War, prejudice against people of Japanese descent had already escalated by the time Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. At the start of the war, people of Japanese, German and Italian descent were treated equally as enemies. Shortly thereafter, the Japanese and their American-born children were singled out for discriminatory treatment.8

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066, authorizing military commanders to “prescribe military areas…from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with such respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restriction the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion.”9 Despite the nonspecific language of this order, it was created specifically for use against people of Japanese descent. General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, was appointed to carry out this order as he saw fit – to unlawfully incarcerate Japanese Americans.10

DeWitt and the U.S. Government cited possible espionage and national security as reasons for interning 120,000 Japanese Americans in ten concentration camps during World War II. Yet it is undeniable that the main reason for this internment was racial discrimination. DeWitt stated, “A Jap’s a Jap. There is no way to determine their loyalty…”11 The incarceration of Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, was a result of the unsupported assumption that Japanese Americans would be disloyal to the United States. Those who were interned were denied due process, as they were not even given the opportunity to demonstrate that they did not associate with anti-American activities. No court hearings were held for the

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8 Chan, 123
9 The White House, 19 Feb. 1942
10 Chan, 125
internees, nor were any Japanese Americans in the continental United States ever convicted of espionage or sabotage.\textsuperscript{12} As John Tateishi, National Director of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), bluntly stated, “The internment is an important lesson in all the things that could go wrong in guaranteeing the rights of Americans.”\textsuperscript{13}

Executive Order No. 9066 left the Japanese American community in a state of shock. Japanese Americans sold their possessions at great loss because they were given no more than a week to sell, store or dispose of their property.\textsuperscript{14} They were only allowed to take with them one suitcase per person. After selling off their goods, many Japanese American families had to leave their crops, which resulted in an even greater loss of financial assets.

The Japanese Americans were incarcerated in one of ten internment camps. A barbed wire fence enclosed each camp, which had watchtowers located on the perimeter. The hastily-made barracks were nothing more than thin pine planking covered with tarpaper, with an open beamed ceiling. Typically four families occupied one barrack, and only blanket partitions separated these strangers from one another. The families slept in army cots and lived out of their suitcases. Each room was furnished with only a potbellied stove and a light bulb that hung from the ceiling.\textsuperscript{15} Due to the Japanese Americans’ frustration and outrage at being forcibly removed from their homes and placed in the internment camps, as well as conflicts amongst themselves, protests and riots within the camps were not uncommon.

Education at an institution not located on the West Coast became one of the primary ways in which Japanese Americans left the internment camps; however, this was not the only way. In February of 1943, the War Relocation Authority had every adult internee fill out an

\textsuperscript{12} Lowen, 6
\textsuperscript{13} Tateishi, John. Telephone interview, 13 Dec. 2004
\textsuperscript{14} Chan, 126
\textsuperscript{15} Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/index.htm
“Application for Indefinite Leave Clearance” to determine whether or not these Japanese Americans were loyal to the United States. Questions 27 and 28 were particularly controversial. Question 27 asked, “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?” Question 28 was more ambiguous in asking, “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and foreswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?” Those who answered “no” on the loyalty questionnaire were deemed disloyal and detained in the Tule Lake Segregation Center; those who answered “yes” were eligible to leave the internment camps and move away from the West Coast, if they were able to find a sponsor.

Those who answered “yes” to Questions 27 and 28 were often later drafted to join Japanese American enlistees to serve in the U.S. Military. Ironically, when the Japanese Americans initially attempted to enlist for military service at the beginning of World War II, the U.S. Government declared them as unfit to serve in the military and labeled them 4-C, “enemy alien.” When Japanese Americans were finally allowed to enlist for military service, they were initially placed in segregated units because anti-Japanese sentiments were still prevalent in American society. The Japanese American soldiers of World War II proved their loyalty to United States through the sacrifices they made during their service to the their country. The 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team, comprised of Japanese Americans, was the most decorated U.S. military unit for its size and length of service.

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16 Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/index.htm
17 Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3l.htm
19 Go For Broke Educational Foundation, http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical.asp
Throughout World War II, some Japanese Americans decided to contest their internment through the United States’ courts. Unfortunately, although habeas corpus review was granted in these cases, United States v. Yasui, Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. United States and Toyosaburo Korematsu v. United States were decided in favor of the U.S. Government and against the individuals of Japanese descent. In Yasui and Hirabayashi, the Supreme Court upheld the legality of using racial criteria in the military curfew order. In the case of Korematsu, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the military detention process. It was only in Ex parte Endo that a Japanese American was finally given the opportunity to prove that she was a loyal U.S. citizen, and thus the Supreme Court ruled in a unanimous decision that Congress had not authorized the continuing detention of a concededly loyal citizen. However, this was only a small victory because the U.S. Government had already rescinded the mass exclusion orders the day before. Given this timeline, it is likely that the U.S. Government received advance notice of the ruling and acted accordingly.

On December 17, 1944, the War Department announced that it would lift the West Coast exclusion orders; at the same time, the War Relocation Authority announced that the relocation centers would be closed within a year. Some internees immediately returned to the West Coast, while others were hesitant to leave, as they had nothing to return to since they had been forcibly removed from their homes during the war. The Japanese Americans who feared returning to the West Coast opted to move to other parts of the country, especially Denver, Salt Lake City and Chicago.
The War Relocation Authority provided minimal assistance for the internees who had to relocate on their own; those who had less than $500 in cash were given $25 for train fare and meals on route. With little money to get by and little to return to, some Japanese Americans did not want to leave the internment camps. In the end, the War Relocation Authority resorted to forced evictions of the Japanese Americans.25

*Japanese American Redress Movement*

Though there were some early stirrings by Japanese Americans regarding the injustices that had occurred during World War II in the 1940s, the crux of the Japanese American redress movement began in 1970. On July 10, 1970, Edison Uno introduced “A Requital Supplication” on behalf of JACL’s Northern California-Western Nevada District Council at the JACL national convention in Chicago.26 This resolution would have the JACL seek a bill in Congress to award individual compensation on a per diem basis, tax-free. With the prompting of Uno’s efforts, the JACL adopted resolutions in support of redress in 1970, 1972 and 1974.27 At the 1976 convention, the JACL reaffirmed its commitment to redress and decided that monetary compensation would be one of the essential aspects of the redress movement.28 JACL created the National Committee for Redress (NCR) as a part of the resolution to take action.29

After Uno died in 1977, Clifford Uyeda decided to head the redress movement. In early 1978, Uyeda met with representatives from all eight JACL districts to create a more concrete plan for redress to present at the next JACL convention. It was at this 1978 convention that Uyeda was elected president of JACL and that he appointed John Tateishi to head the NCR.30

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25 Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3o.htm  
27 Hohri, 38  
28 Hirabayashi, 65  
29 Hohri, 41  
30 Hirabayashi, 66
The committee’s two goals would be to educate the public about the redress movement and to get legislation drafted and introduced into Congress within the next two years.  

After meeting with Japanese American members of Congress, the NCR convened in 1979; rather than filing a lawsuit against the U.S. Government, the NCR decided to seek legislation to create a fact-finding commission that could investigate the Japanese American internment. In August of 1979, Senators Daniel Inouye, Spark Matsunaga, Sam Hayakawa and Ted Stevens introduced the bill to create this commission and put aside $1.5 billion to cover its costs; six weeks later, Representatives James Wright, Norman Mineta and Bob Matsui introduced the bill to the House of Representatives. In July of 1980, after the bill was passed through both Houses of Congress, President Jimmy Carter formed the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC).

The CWRIC held hearings in several cities throughout the United States – Washington D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago and New York City – from July to December of 1981. These played a pivotal role in the Japanese American redress movement, as it allowed 750 witnesses to testify about their wartime experiences. Many Japanese American witnesses found these hearings to be cathartic, as many of them spoke about their internment in public for the first time. As a result of the testimony and investigation, the CWRIC compiled their findings in *Personal Justice Denied*, a report that was published in February 1983. In this report, they concluded that “a grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese

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31 Hirabayashi, 66
32 Hirabayashi, 66
33 Hirabayashi, 67
34 Hohri, ix
ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II.”35

At around the same time as the CWRIC hearings, Hirabayashi, Yasui and Korematsu petitioned for a writ of error coram nobis in January of 1983. They presented evidence that the United States interned Japanese Americans, with knowledge that they did not pose a threat to the country. It was only after this petition that the Yasui, Hirabayashi and Korematsu rulings were overturned and the courts ruled in favor of the Japanese Americans who challenged their unjust incarceration. Five years after the initial petition, Judge Donald Voorhees concluded: “It is now conceded by almost everyone that the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II was a tragic mistake for which American society as a whole must accept responsibility. If, in the future, this country should find itself in a comparable national emergency, the sacrifices made by Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu, and Minoru Yasui may, it is hoped, stay the hand of government again tempted to imprison a defenseless minority without trial and for no offense.”36

The CWRIC findings, compounded by these decisions, eventually led toward the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.

As a result of their findings, the CWRIC made formal recommendations to Congress regarding redress for Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II. Those five recommendations were the following:

1. a formal apology from the U.S. government
2. pardons for those who had resisted the draft or violated the curfew;
3. reinstatement of veterans’ benefits and honorable discharges for those who had been summarily dismissed from the military in the war’s first weeks;
4. funding for a foundation to study and educate the public about the concentration camps; and
5. a tax-free payment of $20,000 to each former inmate who was still alive.37

35 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 18
36 Hirabayashi, 72
37 Spickard, 154-155
In 1988, Congress passed a bill that implemented all five of the Commission’s recommendations. On August 10, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed what became known as the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 (H.R. 442), calling for payments of $20,000 to each surviving internee and an official apology, as well as $1.25 billion for the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund. It took two years for Congress to appropriate, and the Bush administration to release, money to begin paying the former interns. It was decided that the oldest former internees would receive their reparations first. For those who passed away after August 10, 1988, their heirs received the $20,000; for those who passed away prior to that date, their heirs received nothing. On October 9, 1990, the first nine redress payments were made at a ceremony in Washington, D.C.; Reverend Mamoru Eto was the first to receive his check.

In the Letter of Redress to Japanese Americans signed by President George Bush, it was stated, “A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore lost years or erase painful memories; neither can they fully convey our Nation's resolve to rectify injustice and to uphold the rights of individuals. We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.”

Japanese Latin American Internment

During World War II, the United States Government decided to expand its internment program to Latin America on the grounds of “military necessity.” The U.S. pressured Central and South American countries, even those not at war with Japan, to turn over their residents of Japanese descent to U.S. authorities for internment. The U.S. Government interned

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38 Lyons, Judith. (1988, August 5).
39 Spickard, 155
42 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 305
approximately 3,000 Latin American residents from thirteen different countries – Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Panama. Of these individuals, 2,264 of them were of Japanese descent while the remaining 700 were of German and Italian descent; over eighty percent of these internees came from Peru. The U.S. Government’s official justification for its actions regarding the Japanese Latin Americans was that of hemispheric security, particularly the safety of the Panama Canal; however, it is clear that racial prejudice helped fuel the internment program.

After the nations of the western hemisphere met in 1942, the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense was created; the Committee recommended that Latin American countries secure the hemisphere via internment of Axis nationals. Due to these recommendations, sixteen Latin American countries interned approximately 8,500 Axis nationals. However, due to economic and political pressures, many Latin American countries deported their Japanese immigrants and nationals to the United States to be interned.

Some Latin American countries, particularly Peru, eagerly complied with the U.S. Government’s request due to cultural prejudice and antagonism based on economic competition. Due to their expanding agriculture, Latin American countries attracted Japanese farm labor; a significant population of Japanese immigrated to Peru. Because of worsening economic conditions as well as the relative success of Japanese small business, Peruvian resentment against the Japanese soon developed. As a result, the Peruvian government was eager to rid its country of individuals of Japanese descent.

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43 Hagihara & Shimizu, 204
44 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 305
45 Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3k.htm
46 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 305
47 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 305
The U.S. Government greatly benefited from this agreement, as it was able to use the Japanese Latin American internees in a hostage exchange; the Japanese Latin Americans who had been forcibly removed from their home countries were used as pawns in an exchange with Japan for U.S. citizens trapped in areas that were controlled by Japanese forces, including the Philippines, Guam, Wake Island and China.\(^48\) The transfer of Japanese Latin Americans to the U.S. occurred in April of 1942; most of these individuals were interned at Crystal City, Texas.\(^49\) Normal legal procedures were ignored for these internees and thus they were not issued warrants, granted hearings or indicted after arrest. Often times, they were not given visas prior to departure and passports were confiscated before landing. Though they arrived in the United States involuntarily, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service considered the Japanese Latin Americans illegal immigrants. As a result, they were easily susceptible and subject to deportation proceedings.\(^50\)

By July of 1942, the U.S. Government had deported 1,100 Japanese Latin Americans and 500 German Latin Americans to their countries of origin. Although John K. Emmerson, Second Secretary of the American Embassy in Peru, was confident that the Japanese in Peru were no longer a threat to security, the deportation program still continued. By the spring of 1944 the State Department had realized that they could no longer repatriate individuals of Japanese descent; however, they still had Japanese from Peru deported to the U.S. The following summer, President Truman issued Proclamation No. 2655, which authorized the U.S. to deport enemy aliens who were deemed “dangerous to the public peace and safety of the United States.”\(^51\)

\(^{48}\) Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3k.htm
\(^{49}\) Burton, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3k.htm
\(^{50}\) Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 309
\(^{51}\) Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 311
The end of the Japanese Latin American internment was a tedious one, as there were no details or guarantees in place on what would happen to the Japanese Latin Americans after the war. Peru restricted the return of the Japanese internees, but allowed many of the Germans to return to Peru. Some German internees filed habeas corpus petitions to challenge the actions of the U.S. Government during World War II, but lost due to the fact that they were “alien enemies” who could be detained. Though hearings were provided to some internees as a formality, the internees were still awaiting deportation to Axis countries. In 1946, Peru agreed to allow for the return of only Peruvian citizens of Japanese descent and Japanese related to Peruvian citizens.

Three hundred Japanese Peruvians remained in the U.S., as the Peruvian government refused to accept non-citizens back into its country. Finally, in spring of 1949, the State Department gave Japanese Peruvian internees who remained in the U.S. the status of ‘permanent legally admitted immigrants.’ The remaining internees who had resided in the U.S. for seven years or more petitioned the Board of Immigration Appeals to suspend deportation orders, and Congress approved the suspension in 1953.

Japanese Latin American Redress Movement

During the 1981 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians hearings, the Commission heard the testimony of 750 witnesses, including several Japanese Peruvian internees. It was this testimony that led to the first official acknowledgement of the prisoner exchange involving Japanese Latin Americans, presented in the Commission’s report,

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52 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 312
53 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 313
54 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 314
Personal Justice Denied.56 This official report greatly helped the Japanese Latin American redress movement, as it documented the actions of the U.S. Government during World War II.

The Commission approved an official apology and a payment of $20,000 in compensation to each American and permanent resident of Japanese descent, as well as the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund. On August 10, 1988, President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act, which implemented the recommendations of the Commission. It was not until the U.S. Government made its first reparation payments in 1990 that the majority of Japanese Latin American internees realized that they were not eligible for redress under the rules that the Department of Justice adopted for the implementation of the Civil Liberties Act. Out of the 2,300 Japanese Latin Americans that were incarcerated in internment camps, only 189 were eligible for redress under the act.57 Japanese Latin Americans who obtained the status of ‘permanent legally admitted immigrants’ were eligible for redress, as they fulfilled the requirement of being a permanent resident alien during the evacuation, relocation and internment periods. Also, children born to Japanese Latin Americans in the United States during the internment were eligible, as they were U.S. citizens by birth.58 The remaining Japanese Latin Americans were deemed “illegal aliens” and not U.S. citizens or permanent residents at the time of internment, and thus were denied redress.59

In 1991, a group of Japanese Peruvian families formed the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project (JPOHP) to collect and preserve interviews with, and family histories of, former internees. The organization also helped educate the public about the Japanese Latin American

56 Higashide, 249  
57 Higashide, 249  
58 Baker, 207  
Miyake, 17

internment experience and provided redress and referral information to former internees.\textsuperscript{60} Because of the outreach efforts of the JPOHP, Japanese American organizations to a certain extent incorporated the Japanese Latin American experience into its history and the overall redress struggle.\textsuperscript{61}

The JPOHP recruited a group of community volunteers to launch Campaign for Justice – Redress Now for Japanese Latin Americans!, a campaign to urge the U.S. Government to grant redress and reparations to Japanese Latin Americans and to educate the public about their internment experiences.\textsuperscript{62} This was created in part to help facilitate public awareness regarding the internment, as well as aid in the success of a class action lawsuit to obtain redress for internees. Civil rights attorneys in Los Angeles, including lead counsel Robin Toma, and the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California conducted research and drafted a complaint for a class action lawsuit, \textit{Mochizuki et al. v. U.S.}; Carmen Mochizuki, Alice Nishimoto and Henry Shima were named as plaintiffs for the suit.\textsuperscript{63} The plaintiffs filed suit in 1996 and sought to be included for redress in the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.

From 1992 to 1994, Toma encountered many individuals of Japanese descent who were being denied redress and reparations at a legal clinic that assisted individuals in the application process. It was at this clinic, held by the NCRR, that Toma met individuals who were of Japanese Latin American ancestry that were affected by the internment. He heard the stories of these individuals, mostly from Peru; they were forced to board ships and disembark to New

\textsuperscript{60} Campaign for Justice, http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/history/index.html
\textsuperscript{61} Higashide, 250
\textsuperscript{62} Higashide, 250
\textsuperscript{63} Higashide, 250
Orleans, stripped and sprayed with DDT, and herded onto trains and buses, which took them to the internment camp.\textsuperscript{64}

After hearing these stories, Toma connected with Grace Shimizu, the daughter of one of the oldest Japanese Latin American internees, in order to assist in the Japanese Latin American redress movement. Though Toma left the ACLU, he wanted to work the Japanese Latin American case pro-bono. He organized a group of representatives from six or seven organizations, including ACLU, NCRR and JPOHP, which all agreed to embark on this journey. They agreed to raise awareness, lobby Congress, build allies and obtain redress. They were a small group of individuals who wanted to implement change, but it was difficult to gauge at that time what they would be able to achieve. They felt that once people knew about the issue, Japanese Latin Americans would have to get some measure of justice.\textsuperscript{65}

Toma met a lot of Japanese Latin Americans and heard their stories. It soon became a question of who, out of the internees, would be willing to represent the entire plaintiff class. Factors that were taken into consideration were individuals that the lawyers could keep in contact with and whose situation best represented the claims of the internees. Named plaintiffs have to go in front of cameras, describe their experiences, and meet with the community and various members of Congress. It was a commitment, not only in terms of time but of emotion as well. Not many people were willing to take on such a role, but Mochizuki, Nishimoto and Shima were willing to be the voice of the Japanese Latin American internees.\textsuperscript{66}

The \textit{Mochizuki et al.} case was a difficult one from a legal standpoint, as it is very rare that a nation provides redress and reparations to groups of people. Given this state of law and the lack of clear cases that worked in Toma’s favor, it was more difficult for him to make his argument.

\textsuperscript{64} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
\textsuperscript{65} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
\textsuperscript{66} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
Thus, a combination of efforts was required to ensure that some sort of redress was obtainable through the legal system. Courts change over time and they often respond to the same kinds of things the public cares about; Toma relied on this to help in his case.\textsuperscript{67}

The first time Toma met with the judge in Los Angeles, he was told that although 95\% of cases settle, he had to make some compromises in order to obtain some redress. Not everyone in the class would be able to get redress, as many of them were scattered throughout the world.\textsuperscript{68} The judge was referring to the individuals who were sent to Japan, as the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was created with the presumption that those individuals who returned to Japan would not receive reparations because they were loyal to Japan. The Japanese Latin American internees were essentially penalized for going back to Japan although they had been forced to do so.

\textit{Mochizuki et al.} was by no means an easy case. The U.S. Government was more concerned with winning the case, than in considering the fact that it had violated the rights of Japanese Latin Americans during World War II. In order to initiate the process, Toma prepared the lawsuit and filed it in federal court in 1997 after everyone was denied his or her claim for reparations through the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.\textsuperscript{69} The U.S. Government moved to remove the case to the U.S. Court of Claims in Washington, D.C. because Toma had combined claims of U.S. citizens and individuals in Japan.\textsuperscript{70} The case was moved to the U.S. Court of Claims and the U.S. Government then moved to dismiss. Meanwhile, individuals involved in the Japanese Latin American redress movement were also taking their case to the White House, Justice Department officials and members of Congress. Members of Congress sent letters to the President urging the government to settle in favor of the Japanese Latin Americans.

\textsuperscript{67} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
\textsuperscript{68} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
\textsuperscript{69} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
\textsuperscript{70} Toma, Robin. Telephone interview. 10 Mar. 2006.
When the *Mochizuki et al.* case was settled in 1998, the U.S. Government agreed to provide a formal apology and a $5,000 compensation payment to eligible Japanese Latin American internees, as long as there was money left in the Civil Liberties Act Public Education Fund. If the funds ran out before all Japanese Latin American internees received the reparation, the U.S. Government was not legally responsible to pay the remaining claims.\(^{71}\)

Though the settlement was not the ideal offer, it was agreed to due to the fact that the end of the Civil Liberties Act was imminent and that the future of the litigation was uncertain.\(^{72}\) The majority of Japanese Latin American internees agreed to the settlement, as it provided hope for the future. Internees had the right to refuse the settlement and continue litigation, if they wished. For those who accepted the agreement, a provision in the settlement permitted the pursuit of legislation in the U.S. Congress for more equitable redress.\(^{73}\) The U.S. Government continually reassured the Japanese Latin Americans that the remaining funds would cover all the Japanese Latin American claims, and the Office of the White House issued a statement promising to support legislation to augment the fund, should money run out.\(^{74}\)

Based on the agreement, 731 Japanese Latin Americans filed to claim the benefits; only 145 were paid initially and another 528 received redress in March 2000.\(^{75}\) Shortly after the Civil Liberties Act expired on August 10, 1998, the Department of Justice claimed that it could not pay the majority of Japanese Latin Americans. Additionally, although the U.S. Government acknowledged that it had engaged in wrongdoings during World War II by interning Japanese

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\(^{71}\) Higashide, 251  
\(^{72}\) Higashide, 251  
\(^{73}\) Campaign for Justice, http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/history/index.html  
\(^{74}\) Higashide, 251  
\(^{75}\) Higashide, 252
Latin Americans, it did not admit any legal obligation to provide redress for those violations or acknowledge the gravity of the human rights violations committed.\footnote{Higashide, 252}

In 2000, Congressman Xavier Becerra introduced the Wartime Parity and Justice Act, which would provide proper redress to Japanese Americans who were denied redress based on technicalities and Japanese Latin Americans, as well as reestablish the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund.\footnote{Campaign for Justice, http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/history/index.html} Because the act is still pending, internees also submitted a petition to the Organization of American States in an attempt to hold the U.S. Government accountable for ongoing failure to provide redress for its war crimes and crimes against humanity.\footnote{Campaign for Justice, http://www.campaignforjusticejla.org/history/index.html}

Senator Daniel Inoue introduced the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Latin Americans of Japanese Descent Act on February 14, 2006. The purpose of this bill, co-authored by Xavier Becerra, is to create a commission to study wartime actions against the Japanese Latin Americans during World War II. Although the Wartime Parity and Justice Act had been introduced in 2000 to provide redress and reparations for Japanese Latin Americans as well as Japanese Americans who did not receive compensation based on technicalities, it was difficult to get support for the bill in the current Congress. Although the Act had forty co-sponsors, more legislators needed to be educated in order to gain more support. As a result, Inoue proposed a bill to create a study in order to help educate members of Congress regarding the injustices that had occurred against Japanese Latin Americans during World War II.

**Methodology**

Due to the nature of this study, it will be approached from a qualitative perspective. The specific methodology used for this study will be that of historiography, the method of doing historical research or gathering and analyzing historical evidence.
**Primary sources**

This study entails the use of legal documents that contain information regarding the Japanese Latin American redress movement. Most of these documents will come from lawyers who were directly involved in the redress cases. Other primary sources include personal documents obtained from internees, as well as archival data in the form of issues of the *Pacific Citizen*, the official paper of the JACL.

**Secondary sources**

This study entails the use of historical accounts written by historians, on the topic of Japanese Latin American internment and redress movement. A list of resources that will be used for this study is available in the ‘reference’ section of this proposal.

**Recollections**

This study entails recollections, such as autobiographies, memoirs and oral histories, of individuals who were directly involved with Japanese Latin American internment or the Japanese Latin American redress movement. This study will include personal interviews with individuals involved in the internment and/or movement. These individuals range from internees to activists to professionals in the legal field who are involved in or affected by the Japanese Latin American redress movement.

**Possible Results**

The following are possible outcomes for the issues in question for this study:

1. *Why has the Japanese Latin American redress movement not been as successful as the Japanese American movement?*

   One of the complications regarding the Japanese Latin American internment is that it involved various countries – the United States and thirteen Latin American countries. Though it
was the United States that physically detained the Japanese Latin American internees, it was the Latin American countries that were willing to send over individuals of Japanese descent to the U.S. It is highly likely that the international nature of this internment process makes it difficult for internees to obtain redress and reparations from the U.S. Government, as it is unwilling to take full responsibility for their detainment.

Secondly, Japanese Latin Americans are minorities in multiple senses of the word. By sheer numbers, they make up a significantly smaller portion of the population in the United States than Japanese Americans. It is likely that giving comparable redress to Japanese Latin Americans is not high on the U.S. Government’s agenda, as it directly affects a small number of people. Also, many of the Japanese Latin American internees are considered minorities in that they were born in Latin American, and moved to Japan or Latin America during and after World War II because they were forced to do so. The U.S. Government and American society often have the perception that the rights of non-U.S. citizens or residents are not as important as those of U.S. citizens. Additionally, Japanese Latin Americans are considered a minority even within the Japanese American community in the United States, as many Japanese Americans do not acknowledge Japanese Latin Americans as part of their community.

It is also possible that one of the main reasons for the lack of success in the Japanese Latin American redress movement is that certain portions of the Japanese Latin American internee population have already received redress and reparations. One hundred and eighty-nine Japanese Latin Americans qualified for redress under the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, as they either obtained the status of ‘permanent legally admitted immigrants’ or were born in the United States. Furthermore, 731 Japanese Latin Americans filed for the Mochizuki et al. settlement. Because a significant number of Japanese Latin American internees have received some sort of
redress and compensation for their internment experiences, the U.S. Government may not consider the population’s current grievances to be a priority and thus are slow to respond to the redress movement.

Lastly, the lack of success in the Japanese Latin American redress movement may be attributed to the fact that it is incorporated into a comprehensive redress legislation. The comprehensive legislation calls for redress for Japanese Latin American internees, as well as redress for Japanese Americans who were not granted redress due to technicalities and the fulfillment of the educational mandate of the Civil Liberties Act. It is possible that because Japanese Latin American redress is being requested along with these other demands, the U.S. Government has been less responsive to this call for redress.

2. What can the Japanese Latin American redress movement learn from the Japanese American redress movement?

The individuals involved in the Japanese Latin American redress movement can learn from the Japanese American redress movement, in that it was successful in obtaining redress and reparations for many of the Japanese Americans interned in World War II. One of the main reasons why the Japanese American redress movement was so successful was due to its supporters, particularly Japanese American organizations as well as other organizations and activists who lobbied on the internees’ behalf. In order for there to be support, there must be awareness. Though the Japanese Latin American internees have taken action to educate the public about their internment, there are still many Americans who do not know about their sufferings. If more Americans are aware of, and invested in, the Japanese Latin American redress movement, it may be successful in the future.
The Japanese American community could potentially have a major role in raising awareness regarding the Japanese Latin American redress movement. If the Japanese American community was willing to fully accept Japanese Latin Americans and embrace their struggle, they would be more invested in this redress movement and could contribute more to assist this minority population. Unfortunately, at this point, Japanese Latin Americans have not been integrated into the Japanese American community. A prime example of this is the fact that the Japanese American National Museum’s Hirasaki National Resource Center did not know of any Japanese Latin American internees that I could potentially contact for the purposes of my thesis.

The Japanese Latin American redress movement is directly adopting some of the Japanese American redress movement’s strategies in hopes of attaining redress. Like the Japanese American redress movement, the Japanese Latin American redress movement is using a four-prong strategy of legislature, litigation, grassroots education and media. Like the Japanese American redress movement, the proponents of the Japanese Latin American are taking a similar legislative approach by introducing a study bill into Congress in order to create a commission to raise awareness on Japanese Latin American internment while seeking redress.

It is possible that the Japanese Latin American redress movement can use the success of the previous movement to provide even further reasoning as to why Japanese Latin American internees should be granted redress. Supporters could argue that if the United States is fully responsible for, and has given a formal apology regarding, the internment of its own citizens and residents, then it is only fair that the U.S. Government provides redress to Latin Americans of Japanese descent who were kidnapped from their homeland to be incarcerated in the United States.
On the other hand, due to the disparate nature of the Japanese American and Japanese Latin American internment experiences, as well as the Japanese American and Japanese Latin American redress movements, it may be impossible for some elements from the earlier movement to be applied to the latter. The differences between the progresses of the redress movements as mentioned in the previous section will undoubtedly have an impact on the success of the current Japanese Latin American redress movement.
References


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Russia's Partnership with China: Regionalism, Energy, and Security

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Abstract

China’s unprecedented rise has importantly changed economic and strategic situation in Asia Pacific. However, the country’s growth has not been problem free. It has increased China's energy dependency and exposed the economy to new vulnerabilities. Russia, a primary oil exporter, holds some of the keys to China’s continued growth. The declared strategic partnership between Russia and China has more than one angle. Foreign policy, security, and military linkages between the two countries each merit special attention. Focusing on foreign policy, the emerging challenge to the U.S. hegemony in the region is aggravated by the Sino-Russian military cooperation, arms sales in particular. Joint criticisms of the United States and pleas to restore multipolarity are becoming more common and may portend further challenges to the U.S. interests worldwide. Security of oil supply is another area of common interest and implicit competition. Finally, regional cooperation results in institution building, as exemplified by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. A regional bloc spearheaded by China and Russia may well be used to advance both countries’ visions of a multipolar world order where the United States has but a limited role to play. The paper looks at the current state of Sino-Russian relations focusing on politics of energy, regionalism, and strategic implications of this evolving partnership for regional and global security.

Introduction

China's unprecedented rise over the last three decades has importantly changed economic, geopolitical and strategic situation in Asia Pacific. With 10 percent average annual growth rate through the whole period, China has managed to transform its national economic complex and become one of the leading trading nations and the fastest growing economy in the world. After registering a 35.7 percent increase in foreign trade in 2004, it has become the world's third largest trading power behind the United States and Germany. Same year, it had trumped the United States and Japan as the world’s leading exporter of information technology goods, such as laptop computers, mobile phones and digital cameras. As a key exporter of goods to the United States, China is now second only to Canada. It is also the EU’s second largest trading partner after the USA. Since mid-1990s, China’s merchandise export growth has been double that of the world trade as a whole. Ten years ago, the total value of China's merchandise exports was about $280 billion. Last year, it had approached $1.4 trillion. As a result of these and related developments, the U.S. trade deficit with China rose to near $200 billion, the largest bilateral trade deficit ever registered in the U.S. history.

China's growth, spectacular as it is, has not been problem free. It has significantly increased China's oil and commodity dependencies, and exposed the national economy to new vulnerabilities, such as extensive reliance on foreign direct investment, an emerging credit bubble, and inflationary pressures. China's oil imports increased twofold from 1999 to 2004 and rose further 40 percent in 2004. That year, China imported 120 million tons of crude oil, which accounted for 40 percent of its oil consumption. In the next two decades, the country's oil
consumption is expected to grow 7.5 percent a year on average. It is in this regard that Russia's role, as one of the primary oil exporters to China for the near future, is becoming strategically more prominent. Foreign policy, security, and military linkages between the two countries are expected to grow, and must be made subject to a balanced risk evaluation.

While studies of both Russian and Chinese security and foreign policies abound, literature on strategic foundations of a new Sino-Russian partnership is scarce. This literature comes from two main sources: emerging analyses of China’s rise to the ranks of the world superpowers, and the continuing thread of studies dealing with Russia’s international behavior after the fall of communism. Both issues have clear implications for U.S. security, as evidenced by a number of recent studies that all strive to influence U.S. foreign policy formulation in Asia at large and Asia Pacific in particular (e.g. Garnett 2001; Garrison 2005; Rodman 1997; Walt 2001).

The idea that China’s rise represents an entirely new phase of evolution of the world system of states and should be counted among the so-called global “antisystemic movements” has long been advocated by Giovanni Arrighi and his various collaborators studying “comparative hegemonic transitions” (Arrighi & Silver 1999). An alarmist trend in the analysis of China’s new political-economic prominence in the region finds evidence of growing great power aspirations in such facts as increased military spending, an ambitious program of modernization of its military and naval forces, and a newly assertive stance in regional and global affairs. Stephen Gibert (2000) alleges that China, absent a new security framework, might in the future replace American hegemony in the Asia-Pacific area. It is in this context that scholars look at Beijing’s claims on the Spratly and Diaoyutui (Senkaku) Islands, as well as China’s increased interest in maritime oil transportation routes from the Persian Gulf (Lee 2002). China’s assertiveness raises hard questions with regard to the U.S. role in protecting Taiwan from a potential Chinese invasion (Ross 2002) and gives ground to criticism of what scholars call a “wary engagement” policy that the U.S. administration pursues towards the Asian giant (Walt 2001).

Other analysts note that, while the end of the cold war saw the United States, Russia, Britain and France scaling down their nuclear arsenals, China alone has stepped up its nuclear weapons programs (Ji 1999). The United States’ policy towards China's nuclear program has been discussed along the lines of whether it would not be worthwhile to “strangle the baby in the cradle” rather than waiting for the expected outcome of modernization efforts that will bring this “forgotten nuclear power” to the limelight of international attention (Burr & Richelson 2001; Roberts, Manning & Montaperto 2000). Furthermore, worries about China’s nuclear arms and strategic posture have been combined with apprehensions regarding spectacular advances in Beijing’s space program (Thaisrivongs 2004).

China's unprecedented rise has importantly changed economic and strategic situation in Asia Pacific. However, the country’s growth has made it more dependent on steady supply of energy. Russia, a primary oil exporter, holds some of the keys to China’s continued growth. The declared strategic partnership between Russia and China has more than one angle. Foreign policy, security, and military linkages between the two countries each merit special attention. Focusing on foreign policy, the emerging challenge to the U.S. hegemony in the region is aggravated by the Sino-Russian military cooperation, arms sales in particular. Joint criticisms of the United States and pleas to restore multipolarity are becoming more common and may portend further challenges to the U.S. interests worldwide. Security of oil supply is another area of common interest and implicit competition. Finally, regional cooperation results in institution building, as exemplified by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. A regional bloc spearheaded by China and Russia may well be used to advance both countries’ visions of a multipolar world order where the United States has but a limited role to play. In what follows, I will look at the
current state of Sino-Russian relations focusing on risk perceptions, politics of energy, regionalism, and strategic implications of this evolving partnership for regional and global security.

Risk Perceptions

Academics and pundits alike speculate about potential risks that China's newly prominent role in the regional and world economy may represent for international security and the world order created and sustained by the centrality of the U.S. power. Economists agree that the U.S. trade deficit poses great risks for the economy. As a key strategy to finance its trade deficits, the United States must borrow abroad, from Japan and China in particular. The ongoing downside of the dollar makes it less attractive to private foreign lenders to supply new credit. The United States is therefore forced to seek help from foreign governments. As of recent, China has become a major U.S. creditor, helping to finance a large share of U.S. international debt via purchases of dollar-denominated securities. By mid-2005, China's held in excess of $230 billion in the U.S. Treasury bills, and a comparable sum in the U.S. corporate bonds and other dollar-denominated assets. Should Beijing decide to sell a large quantity of U.S. treasuries rapidly, it could cause an uncontrolled decline in the dollar and push the U.S. economy into a sharp recession. China’s July 2005 decision to delink yuan from the dollar in favor of a basket of currencies can portend future troubles for the U.S. economy.

China is the only long-term challenger to American global hegemony. It is presently the only country in the world whose military expenditures, although trailing those of the USA, rise fast enough to reveal a commitment typical of an aspiring superpower. As China’s economic interests grow, it naturally seeks to build up a power base in its immediate vicinity – in Asia Pacific, Central Asia, and Indochina. In the first two of these areas, Russia has also been directly involved. Russia’s influence is still predominant in the Central Asian region. As far as Indochina is concerned, Russia, under President Putin’s leadership, has tried to restore its faded influence. Russia’s more or less accommodating stance in the ongoing struggle for regional hegemony may either accelerate or impede China’s growth and geoeconomic expansion.

Chinese diplomacy has succeeded in establishing a strong foothold in the region, as intensified trade, proposals for stronger security cooperation and the signing of numerous bilateral agreements indicate. While regional security architecture in Asia Pacific is still dominated by the United States and its bilateral security relationships with such key allies as Japan or South Korea, there are signs that Beijing is actively attempting to dilute, undermine, or transform it to its own benefit. Significant purchases of some of the best tactical and strategic weapons that Russia could offer made military planners and security analysts worldwide worry about the scale and purpose of China's military preparations.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) still has a long way to go before it joins the ranks of the advanced industrialized nations of the world. Nonetheless, there is no shortage of predictions of the impending power shift that will mirror the refocusing of the global flows of trade and finance (e.g., Arrighi & Silver 1999; Itzkoff 2003; Mosher 2000). If there is one thing that unites the plethora of these publications, it is an emphasis on China’s rise to global prominence – first, in the economy, and, second, in international governance and decision making. The move from the current, first stage of China’s ascendance to the second and subsequent stages – when China’s superpower status will be acknowledged internationally and reflected in the new hegemonic structure of the world order – will be mediated by technological and military advances. More specifically, China will not be able to become a new superpower of the 21st century unless it will also prove itself capable of creating a new security infrastructure for the world. However, before this happens, it will have to satisfy its own developmental needs.
Key among them is energy. Securing a reliable energy supply for the growing economy becomes one of the foremost tasks on the Chinese government agenda.

China and Russia’s relations with the United States are underpinned by three issues, which are the war on terrorism, opposition to the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and mutual economic concerns. However, the three countries do not share a consensus on all issues in the international situation or on how to proceed regarding potential solutions to their shared issues. The US is focused on Al Qaeda and related anti-terrorist concerns while Russia and China are more focused on domestic separation concerns (China with Taiwan and Russia with Chechnya). Putin disagreed with Bush’s nuclear nonproliferation focus, which centered on the axis of evil consisting of Iraq, Iran and North Korea. Putin did not consider Iran a danger and openly opposed the war in Iraq. China agreed with Bush that the North Korean nuclear proliferation threat needed to be contained. (Hsiung, 2004, p. 16-17)

The USA is opposed to Russia’s pipelines crossing through North Korea, which creates potential problems in establishing a pipeline network throughout Northeast Asia. Some US analysts worry that a Northeast Asia that is closely integrated will exclude significant US involvement in the region, creating regional blocs. (Harrison, 2002-2003, p. 23-24) However, a closely integrated Northeast Asia engaged in energy cooperation could also benefit the United States. The reduction of regional tensions would allow the US to cut down on their costly military presence in the region. In addition, countries that had access to cheaper energy would be less inclined to expand nuclear power production that could be converted to the production of nuclear weapons. In addition, if Northeast Asia can satisfy its oil needs from local sources, there would be less competition with the US for access to existing sources of energy, which would help energy prices stabilize. (Harrison, 2002-2003, p. 24)

Former US secretary of state Colin Powell claimed in 2004 that Iran was attempting to adapt its ballistic missiles to carry nuclear warheads. At the same times, China was believed to be producing new types of guided anti-ship missiles for Iran. The US-Iran non-proliferation Act (2000) states that sanctions will be imposed on countries whose companies provide assistance to Iran in its efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems”. Russia and China’s missile development assistance to Iran as well as the sale of missiles and missile technology directly contravenes this act. Therefore, both Russian and Chinese companies have faced sanctions from the US because they sold missiles or missile technology to Iran. However, US sanctions have neither slowed nor stopped the pace of missile technology in Iran. In fact, the pace of missile technology has accelerated in Iran along with the country’s relations with Russia. Russia has become involved in Iran’s nuclear energy industry, Russian investment in the country has increased, and the arms trade between the two countries has also accelerated (Gundzik, 2005).

China is the only long-term challenger to American global hegemony. The country’s investment share of GDP is around 45%, which is the highest in the world (Shuja, 2005, p. 145). Over the last two decades, China’s exports have grown faster than imports, while imports in the United States have grown faster than exports. The United States’ trade deficit with China has become a strategic issue affecting perceptions of the country’s security. There is a view that US trade deficits are largely because of Chinese imports. Almost one quarter of the U.S. trade deficit consists of the $162 billion U.S. merchandise trade deficit with China. “A large and persistent trade imbalance may raise policy questions because of its perceived links to domestic production and employment—specifically, the fear that more imports will mean less production and fewer jobs in the United States. A large and persistent trade deficit may also be worrisome to the extent that it increases U.S. reliance on international borrowing—the sale abroad of U.S bonds and other securities” (Bown and others, 2005, pp. 2-3).
The Bush Administration has not yet defined the long term strategic focus of its China strategy. It appears to be torn between viewing China as an adversarial military power or a rival economic power in the global economic system (Klare, 2005, p. 28). However, three events have signaled a marked shift toward viewing China as a military adversary. First, the “Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee” was proclaimed on February 19, 2005. The Joint Statement called for enhanced security ties between Japan and the United States. This fed ongoing Chinese anxieties about U.S plans to form an anti-China alliance in Asia, and brought back painful memories about WWII era Japanese militarism to the Chinese. The Joint Statement also contained controversial statements about the Taiwan issue that were interpreted by the Chinese as potential plans to infringe on their sovereignty. Secondly, Donald Rumsfeld gave a speech on June 4, 2005 at a strategy conference in Singapore, which accused China of expanding its missile forces and using them to increase their regional power. Rumsfeld also stated that no other countries pose serious security threats to China, and proceeded to question China’s motives for building such defense mechanisms. These comments by Rumsfeld clearly do not take into account the nuclear-armed U.S. missiles aimed at China and the American planes and warships which are continually on the coast of China. Rumsfeld’s statements about China also ignore the fact that the United States has been supplying weapons to Taiwan for the past ten years. Thirdly, the Pentagon released a report in July 2005 called The Military Power of the People’s Republic of China, about China’s combat capabilities. The Pentagon report emphasizes the fact that China is in the process of expanding its capacity to fight wars outside its own territory, which constitutes a challenge to the established global order. (Klare, 2005, p. 28-29) It should be noted that China has resisted the Pentagon report’s definition of China as a military threat and has formally complained to Washington about the content of the report. A spokesperson for the Chinese foreign Ministry has termed accusations made about China’s national defense development to be “groundless” and “misleading [to] public opinion [about China]”. (“Beijing says China is Not a Potential Military Rival”, 2006)

The preservation of future American dominance requires the permanent containment of China. The attempts to contain China were occurring when the events of September 11, 2001 occurred. Left leaning analysts have argued that the events of September 11, 2001 gave the Bush Administration an excuse to extend American power on a world scale. The shift in emphasis away from containing China to fighting terrorism troubled those figures in the Bush Administration who were in favor of maintaining permanent American supremacy by ensuring that no other country gains enough power to seriously rival the United States. (Klare, 2005, p. 29) These strategists saw the war on terror primarily as a distraction that had to be endured until the strategies for containing China could be resumed. (Klare, 2005, p. 29)

The American public is growing tired of the war on terror, especially with the Iraq invasion that appears to include lost lives and setbacks on a daily basis. This has led to a decline in support for costly military policies in the United States, and calls by senior American officials to reduce troop strength in Iraq. (Klare, 2005, p. 29-30) This domestic picture is unfolding in the United States at the same time that China’s economic growth has resulted in an increase in its military capacity. Most Chinese weapons are outdated and obsolete technology derived from 1950’s and 1960’s era Soviet models. However, China has invested some of its new wealth into the purchase of more modern arms from Russia, including fighter planes, diesel-electric submarines and destroyers. In addition Beijing has expanded its arsenal of short-range ballistic missiles, many of which are capable of hitting Taiwan or Japan. (Klare, 2005, p. 30) “None of these systems compare to the most advanced ones in the American arsenal, but their much-publicized acquisition has provided fresh ammunition to those in Washington who advocate stepped-up efforts to neutralize Chinese military capacities.” (Klare, 2005, p. 30)
Some members of the military establishment predict amplified American military competition with China given the current domestic climates in the United States and China. No American lives are put at risk in the immediate future in any conflict with China. There has also been a rising anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States, partly due to high gasoline prices, which many people have blamed affluent new Chinese car owners for. Americans are also angered by the shifting of American jobs to China’s low wage industrial zones, and the efforts of CNOOC to acquire Unocal. Given these circumstances, some analysts consider this to be an ideal time to renew efforts to contain China. (Klare, 2005, p. 30)

The controversy over China’s efforts to acquire Unocal is part of the growing recognition that China and the United States are engaged in competition for control of world oil supplies. China’s need for oil has doubled from 1994, when China consumed about 3 million barrels per day to 2005, when China consumed about 6 million barrels per day. (Klare, 2005, p. 30) Since China’s domestic oil output has remained relatively flat over this time period, China is forced to import over half of its oil supply. China’s economic growth is expected to increase its need for imported oil dramatically. In fact, the U.S Department of Energy estimates that Chinese oil consumption will reach 12 million barrels per day in 2020, 9 million of which will need to be imported. The United States is estimated to require about 16 million barrels per day in 2020. (Klare, 2005, p. 30) The U.S Department of Energy predicts that a sufficient supply of oil will be available to meet the energy needs of both China and the United States, however, many energy experts disagree with this assessment. World oil output is currently at about 84 million barrels per day, which is close to its maximum sustainable level. Many energy experts believe that world oil output will never reach the Department of Energy’s projected 2020 output of 111 million barrels per day. (Klare, 2005, p. 30) “If this proves to be the case, or even if output continues to rise but still falls significantly short of the DOE projection, the competition between the United States and China for whatever oil remains in ever diminishing foreign reservoirs will become even more fierce and contentious.” (Klare, 2005, p. 30)

Countries such as South Korea, who are vulnerable to China’s ground force and land-based capabilities are realigning themselves toward China and away from the United States. South Korea has adjusted its foreign policy to account for the United States inability to offset Chinese ground force improvements because of the constraints on American military power. South Korea now works with China to undermine American efforts to isolate and coerce North Korea. South Korea no longer supports American policy toward North Korea. (Ross, 2005, p. 81).

Oil politics

Energy security is one of the defining dimensions of security at large. The two are intimately interconnected. China's regional power aspirations both reflect and propel its growing appetite for oil. China is currently consuming 6 million barrels of oil a day, but is projected to consume 21 million barrels a day within the next 20 years. Approximately 40 percent of China’s demand for oil is met by imports, primarily from the Middle East, Africa, and Iran. The security of the transportation routes is constantly in question. The country is trying to diversify its energy mix by moving away from oil and finding new suppliers. Part of the strategy has been to acquire property rights in energy exploration and production in Russia's erstwhile borderlands and in Russia itself. As of recent, China has become engaged in “pipeline diplomacy” to secure natural gas supplies from Siberia and the states of the Caspian basin. China has also made investments into import facilities for liquefied natural gas along its eastern and southern coastlines.

China’s rapid growth has vastly increased its need to import energy from foreign suppliers. Here, Russia’s role as a key energy supplier becomes especially important. The U.S. is openly opposed to Russia’s pipelines crossing through North Korea, which creates potential
problems in establishing a pipeline network throughout Northeast Asia. More importantly, American geostrategists are worried about long-term consequences of a stable Russo-Chinese partnership that may go much farther than energy trade and joint management of energy transportation routes. Some analysts believe that a closely integrated Northeast Asia will preclude significant U.S. involvement in the region. A regional bloc spearheaded by China and Russia may be used to advance both countries’ visions of a multipolar world order where the United States has but a limited role to play. Should the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which the two countries formed together in 2001, succeed in bringing Iran and India on board, it could mount a challenge to the world order created and maintained by the industrialized powers of the North.

The construction of pipelines to export Russian energy to China has had a major impact on geopolitical and geoeconomic situation in the region. According to Russian energy strategy, Asia-Pacific markets, which absorbed 3% of Russia’s oil exports in 2003 will absorb up to 30% in 2020. Natural gas exports to the Asia Pacific region could expand from zero percent in 2003 to 15% in 2020. Yukos negotiated a long-term supply contract with China which plans for the expansion of oil exports. Russia agreed to increase oil exports to China to 200,000 barrels per day in 2005 and 600,000 barrels per day in 2006. However, it is impossible to reach these goals without a pipeline. Rail is currently the main method of transporting oil to China from Russia. Rail tariffs on some routes are more than twice as much as pipeline tariffs. Rail tariffs have risen by up to 400% on some products, including crude oil since 2000. (Bahgat, 2005, p. 121) Export technology must keep pace with trade agreements in order to foster effective cooperation between the two countries.

China’s state-owned China National Petroleum Corporation opened an oil pipeline running from Kazakhstan to northwest China on December 15, 2005. This pipeline will ensure greater energy independence from the US because it will undercut the geopolitical significance of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, which is backed by the United States. Half of the initial oil pumped from the 200,000 barrel per day Kazakhstan to China pipeline will originate from Russia because Kazakhstan oil fields are not yet able to produce sufficient output. Closer energy cooperation between Russia, China, and Kazakhstan will result in a major loss of strategic leverage in the Eurasian region for Washington. (Engdhal, 2005) The pipeline runs 962 kilometers or 598 miles. It will take China one third of the way to Kashagan in the Caspian Sea, which is one of the world’s largest accessible oil reserves. Kashagan is larger than the size of the North Sea, making it the largest new oil discovery in decades. (Engdhal, 2005) Kazakhstan is a landlocked country that plans to almost triple oil production over the next ten years. Kazakhstan has targeted China as a major export market and has sought to develop new export routes that do not bring oil through Russia, in order to avoid dependence on Russia. (Engdhal, 2005) Kazakhstan has an estimated 35 billion barrels of discovered oil reserves, which is about twice the amount in the North Sea. (Engdhal, 2005)

A Kazakh government report released in London on 18 November 2005 estimates that Kazakhstan may actually hold three times the current estimate in undiscovered reserves. (Engdhal, 2005) Kazakhstan plans to produce 3.6 barrels of oil a day from all on and offshore fields by 2015. 2005 oil production is thought to have averaged 1.3 barrels a day, making Kazakhstan second only to Russia in oil production among former Soviet Union states. (Engdhal, 2005) The opening of the Kazakh-China pipeline represented the culmination of China’s 2.6 billion investment in Kazakhstan since 1997. (Engdhal, 2005) This is the first major pipeline which will export oil from Kazakhstan without crossing Russia, which is a very important step for Kazakhstan toward becoming one of the world’s largest oil exporters within one or two decades. (MacWilliam, 2005)
Construction on the China-Kazakh pipeline began in 2004 from Atasu, which is in central Kazakhstan to Alashankou, which is on the Chinese border. The pipeline, which should be fully operational by mid-2006, will enable the development of China’s western Xinjiang region by providing a new source of oil. There are also plans for another pipeline to link to the China-Kazakh pipeline from the Caspian region in western Kazakhstan, where the Kashagan oilfield is currently being developed. Kazakhstan’s pipeline to China has given the former Soviet Union state a significant increase in power over future deals because of its new ability to supply oil to a hungry Chinese market. Kazakhstan used to be forced to submit to Russian policy and control over oil and gas pipelines, which Russia used to pursue its own interests in Central Asia. (MacWilliam, 2005)

Although China was unable to acquire Unocal because of US opposition, Beijing scored a major victory over the United States with a $4.18 billion takeover of PetroKazakhstan in October 2005. Major American oil companies attempted but failed to acquire oil from Kazakhstan following the discovery of large quantities of offshore oil in the Kashagan field. The failure of US companies to acquire oil from Kazakhstan was so profound that Exxon Mobil was charged with bribery of Kazakh officials in an attempt to solicit Kazakh oil business and a senior company official was jailed due to a US tax evasion conviction based on Kazakh bribery payments. Russia’s Lukoil also tried and failed to buy PetroKazakhstan in October 2005. (Engdhal, 2005)

China’s acquisition of PetroKazakhstan has given Beijing a new strength in the region because it has ensured the flow of oil out of Kazakhstan to be heading East, not West like the United States attempted to ensure. This trend toward Chinese domination of the region has occurred despite China’s failed attempt to purchase a 16% share in the Kashagan consortium from British Gas. The sale was blocked by Exxon Mobil, who was a member of the Kashagan consortium. Exxon Mobil was charged with bribery and convicted after blocking the Chinese from obtaining a share in the consortium. (Engdhal, 2005) The future of the BTC oil pipeline, which is supported by Washington is now at stake. The BTC pipeline was backed by Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, “despite the fact that it was the most costly and least viable oil route out of the Caspian”. (Engdhal, 2005) The pipeline was built by the Caspian Oil Consortium, which is headed by British Petroleum. Washington lobbyist and former US national security advisor Zbigniew Brezinski has been advocating the BTC route to bypass Russia. The Caspian Oil Consortium assumed that the BTC pipeline would carry Baku oil, as well as oil from Kazakhstan’s Tengiz and offshore Kashagan fields. (Engdhal, 2005)

China is presently consuming 6 million barrels of oil a day, but the number is growing. With 40% of China’s demand for oil met by imports, the country is trying to diversify its energy mix to include less oil, in order to reduce dependence on crude oil from the Middle East. China has been engaged in “pipeline diplomacy” in an attempt to bring natural gas from Siberia and the Caspian basin to China. China has also made investments to import facilities along its eastern and southern coastlines as part of an investment program for liquefied natural gas. China also has very large domestic coal reserves that could play a larger part in meeting overall energy demand. However, the effective utilization of China’s coal assets is prevented by outdated mines and transport infrastructure (Gregson, 2005, p. 10).

At a time when China’s need for energy to fuel its economic growth is exploding, the nation remains constrained in regards to where it can obtain much needed energy supplies. State owned companies in China and India cannot operate in the same way as Exxon Mobil, Shell or BP. Although they represent increased competition in terms of bidding for long term contracts, the assets that are currently up for grabs are often only of secondary importance and therefore unlikely to alter the overall market balance. Chinese and Indian state owned companies are not
often able to gain access to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries where most of the world’s oil is. Many oil producing countries are adopting a very nationalistic attitude toward their energy assets. Russia recently made an announced its intention to limit foreign investment in energy as well as other strategic industries. Most Gulf countries do not push for long term contracts lasting any longer than one year. Therefore the options for Indian and Chinese oil companies are limited. (Gregson, 2005, p. 10)

China has also embarked on an ambitious nuclear generation program by expanding its hydro capacity and renewable sources of energy. However, China’s growing demand for oil will not be outpaced by their attempts at energy diversification. (Gregson, 2005, p.10) China wants to achieve a secure supply of energy, however, this is not realistic. The best two ways to achieve this outcome are to produce energy domestically or import energy from as many different sources as possible to avoid becoming too dependent on any particular country. (Gregson, 2005, 11) China has taken steps to develop indigenous natural gas production, transportation and import capacity, even though natural gas only accounted for 3% of total energy consumption in 1994. This is because China is attempting to reduce its dependence on coal, which is not environmentally friendly. (Bahgat, 117)

China, as well as Japan and North and South Korea are anxious to offset their energy dependence on Middle Eastern oil producers by importing more energy from Russia. These countries want to guard against supply disruptions that may result from political turmoil in the unstable Middle East, and reduce their dependence on the Americans for protection of tanker traffic carrying energy through potentially hazardous areas. In addition, the use of Russian natural gas is a good way to combat environmental problems resulting from the use of coal and oil in these countries. (Harrison, 2002-2003, p.23)

There have been signs that the Russian government, under Putin, is not fully committed to economic liberalization and is taking steps to return to a more centrally planned economy, especially since 2003. A large number of investors have removed their money from Russia due to the rise in taxes along with the uncertainty regarding relations between the government and the business community. (Bahgat, 2005, p. 121) “Unlike the economic teams in force under his predecessor, Boris Yeltson, President Putin seems to believe that relying on global market forces will not serve Russia’s economic and social interests. Instead, a mixed system, under which the state and the private sector share ownership of assets, particularly in the hydrocarbons sector, is what is best for Russia. This sea change from within the Kremlin is likely to affect the business environment in which oil companies operate, as well as the entire oil sector and production.” (Bahgat, 2005, p. 121)

Russian oil production is exceeding the discovery of new reserves by a very significant margin, therefore experts are fearful that the current rate of oil production and export may soon be followed by a significant decline. (Bahgat, 2005, p. 119) Existing oilfields in Western Siberia are rapidly being depleted. New resource developments will be within politically sensitive and geographically remote areas, such as the Timon-Pichora, Eastern Siberia, the north Caspian Sea and the Russian Far East. Technical, economic, and bureaucratic issues need to be dealt with in order to develop resources in these areas. Russia does not have nearly as many proven crude oil reserves as the Gulf region. Russia’s proven crude reserves were estimated to be 69.1 billion barrels or about 6 percent of total world reserves, according to British Petroleum. The reserve to production ratio, which reveals how long reserves would last at current levels of production, was estimated to be 22.2 years. According to Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), which is based in Rome, Russia’s reserves consist of 60 billion barrels, which is about 5.5 % of world reserves, and a reserve to production ratio of 19 years. (Bahgat, 2005, p. 119) Although production costs vary from one region to another, it costs more overall to produce oil in Russia than in most other
countries. Therefore, Russian oil companies cannot survive a long period of weak oil prices. Russia does not have any spare capacity due to the structure of the country’s oil industry. Russian oil companies seek to maximize profits, therefore, they produce and export as much oil as possible. They do not concern themselves with strategic objectives regarding the country’s future energy supply. (Bahgat, 2005, p.119)

The International Energy Agency describes the prospects for Russian oil production as being very uncertain. Production is expected to increase more slowly than in recent years, and in the short to medium term, most extra production will be exported. However, Russian exports are expected to decline after 2010 because Russian production will stabilize, domestic demand will increase, and output will increase in the Gulf region. The Energy Information Administration (EIA), which is the statistical authority of the US Department of Energy, estimates that Russian oil production will increase to 10 million barrels per day in 2010 (from 7.3 million barrels per day in 2001) and stabilize at 2010 levels for a decade. In order for the Russian oil industry to export successfully over the next 30 years, the oil industry will require an investment of $328 billion, and the gas sector will require a $330 billion investment. “A stable and predictable business regime, market reforms and political transparency are urgently required if these investments are to be made.” (Bahgat, 2005, p.119-120) Russia’s energy sector must be considered to be capable of maintaining a stable and reliable supply of energy in order to become a successful major supplier of energy to world markets.

The United States has searched for foreign oil outside the Persian Gulf, where a large percentage of world energy resources are located, because of the political instability of the Persian Gulf region. Security of supply is the most valued import criteria in the current market. Therefore, the United States must adjust its energy policies to ensure a secure supply of energy imports through diverse sources. Although the US imports energy from about sixty countries, the volatility of the world market makes it so this amount of energy sources does not offer the desired amount of energy security. (Ebel, 2003, p. 26) The Chinese National Petroleum and Gazprom signed a serious of agreements to study how Russia can best supply natural gas to China in October 2004. The two countries also signed specific agreements with regard to oil exports at the same time. (Gundzik, 2005) Russia agreed to more than double electricity exports to China to 800 million kilowatt hours by 2006, in early 2005. Unified Energy Systems, which has a monopoly on domestic energy distribution, is attempting to arrange for Chinese investment into the development and renovation of Russia’s electricity system. (Gundzik, 2005)

Security

In preparation for its future global role, China has launched an unprecedented military buildup, which cannot be disguised even by systematic under-reporting of military expenditures in the state-controlled media. According to some accounts, China has already become a military rival of the United States, although "it is difficult to imagine that over the next two decades China would achieve capabilities that would enable it to threaten war against the United States outside its near abroad or to stand in relation to the United States as the Soviet Union once did" (Hendrickson 2005: 10).

The Russo-Chinese cooperation has early on developed certain clearly articulated military aspects. The Treaty on Good Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation was signed by Russia and China on July 16, 2001 in Moscow. Vladimir Putin and China’s President Jiang Zemin both insisted that the agreement was not a traditional alliance because it was not directed against a third country, nor was it about military cooperation. The United States Department of State agreed that the Treaty did not constitute a traditional alliance. (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, p. 709) However, critics argue that the 2001 Treaty falls within established definitions of
an alliance. Holsti, Hopmann and Sullivan (1973) defined an alliance as “a formal agreement between two or more nations to collaborate on national security issues” (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, p. 710). Stephan Walt (1987) relaxed this definition and defined an alliance as “a formal or informal arrangement for security cooperation between two or more sovereign states”. (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, p. 710). The 2001 Treaty between Russia and China is a formal agreement, which refers to military cooperation as well as cooperative responses to threats to the territory or security of the parties (specifically in Articles VII, VIII, and IX), although the Treaty does not implement specific military measures (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, p. 710).

After September 11, 2001, the United States began to establish a security presence in CIS countries as part of its campaign against terrorism internationally, an as part of an effort to establish greater influence on the international stage. Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan have not only established partnerships with NATO, but have also proposed joining NATO. “The 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia was universally regarded as a public contest between the United States and Russia. The success of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine at the end of 2004 gave the West another reason to help opposition in other CIS countries seize state power peacefully. The EU and the United States regard Ukrainian President Yushchenko as a leading figure promoting democratic values in the CIS.” (Zhihong, 2005, p. 15)

The United States suffered a major setback when Uzbekistan’s president Islam Karimov evicted Washington from the Karshi-Khanabad military air base in southeast Uzbekistan, a site of strategic importance to the Americans in Eurasia after September 11, 2001, effective January 2006. Karimov’s decision to evict the American military was likely influenced by the March 2005 Tulip revolution which successfully overthrew Kyrgyzstan’s Askar Akayev, and the subsequent election of American backed candidate Kurmanbek Bakiev. (Engdhal, 2005) The United States Senate retaliated by announcing that the United States would not pay $23 million in base user fees to Uzbekistan for previous base use. Both China and Russia have replaced US presence in Uzbekistan. China and Russia are eager to gain a strategic foothold in Uzbekistan because of its strategic importance. “Uzbekistan is strategic for control or to prevent control by foreign powers such as Washington, of Central Asia and pipeline routes linking Russia, China and Kazakhstan.” (Engdhal, 2005) Russia secured a long-term agreement to station troops in Dushanbe, which is the capital of Tajikistan in October 2004. This arrangement represented Russia’s attempt to limit the spread of color revolutions backed by the Americans. The removal of the Americans from Uzbekistan has secured Russia’s strategically important position as China’s main ally in Central Asia. (Engdhal, 2005)

The August 2005 military maneuvers on the Shandong Peninsula saw Russian and Chinese forces practicing war games together for the 1st time since 1950s. The significance of this event was not lost on observers: China had embarked on a quest to replace Russia as a key military power on the Eurasian continent. While the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) is no match to either Russian or American militaries yet, it grows fast, gulping 10-12 percent budgetary increases a year. The Chinese military’s access to resources had expanded by about seventy-five percent during the 1990’s, even as military expenditures as a share of GDP have steadily declined (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, p. 713). A significant share of PLA’s modern arms purchases is covered by the Russian producers. Rearming China understandably goes against the U.S. national interest; hence, sales of advanced military or double-use hardware from the United States are out of question. However, Russia has arms and technologies that would permit fast modernization of the Chinese military might, and Russia is willing to sell them, even though Russia's own cash-strapped military often can not procure the advanced weaponry required to maintain a first-rate force in the 21st century. Since 1991, Russia has sold
to China strategic fighter-bombers, diesel and nuclear-powered submarines, cruisers, destroyers, and other combat vessels, S-300 surface-to-air missiles, cruise missiles, anti-aircraft missile systems and anti-submarine, destroyer-based helicopters.

Russia has also shared the technologies required to modernize some of the existing production facilities of the Chinese military-industrial complex. A large number of Russia scientists and engineers have been granted long-term contracts to work within Chinese defense plants and design bureaus. Chinese engineers are also receiving training at Russia facilities, and over one hundred joint production projects have been launched between the two countries. Cooperation between the armies of the two powers has now reached a new level. As joint military exercises show, Russia and China are willing to test and develop the interoperability of their forces, while sharing tactics and approaches to combat training. While both Moscow and Beijing attempted to downplay the far-reaching significance of this development, Sino-Russian rapprochement is gaining in speed and substance across the board. This is happening against a background of coordinated protests against U.S. hegemony and pleas to restore multipolarity to the world affairs. Still, some scholars are rather skeptical about future prospects of this relationship. According to the authors of a RAND study about China’s grand strategy, China’s “relations with Russia are oriented primarily toward reducing the chances of political and military conflict between the two former antagonists and acquiring critical military technologies that cannot be obtained [elsewhere]… Although this essentially arms procurement relationship has now been baptized as a ‘strategic partnership’ it is only so in name” (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, pp. 715-716).

Regionalism and geopolitics

Students of international security have paid substantial attention to China’s role in the regional balance of power. Several accounts have suggested that, in the post-cold war era, the balance of power must be maintained for the lasting security and stability of the region (Rodman 1997; Xuetong 2003). Thus, the country’s engagement in security dialogues with such neighbors as Russia or India and through such venues as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is looked upon in generally positive light, as an example of proactive strategy of security-related regionalism (Allison 2004). On the other hand, it has been observed that Chinese foreign policy emphasizes the role of "large powers" (daguo) in determining global politics, and Beijing makes no excuses for regarding itself as one of those large powers (Radtke 2003). Against this background, the role of the considerably weakened Russian Federation in the maintenance or re-establishment of the security balance in Eurasia and Asia Pacific becomes more intriguing. As Bobo Lo (2004) argues, the strategic partnership between Moscow and Beijing is arguably the greatest Russian foreign policy achievement of the post-Soviet period. Nonetheless, it has its limitations and may well turn into a new round of confrontation, especially if Russia’s strategic calculus in Central Asia and Asia-Pacific falls prey to the rival Chinese agenda.

Several authors do not regard Sino-Russian cooperation as a potential security threat to the U.S. interests in the area. Those skeptical of China’s hegemonic ambitions include Robert Sutter (2000), who argues that projecting power capabilities will, for the foreseeable future, remain quite low on the list of Beijing’ policy priorities. Instead, the country will continue to be preoccupied with domestic economic and political agendas, and will avoid any actions that may jeopardize its newly found standing in the world markets of capital and technology. In a similar vein, Solomon Karmel (2000) alleges that China’s military objectives at the moment are fully
focused on such tasks as prevention of anticommunist uprising and preservation of the country’s sovereignty and national unity. Despite the threat to Taiwan, China’s military posture remains basically defensive. China still has a long way to go before it may claim the status of a great power.

From another perspective, however, "China's ascent is the latest example of the tendency for rising powers to alter the global balance of power in potentially dangerous ways" (Walt 1998: 29). If so, Russia's huge military and technological potential and high-tech know-how may be captured by China's aspiring hegemony and used in the ways potentially disruptive to world peace and stability. Better security relations with Russia may help China to balance U.S. influence in the region. Concern over the resumption of Sino-Russian military ties and China's gluttonous acquisition of Russian military equipment is often accompanied by observations of China’s increased security and foreign policy activism in Central Asia (van Vranken Hickey & Harmel 1994; Yu 1993). On the face of things, Russia needs Chinese money, trade, and market access more than China needs Russia. Yet, China exhibits a continuing need of Russian military technology, know-how, energy supplies, and diplomatic support. The sheer volume of China's arms purchases from Russia alone may threaten Asian security (Blank & Rubinstein 1997).

Meanwhile, the West may well have to bear its own share of blame for reorientation of Russia's military-industrial complex toward servicing the needs of People's Liberation Army. It was the West, after all, that squeezed Russia out of Europe, refused to recognize the territory of the former Soviet Union as a legitimate sphere of Russia's national interests, and did very little to integrate Russia into the Western community of nations (Smolansky 1997). Alternative courses of action were both possible and desirable; for example, an expanded NATO could have been mandated to welcome everyone who meets the membership criteria. Furthermore, encouraging postcommunist reforms from the perspective of Russia's, and even China's, formal membership in the western alliance could provide a new source of stability on the Eurasian continent and in Asia Pacific (Russett & Stam 1998).

While people like Zbigniew Brzezinski (1998) believe that Sino-Russian rapprochement should not worry the West, Rodman (1997) warns that Russia's embrace of China could alter the strategic balance in the region, resulting in geopolitical consequences that U.S. policymakers hardly anticipate, and will be ill prepared to counter. Analysts note the mutual desire of Russia and China to limit U.S. influence in the world (Wilson 2002). Others suggest that, “[d]espite increasing cooperation, there are still many areas of disagreement between the United States and Russia, as well as the United States and China. They are serious points of conflict that restrain the further improvement of the relations and may even aggravate existing relations” (Gladkyy 2003: 18). Some critics even go as far as to accuse the United States itself of imperialist aspirations that provoke resistance from both China and Russia. These critics applaud the Russian-Chinese alliance for frustrating the American goal of playing the two countries against each other (Trofimenko 1997).

The Sino-Russian entente is based on several common factors and areas of essential agreement in the matters of foreign policy. First and foremost, there is a common desire to contain America and present a common opposition to the unipolar model of the world espoused by the United States. In the Russian foreign minister’s words, “Russia gives high priority to interaction with the PRC in strengthening strategic stability” (Ivanov 2003: 3). Secondly, both Russian and Chinese leaders have called for a fairer distribution of globalization’s costs and benefits between the less developed and more developed countries (Titarenko 2002: 60). Thirdly, Russia and China attempt to share responsibility for managing international affairs in their immediate neighborhood. The two work together in such regional venues as APEC and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and closely collaborate in the UN’s Security Council.
Both countries are attempting to woo India into a strategic trilateral relationship implicitly aimed at limiting U.S. influence in the area.

Factors that cool off Russia’s infatuation with China include China’s rapidly increasing economic and military might, rampant migration to the Russian Far East, memories of past disagreements and conflicts, and conflicting agendas in the Central Asia. In spite of that, “Sino-Russian cooperation is a fact of international life, one that needs to be factored into such key issues as the stability of the inner Asian corridor, missile defense, energy development in Eurasia, and any crisis likely to affect the interests of Russia or China” (Garnett 2001: 41).

The modern phase in Sino-Russian relations was off to a late start. It was not until 1989 that the symbolic end to the Cold War between the two communist nations took place with then Russian President Gorbachev’s visit to Beijing in May 1989. Russia and China announced an agreement on the delimitation of ninety-eight percent of their border in 1991, which was reaffirmed by the successor states of the USSR in March 1992 (Russian Federation) and October 1992 (Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan) respectively. Former Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chinese President Jiang Zemin held seven summits between December 1992 and December 1999. Rhetoric used to describe these visits gradually evolved from being a “constructive partnership” to a relationship “determining the fate of the twenty-first century”. This shift in rhetoric symbolized the shift in the way Russia and China wanted the world to view their relationship. More emphasis was placed on Russia and China’s mutual dedication to a multipolar world and opposition to a unipolar world in which an unnamed power (in communications issued by Russia and China) acted as hegemon (Donaldson and Donaldson, 2003, p. 712).

Russia and China have identical views on the proper structure of the post Cold War international order. Both countries agree that national sovereignty should take precedence over humanitarian intervention and limited sovereignty, which are Western idea. The United Nations should play a strong role in global decision making according to both countries as well. They are opposed to the unipolar world which features the United States as the sole hegemon. Instead, they advocate a multipolar world where a few great powers, the US, Russia, China, Western Europe, India and Japan make decisions. Russia and China have a variety of common security interests and are supportive of each other’s security concerns. Both countries have adopted similar positions on nuclear non-proliferation of WMD, the war on terror, as well as international conflict management, recently in the case of Iraq. China has publicly supported Putin’s handling of the Chechen conflict, while Russia has supported China’s efforts to suppress separation movements in Taiwan, Xinjiang, and Tibet. Both countries benefit from the security and stability of the region. (Lo, 2004, p. 296)

During Russia President Putin’s October 2004 visit to China, both China and Russia proclaimed that relations between the two countries had reached “unparalleled heights”. During this visit, Russia and China not only settled long standing border issues, but also agreed to hold joint military exercises in 2005, for the first time since 1958. Russia and China’s joint military exercises are in addition to a rapidly growing arms trade between the two nations. China reportedly signed deals totaling over $2 billion deal for Russian arms, including navel ships, submarines, missile systems, as well as aircraft in 2004. Non-military trade has increased between the two countries at an average yearly rate of approximately twenty percent over the past five years. China and Russia have targeted to reach $60 billion in non-military trade, a key element of which is energy exports from Russia to China, by 2010, which would mean a substantial increase from 2004 trade levels of $20 billion worth of non-military trade. (Gundzik, 2005)
Russia claims to place equal importance on relations with western and eastern countries. However, China’s rising power and influence compared to the United States may make it difficult for Russia to continue to play both sides of the east/west equation. There is a perception of a rapidly changing balance between Russia and China due to China’s increasingly rapid modernization. Beijing will likely wish to maximize its influence in traditionally Russia dominated areas such as Central Asia, and there are fears that Beijing will revive its territorial claim on the Russian Far East. (Lo, 2004, p. 299; 301)

A policy of West-centrism has been reinforced to a certain extent in both Russia and China due to historical fears as well as a combination of political and civilizational stereotyping. The strategic partnership with China does not absorb nearly as much attention or resources as Russia’s relationship with the United States, Western Europe, or former Soviet Union states. The secondary importance of Russia and China’s strategic partnership results in an undermining of this partnership in two ways. Firstly, it results in a careless attitude toward the strategic concerns of the other nation. For example, the Kremlin committed to a strategic arms agreement with Washington and endorsed American military presence in Central Asia after September 11, 2001 after only minimal consultation with Beijing. Secondly, China and Russia has become competitors for Western favor in some cases involving foreign investment, political approbation or advantageous security arrangements. (Lo, 2004, 299)

Both Russia and China insist that their cooperation is not an alliance directed against a third country. But it is clear that American global and regional security strategies have constituted a threat to both countries. Russia and China need to cooperate to counter American pressure and containment. Despite this situation, Beijing and Moscow give relations with the United States the highest priority in terms of their foreign relations. Both countries want to avoid an all out confrontation with the United States, therefore, they work to maintain good relations with the United States. Relations among Russia China and the United States are influenced by US foreign policy and military strategy. There are limits to strategic cooperation between Russia and China under those circumstances. Some Chinese experts maintain that Russia intends to maintain a certain distance from China in order to increase their bargaining power with the United States. (Cheng, 2004, p. 498-499)

Chinese leaders wanted to accelerate the trend toward multipolarity in order to restrict American attempts to dominate international affairs during the 1990’s. While attempting to maintain good relations with the West, especially the United States, Russia and China often promoted mutual interests without entering engaging in joint action. Russia and China did not have clearly defined commitments and obligations toward each other, however, they possessed enough mutual trust and confidence to engage in actions which would parallel the other’s attempt to promote multipolarity in order to balance against the United States. By failing to explicitly define the terms of their relationship, Russia and China were able to promote their interests without explicitly antagonizing the Americans. This was especially effective with regards to the Congress and public opinion. This pattern was evident within China’s diplomatic activities in the United Nations. In balancing power against the United States, China and Russia avoided the impression of well coordinated joint action by adopting the same action separately. Beijing and Moscow were almost universally expected to closely cooperate to oppose the large scale air strikes that the Clinton administration was prepared to launch against Iraq. Even though it was in the interests of both countries to avoid conflict, this close cooperation did not take place. Instead, Russia and France united to oppose the air strikes on Iraq. (Cheng, 2004, p. 484)

The so-called “color revolutions” in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan have diminished Russian influence over the CIS as a whole as well as hampered cooperation among the CIS countries. Putin’s leading role in the CIS has been challenged by other nations, who no longer
wish to assume a subordinate status to Russia. Georgia’s President Mikhail Saakashvili has expressed willingness to challenge Russian dominance over the CIS. (Zhihong, 2005, p. 14) Saakashvili and Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko have collaborated to undermine Russia’s regional dominance. Saakashvili and Yushchenko have discussed the possibility of resuming the enhancement of GUUAM, which is a regional organization with Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine and the role of Ukraine and Georgia in dealing with political issues in the CIS. Specific issues within the CIS include the “Tulip Revolution” in Kyrgyzstan, as well as the growing unrest in Moldova’s Transnistria on the Dniester River. Both countries advocate a restructuring of relations in the CIS, and they are prepared to collaborate in order to undermine Russia’s stance as the dominant player within the CIS. (Zhihong, 2005, p. 14)

Despite regional plans to undermine his country’s influence, Putin has continued to defend the CIS, arguing that it is a necessity because of the problems inherited from the former Soviet Union. Putin also defends the CIS as a useful platform to enable regional leader to get together to solve common problems. Putin managed to deepen CIS integration by establishing a common economic space (CES) consisting of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, with the signing of a September 2003 agreement between all four countries.

In its relations with China, Russia relies on such regional instruments as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The SCO is a permanent intergovernmental organization whose members are China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Russia and China, along with Iran, are interested in forming a geopolitical counterweight to the United States. (“The Shanghai Challenge”, 2005, p. A17) China and Russia’s growing cooperation seeks to balance US regional and global dominance. “What drives the rapprochement is the resolve of both Russia and China to collaborate in diluting what both see as US domination of the post-cold war international order” (Meacher, 2005, 44-45).

The official objectives of the SCO are as follows: “the strengthening of confidence between its members; friendship and neighborliness; expanding cooperation in many fields; consolidating pace, security and stability in the region; promoting efforts to establish a new democratic, just and rational political and economic international order; joint efforts to counter terrorism, separatism and extremism in all their manifestations, combating illicit drug trafficking and weapons, and other types of transnational criminal activities; illegal migration; encouraging effective regional cooperation in political, commercial, economic, defense, law-enforcement, environmental-protection, cultural, scientific, technological, monetary, and other fields of common interest; promoting all-round and balanced growth, social and cultural development in the region; coordinating approaches to integration into the world economy; helping to protect human rights and liberties in accordance with international obligations of the member countries and their national legislation; maintaining and expanding relations with other states and international organizations; cooperation in the prevention of international conflicts and their peaceful settlement; joint search for solutions to problems that can arise in the 21st century” (Lukin, 2004, p. 33-34).

The SCO members want to solidify their control over the region by getting rid of the American military presence there. The group has asked the Americans to set a deadline for the removal of their air force bases from and Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, based on the assumption American military presence is not necessary because Afghanistan is becoming more stable. However, Russia and China plan to fill the potential security vacuum after the proposed departure of the Americans. China plans to build an anti-terrorism center in Uzbekistan and Russian troops trained with the Uzbek army in the summer of 2005 (“Suppression, China Oil”. 2005, p. 36).
One of the main priorities of the SCO is to cooperate to enhance security, especially in terms of combating international terrorism. All members of the SCO have experienced some form of Islamic extremism and terrorism, which are often linked to international fundamentalist organizations and separatist movements. Russia has experienced problems with Chechen separatists for years. There has been a deadly civil war provoked by the radical Islamic opposition that is responsible for thousands of deaths in Tajikistan. Terrorist acts were committed in China by extreme Xinjiang separatists, which caused civilian deaths. Terrorists bombed more than ten busses in Urumqi, which is the capital of the Xingjiang Uygur autonomous region in March 1997. Terrorists also dropped two bombs on Beijing at a later date. Kazakhstan is concerned about the influx of radical Islamists who are often hidden among illegal immigrants from Chechnya, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and border areas of China.

There have been two prevailing opinions about the SCO from the West so far. Some analysts regard the SCO as a hostile alliance that is intended to counterbalance American foreign policy. Other analysts argue that the SCO is essentially ineffectual because it cannot assist the American headed anti-terrorism coalition. However, Lukin disputes both arguments, stating that the SCO will not become an anti-American alliance because it would contradict the official objectives and principle of the SCO. It would also be contrary to the economic interests of SCO member states to form an anti-American alliance because each SCO country is extremely interested in cooperation with the United States and the West to advance their own economic development agendas. (Lukin, 2004, p. 34) It is also not true that the SCO will not be helpful in the US fight against terrorism. The SCO became conscious of international terrorist threats before the United States became active in this area after September 11, 2001. The SCO has a broader approach to the fight against terrorism than the US does. The US focuses on military strikes and diplomatic pressure against states the US believes to be supporting terrorism or centers of terrorism. In contrast, the SCO has clear definitions of terrorism, separatism and religious extremism in the Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Religious Extremism, which was signed in June 2001 in Shanghai. The SCO sees a direct link between terrorism and separatism and extremism. (Lukin, 2004, p. 35) This gives the SCO anti-terrorism campaign a broader focus that is not just limited to individual states or groups.

Not everyone argues that regionalism will have a decisive impact on security policies in Central Asia. Assuming that Central Asia is within a peripheral zone within the world system, it cannot be expected that the region will become an effective regional security bloc. Regional groups were thought to be able to act as security providers within their own regions and in cooperative ventures with the United Nations. However, the main non-UN peace operation in the Central Asian region was led by Russia in Tajikistan, and was unsuccessful in preventing five years of civil war. Central Asian states have tended to align themselves with Russia within the CIS in response to security concerns. But since September 11, 2001 states in this region have increasingly aligned themselves with the United States. Serious security concerns have not been sufficiently addressed on an exclusively regional basis within Central Asia, without the involvement of major external powers. (Allison, 2004, p. 467)

There have been a number of regional and sub-regional groupings among Central Asian states since the early 1990s. The post-Cold War international order has generally seen a resurgence of regionalism. Yet, despite the appearance of cooperation, there has been increasingly frequent conflict among the Central Asian states, which have included trade wars, boarder disputes, as well as disagreements over the use and management of energy and water resources. Central Asian states demonstrated that they were not able to undertake a regional response to a security threat in 1999 and 2000 when the Islamic Militant Movement of Uzbekistan launched incursions into Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. This resulted in serious
disagreements and mutual accusations among the Central Asian states that were not able to deal with the Islamic extremists as a regional bloc. (Bohr, 2004, p. 485)

Taking a neo-realist approach to explain regional cooperation in Central Asia, regional cooperation is often used by states to gain power and security. Central Asian states participate in various CIS structures as a way to accommodate or bandwagon with Russia, which is arguably the regional hegemon, resulting in a type of regionalism sponsored by the hegemon. Accommodation in a weaker form could explain the policies Central Asian states have toward the SCO because China borders on three Central Asian states and has the potential to become the future hegemon. (Allison, 2004, p. 468) “However, some evidence that regional hegemons, by their nature, avoid deep commitments to institutions that limit their freedom of action suggests a critical in-built weakness of such macroregional frameworks. Russia in the CIS region, like the United States on a global scale, is reluctant to abandon its unilateralism, which makes it difficult to take seriously its apparently multilateral initiatives.” (Allison, 2004, p. 468)

The CIS framework has not been effective in generating agreements on security policies that will actually be fulfilled within Central Asia. This weakness is primarily due to its lack of an implementation mechanism. The 1992 Tashkent Collective Security Treaty has provided the basis for the CIS security policy. However, the CIS did not develop into a genuinely collective multinational entity or assume a supranational identity and mission during the 1990’s. The CIS was restricted in its role as a security provider for two main reasons. Firstly, aside from Afghanistan under the Taliban, CIS nations have failed to identify common threats to security. Secondly, the CIS does not have a clear mandate to address conflicts either between CIS member states or within CIS member states themselves. (Allison, 2004, p. 470)

Because of the inherent weaknesses of its Central Asian politics, Russia has attempted to compensate by means of a more active engagement with China, India, and Iran. A strategic alliance between China, Iran and Russia has emerged in response to Bush’s unilateralist foreign policy. China became Iran’s number one oil export market in 2004. Chinese investment in Iran’s energy sector over the next twenty-five years could total a further $100 billion (Gundzik, 2005). Both China and Russia have supplied Iran with advanced missiles and missile technology since the 1980s. China has sold Iran anti-ship missiles Silkworm and surface-to-surface missiles. Russia has assisted Iran in the development of long-range ballistic missiles. Russia and China together have helped Iran develop the Shihab-3 and Shihab-4 missiles, which have a range of approximately 2 000 kilometers. In spite of the international outcry, Russia and China continue demonstrating a moderate support for Iran’s controversial nuclear energy program. Moscow has maintained that Russia would not support UN Security Council resolutions that apply economic sanctions to Iran or condemn their nuclear energy program. Putin has also announced publicly that he did not believe that Iran was seeking to develop nuclear weapons. China has similarly refused to support UN sanctions and condemnation of Iran’s nuclear program. “The endorsement of Tehran's nuclear energy program by Moscow and Beijing reveals the primary impetus behind the China-Iran-Russia axis - to counter US unilateralism and global hegemonic intentions. For Beijing and Moscow, this means minimizing US influence in Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East. For the regime in Tehran, keeping the US at bay is a matter of survival” (Gundzik, 2005).

Sino-Russian cooperation is motivated by the long-term foreign policy objectives of each country and has the potential to influence international security in Asia-Pacific and beyond. This partnership has the potential to alter the security situation in Asia-Pacific. It has a number of substantial political and economic underpinnings, such as oil politics (and the quest for energy security), arms trade, regional security and economic cooperation. Russia and China share a number of goals in foreign policy and geopolitics, including, most importantly, an idea to limit the US influence in the region. In my view, cooperation between Moscow and Beijing extends beyond the short-term exigencies of foreign policy informed by a simplistic “multipolar”
worldview. Certain challenges that this partnership holds for each of the partners and the international community at large can be summarized as follows: the challenge of creating an unwanted new dependency even when the goal is to get rid of the old ones; the challenge of arming a potential foe that Russia faces; and the challenge of over-investing in regional politics and economics at a cost to the country’s global interests that China faces.

References


Coping Strategies Among African American and Latino Families

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Introduction

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, African Americans and Latinos currently comprise the two largest ethnic minority groups in the United States (2001). Both African Americans and Latinos have traditionally and erroneously been examined as monolithic groups. There have been numerous studies describing the unique cultural characteristics of each of these groups. However, it must be noted that both African Americans and Latinos represent heterogeneous groups of individuals comprised of various religions, lands origin, languages, immigrations patterns, values, and customs with some very relevant overarching similarities.

Additionally, African Americans and Latinos share a marginalized status within American society. Moreover, many African Americans and Latinos reside in large metropolitan cities where cultures are interchanged with one another to form overlapping commonalities. Census data demonstrate that both African Americans and Latinos have comparable rates of unemployment, lack of insurance, and high school drop out rates.
Socioeconomic Demographics of African American and Latino Families

According to the US Census Bureau, Latinos and African Americans reported similar family incomes in 2002 (U.S. Census 2002). Additionally, there were more married coupled families living in poverty in comparison with recent years. In 2002, 24% of Blacks and 22% of Latinos lived below the poverty line, in comparison to 8% of Whites who lived below the poverty line. In regards to educational attainment, the proportion of African Americans age 25 or older who have a bachelor’s degree reached a record of 14%, and Hispanics in this same category only reached a record of 10% (U.S. Census Bureau 2003). The number of female-headed households with no husband present also increased and the Mid-West was the only region in the country to face increased poverty rates (U.S. Census Bureau 2003).

Coping Strategies

Parents' social support systems enable them to involve themselves in their children's schooling. The importance of social support systems is significant among people of color. People of color underutilize formal service provision institutions in comparison with their White counterparts. This underutilization is influenced by a history of racism and discrimination (Larkey, Hect, Miller and Alatorre 2001). For families of color, particularly in economically difficult circumstances, the use of informal resources includes the support of relatives and friends. When raising children with disabilities, studies demonstrate that support promotes psychological and emotional well-being, and
limits feelings of social isolation (Solomon et al. 2001). The process by which support is accessed and utilized does differ across individuals and is often influenced by one’s culture.

While it is important to recognize the differences that exist between two such distinct ethnic groups as African Americans and Latinos, it is equally as important to recognize that it is not unusual for both groups to receive similar services.

Despite differences in culture, race, and political agenda, it was proposed that the pressures that African Americans and Latinos are confronted with from being considered marginal or outside the mainstream, override any potential differences. Barbarin (1983, 1990) proposed a model of family coping that incorporated and integrated features that are attributable to families of color. In this model, the effects of perceived emotional support from within the family have an impact on the family’s functioning. Religiosity, use of externalizing explanatory styles, extended families, single parent families, and egalitarian decision-making are all relevant components of the model. Religiosity is an integral part of the human experience for many Latino and African American families. It is woven into their everyday experience (Boyd-Franklin 1989; Frame and Williams 1996).

Previous longitudinal studies suggest that people of color came to the Americas with support patterns from their places of origin from Latin American and West African countries (Hatchett, Cochran, and Jackson 1991; McAdoo 1996; Staples 1991). Among African Americans, mechanism of support included fictive kin; close family friends, extended family, and networks of friends. The church has played important roles in coping with the social and psychological stressors experienced by young families of color.
particularly those with children who have special needs (Harrison et al. 1984; McAdoo 1992a). Studies have demonstrated that faith-based initiatives promote a sense of emotional and psychological well-being (Billingsley 1994; Pipes 1992). The support of church, friends, and family play an important role in the ability of families to cope with stressful situations (McAdoo 1992a). These mechanisms have existed for a number of years (Hatchett and Jackson 1999; Neighbors 1997; Parke and Buriel 2002; Staples and Johnson 1993; Taylor, Chatters and Jackson, 1997).

Latinos, refer to close family and friends as *familia*. The word *familia* or family is an extended, intergenerational group of persons, and familism is considered one of the most important culturally specific values of population (Marin and Marin 1992). *Familia* often provide help in the areas of childcare, household tasks, finance, eating and sleeping arrangements for young children, and advice and mutual support (McAdoo 1983; Parke and Buriel 2002). This kind of mutual dependence in both ethnic groups has been known to geographically limit mobility of family members. Inherent in the exchange is reciprocity, which requires that the resources of a family unit be available for others in the extended family. This reciprocity is demonstrated in the concept of co-parenting or *compadrazco* and this collaboration or sharing of responsibilities becomes even more beneficial for less economically stable families (Garcia 2001; Parke and Buriel 2002). Families of academic non-achievers, teen parents, and juvenile delinquents reported having fewer essential services and resources available to them (Oyemade 1988).

Religiosity and Spirituality Among African American and Latino Families
Bowman (1993) found that religious beliefs were strongly associated with effective coping (Parke and Buriel 2002: 20). In the African American community, women have traditionally been the bearers of religion and spirituality in families (Denby 2002). In comparison with men, women attend church more frequently, score higher on religiosity, and participate more in church related activities throughout their lives (Chatters, Levin, and Taylor 1992; Mathis 1997). With the increasing number of female-headed households, women of color indicate that religion is their most important coping strategy (Neighbors et al. 1983). Even when women do not attend church regularly, they report that they pray frequently and consider themselves to be fairly religious (Chatters et al. 1992; McAdoo 1992a).

“Religion has strongly influenced the lives of Latinos” (Parke and Buriel 2002: 26). In a study of low-income Latinos, Levin et al. (1996) examined the impact of religious attendance on measures of health and well-being. The findings demonstrated a positive effect on life satisfaction. These findings support the role of religion as a coping mechanism for both African Americans and Latinos.

Implications for Practice

The areas explored are valuable to individuals who work in the professional areas of education, child development, family ecology, and policy reform. Investigation into the intersection of class, race, and culture brings about a heightened awareness of the similarities and differences that exist between Latino and African American families. In a society in which Latinos and African Americans often face the brunt of economic and social problems, marginalization is often unavoidable. As a result, individuals from two
distinct cultures may react in similar patterns in terms of coping strategies which tend to be more alike than they are different. As demonstrated, the cultural artifacts do differ, but the similarities are very real (Becerra 1988; Boyd-Franklin 1989).

An awareness of cultural artifacts and traditions of persons or groups of color by professionals are vital for the delivery of useful and effective services. Traditions, epistemologies and cultural and religious artifacts will continue to become more salient as more families of color are joining the mainstream and incorporated in the public education system. Expansion of the existing knowledge to include persons of color is imperative. The training of future service providers must entail an aspect of cultural knowledge and sensitivity for all areas of service delivery and research.

Many of these misconceptions are deeply embedded within our own cultural and societal beliefs and have presented themselves in textbooks used in our training. It is also important to avoid the use of obsolete stereotypes and misconceptions about families of color. Others have been reinforced by our own life experiences. Many of these experiences were in situations in which the predominant view has reflected the mainstream view and has not been sensitive to other ways of experiencing life within the context of being a person of color. Future policy makers, service providers, and researchers should utilize these findings to continue to examine diverse populations from a strength-based perspective where the development of interventions for populations with similar needs becomes more efficient.
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Contemporary Ethnic Families in The United States: Characteristics, Variations, and Dynamics. (Nijole V Benokraitis (Ed). University of Baltimore, NY


RhetoricalInvalidationofthe1918SpanishInfluenzaEpidemic

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Abstract

Many explanations have been suggested for American cultural amnesia about the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic. Analyzing public discourse using Burke’s rhetorical methodology and theory reveals ten strategies of rhetorical invalidation about the epidemic: confusion of names, silence, denial, delay, refutation of rumors, competing and contradictory messages, understating the threat, subordination to other news topics, appeals to denial of legitimate emotions and basic needs, and scapegoating. The epidemic is a useful ‘representative anecdote’ illustrating how rhetorical strategies can contribute to development of cultural amnesia about a significant historical event. Key terms: Burke, epidemic, rhetorical invalidation, cultural memory, cultural amnesia.

Rhetorical Invalidation of the 1918 Spanish Influenza Epidemic

The Spanish influenza epidemic of the winter of 1918-1919 was the most deadly epidemic in American history, but until quite recently, very few Americans were aware of it (Barry, 2004; Crosby, 2003; Davies, 2000; Hume, 2000; Iezzoni, 1999; Kolata, 1999; Sontag, 1990). Current concern about avian flu in Asia has recently increased references to the 1918 epidemic in contemporary public discourse because this virus is the same type of influenza virus that caused the 1918 pandemic. The 1918 Spanish influenza was airborne, highly contagious, and often lethal. Roughly 675,000 American victims died in only a few months, more than all of American’s twentieth century war deaths combined. It was also the worst pandemic in world history: estimates of the dead worldwide range from 21 million to over 100 million people. One unique characteristic of this strain of influenza was that it killed healthy young adults as well as typical flu victims: the elderly, the infirm, and infants. It is possible that 5% or more of the world’s young adults died (Barry, 396-398). Because the virus caused mucous membranes to hemorrhage, victims vomited and coughed up blood as well as bleeding from the nose, eyes, and ears. Infection, bleeding and rapid fluid build-up in the lungs caused suffocation and a distinct dark purple discoloration of victims as they died, sometimes within 24 hours of exhibiting their first symptoms. People dropped dead in the streets, communities ran out of coffins, gravediggers could not keep up with the mounting numbers of dead, and communities used heavy equipment to dig mass graves.

How could this disaster have been forgotten? Due to the scope of the epidemic and dramatic nature of the disease, this instance of cultural amnesia is an anomaly that demands explanation. A retrospective on the epidemic in America began in 1999 when the PBS aired an episode of The American Experience about the epidemic (Kenner and Chauder, 1999). Since
that time, five new major works have appeared and one prior authoritative work reissued, cited above. Historian Alfred W. Crosby and others have asked why Americans paid little attention to the epidemic and subsequently forgot it. His answers are as follows:

1. Lethal epidemics were more common and less impressive in 1918 than today.
2. World War I distracted people from the epidemic.
3. People thought of the flu as a subdivision of the war.
4. It was transitory.
5. Influenza was not a subject of terror "lodged in folk memory."
6. No famous national or world figure died.
7. It has been ignored because it "evades logical analysis" (Crosby, 319-323).

Kolata adds that there was no chronicler for the epidemic; Iezonni speculates that the epidemic and war together were too traumatic for people to remember both. Krieg (1992) blames national pride and economic fear.

Just three communication studies articles have addressed the topic of the 1918 epidemic. Stokes’ brief article (1988) describes press coverage of the epidemic as “indifferent.” In “Social construction of three influenza pandemics in the New York Times” Blakely (2003) discusses the press coverage of the 1918 epidemic to demonstrate that the rhetorical framing of two subsequent pandemics changed significantly due to popularizing of science after 1918. Only Hume (2000) addresses the question of why the epidemic had been forgotten. She proposes four more explanations: the epidemic had no beginning or end, it involved “just an elusive germ” rather than known enemies, there was no “amplified hero” who fit the early twentieth century male definition of hero, and there was no institutional commemoration of the epidemic (910, 898, 908-909).
Hume focuses first on how collective cultural consciousness and memory come to exist, relying primarily on Connerton (1989) and Schudson (1991, 1995) to confirm that public discourse in mass media is the most important means by which these are created, distorted and evolve. Hume then analyzes magazine articles about the epidemic indexed in the 1918, 1919 and 1920 Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature in order to explore press portrayals of public anxiety. Hume applies four types of cultural memory distortion to public discourse about the epidemic: *distanciation*, the fading of memory over time; *instrumentalization*, rhetorical bias due to persuasive motive; *narrativization*, creation of a widely accepted story; and *conventionalization*, formal recognition by prominent social institutions (Schudson, 1995). Distanciation is evidenced by the rapid drop in numbers of popular press articles concerning the epidemic after its strike in 1918-1919. The persuasive motive of instrumentalization is identified as maintaining public calm and avoiding fear and panic. Hume observes that no widely accepted story emerged about the epidemic and posits that writers struggled with narrativization due to lack of a clear beginning-middle-end plot line and lack of a stereotypical early twentieth century male hero for the epidemic’s story. No significant national conventionalization of the epidemic’s memory occurred, such as a national day of mourning.

None of the many proposed answers to the question of why the epidemic was forgotten is satisfying. Most are descriptive rather than truly explanatory; some are vague; others are very general; still others are self-evident. Most of these answers beg the subsequent question “But why?” If people thought of the epidemic as part of the war, then remembered the war but forgot the epidemic, how and why did this happen? All sources cited thus far explicitly agree that the epidemic was poorly covered by the press and not accurately reflected in public discourse of the
Questions about public reaction to the Spanish influenza epidemic are similar to questions about public reaction to the Tuskegee syphilis experiment, which Solomon (1985) explored by applying Kenneth Burke's pentadic method of analysis and rhetorical theory to periodic research reports published over the 40 years of the longitudinal study. The Tuskegee syphilis experiment was an egregious example of unethical medical and scientific practice, racism, and violation of human rights, but it continued for decades without protest from anyone, despite the rise of the civil rights movement. Solomon’s analysis of the research reports revealed how language in the research reports contributed to the public's long-term blindness.

A similar blindness in public memory about the 1918 epidemic can be explored by using Burke’s methodology and theory to analyze public discourse concerning the epidemic. Burke's pentadic method of analysis enables systematic, comprehensive examination of public discourse about the epidemic. His dramatistic theory of rhetoric posits that rhetorical strategies used in mass media messages about the epidemic—agencies of communication—may only be understood in relation to their agents of origin, purposes of those agents, and the scene(s) in which they appeared, which include the audiences to whom they were addressed. The relationships between and among these factors reveal the nature of the communication acts in question (Burke, 1945, 1950, 1969).¹

‘Invalid’ is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as “having no force, efficacy, or cogency . . . void . . . without power or strength; weak, feeble.” ‘Invalid’ and its variants appear most commonly in logic and law, but the term “invalidating environment” is a central concept in dialectical behavior psychotherapy, a modification of cognitive behavioral psychotherapy. It
describes a situation in which the validity of someone’s ideas or emotions are consistently denied by others, eventually disabling that person’s ability to respond appropriately to the environment (Linehan, 1991, 1993).

Rhetorical invalidation, then, is the strategic use of language to minimize an event and/or deny the validity of human reactions to that event. During the 1918 epidemic, both types of invalidation occurred: mass media messages minimized importance of the epidemic itself and denied the validity of people’s reactions to the epidemic. In order to make review of public discourse manageable, this analysis will primarily focus on relevant press coverage in the May-December issues of Stars and Stripes, the weekly military newspaper for American troops published in France during World War I, and the New York Times, August-December of 1918, because of the stature of that paper. These months correspond with presence of Spanish influenza in the military audience of Stars and Stripes in the European theatre of war and the civilian audience of the New York Times on the home front. Public discourse contemporary with the epidemic contained strategies of rhetorical invalidation that are directly related to constraints in the scene of mobilization for World War I and purposes of significant agents of communication within that scene. Rhetorical invalidation in public discourse about the epidemic transformed acts of ostensibly informing the public into acts of manipulating public perceptions and reactions, shrouding the epidemic as it occurred and then burying it for subsequent generations of Americans.

I. Scene of the Epidemic: Mobilization for War

America entered World War I on April 2, 1917, 3 years after hostilities began in 1914, and fought in the last 20 months of the war. President Woodrow Wilson's administration had great success uniting Americans in support of the war effort: Crosby describes the public as
"stark raving patriotic in the summer of 1918" (46). Barry observes, "[Wilson] would turn the nation into a weapon, an explosive device. As an unintended consequence, the nation became a tinderbox for epidemic disease as well" (121). The scene of mobilization affected communication about the epidemic in three ways. First, it sped up biological communication of the virus. Second, it slowed down public communication about the virus due to stringent censorship measures. Finally, mobilization also created two different mass audiences, armed forces personnel in Europe and the civilian population at home in the United States, who were effectively separated by distance and time, and who experienced the epidemic quite differently.

Mobilization sped up biological communication of the virus when soldiers and sailors were crowded into camps for training and military transport for deployment overseas. Young men rapidly drafted from all over the country came together to train, travel, fight, and incidentally share microbes. American armed forces grew from 190,000 to over 2 million in uniform within only months. Camps were crowded with many more soldiers than facilities were designed to hold (Barry; Crosby; Iezzoni). 1.5 million soldiers went overseas during the war in the largest, fastest intercontinental migration in history (Crosby; Iezzoni). The military over loaded trains and ships by 50% in an effort to move as many soldiers as fast as possible (Barry; Crosby).

Carried by troops, the virus took only weeks to reach the battlefields of Europe where it spread rapidly and adapted into a lethal strain by late spring. Severity and mortality rate of the influenza began to increase alarmingly in Europe during late spring and summer. The adapted strain of the virus returned to America in late August, again carried by sailors and soldiers, to begin a second and this time lethal wave of infection. Despite Hume’s assertion that the epidemic had no beginning or end, presence of initial cases can be dated in Boston, New York,
and Philadelphia. Cases first disembarked in east coast port cities in mid-August. The virus quickly spread back across the continent between late August and September, again accelerated by transport of men for the war. The epidemic peaked in October and began to wane in November. Waning of the epidemic roughly coincided with declaration of the Armistice on Nov. 11, 1918. After the war ended, sporadic outbreaks continued in 1919 and 1920. Then the virus vanished.

In civilian life as well, the war effort brought more people together more densely in urban industrial areas to take maximum advantage of America's industrial base for the war effort. Immigration and the war effort turned American cities into more crowded, larger concentrations of population, so that "At no time . . . were those cities more ripe for pandemic than in the early years of the twentieth century" (Crosby, 67-68). These conditions alone would have made transmission of the virus through urban populations very rapid. However, mobilization for war also crowded people together in public events to create support, raise money, and maintain morale for the war effort, which were vigorously promoted and held all over the country once the country decided to enter the war in April of 1917. When these events were concerned, many if not most local authorities ignored the disease and the threat of epidemic. Events held outside were mistakenly evaluated as low risk. Tragically, city after city repeated this same mistake: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, New Orleans, Chicago, and San Francisco (Barry; Crosby; Davies; Iezonni). One notable exception was Washington, D. C., which took the threat of the virus very seriously indeed (Crosby; Iezonni). This disparity between Washington and other cities strongly implies that authorities in Washington were informed more fully and earlier than authorities elsewhere. When newly recruited soldiers in Midwest training camps fell ill,
their families often traveled to the camp to visit them and then carried the virus back to their local communities, facilitating its rapid spread even in rural areas of the country (Culver, 1994).

Mobilization also constrained and slowed down public communication about the virus. During war, communication from the military to the public is censored. The military identified and drafted the most credible and competent members of the medical community--researchers, doctors, and nurses (Barry). This prevented them from communicating as private individuals to the press and public about the epidemic. Dr. William Welch, arguably the most prominent member of the American medical community of the time, had been made a colonel in the Army for the war. In mid-September, he was sent to report on conditions at Camp Devens near Boston. He was stunned to find a scene of carnage: 6,000 desperately ill men in a hospital designed for 1,200, the death toll rapidly rising. He observed an autopsy and concluded, "This must be some new kind of disease or plague" (Barry, 190). Barry, Crosby, and Iezonni all agree that Welch then made only three phone calls: one to a prominent local pathologist, to request help with autopsies; one to another military doctor and medical scientist, to assign him to find the infectious agent; and one to the Acting Surgeon General of the Army. Notably, he did not call the Boston press or city government.²

Lastly, mobilization for war created two mass audiences for messages about the disease and the epidemic: the military personnel of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in the European theatre of war and the civilian population in the United States. These two mass audiences were effectively isolated from each other. Communication between AEF soldiers and their families across the Atlantic was very slow. For enlisted men, communication with their families depended on letters, which officers had to censor before the letters moved slowly through sea and ground transport of the time. The absolute minimum time to send a letter and
receive a reply was roughly one month but typically took longer. Some soldiers received newspapers and magazines from home, but these were considerably out of date by the time soldiers received them. Due to this time lag, soldiers received little information about the epidemic at home until the war was nearly over. The home front press could not avoid covering the epidemic, but did so in a curiously muted way. The battle front press of the *Stars and Stripes* maintained silence about the influenza during the epidemic for months, as discussed below.

These two mass audiences also experienced the reality of the epidemic very differently. Soldiers and sailors became ill and experienced the epidemic in the context of the military at war, in large groups. The military expected disease, especially epidemic disease, in the mustered armed forces but even its resources were quickly overwhelmed (Barry; Crosby). AEF personnel depended on their command hierarchy and the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* published in France for news and information. In contrast, the civilian population experienced the disease and the epidemic as part of daily civilian life on the home front, in contexts of families, neighborhoods, communities, their workplaces, and volunteer groups such as the Red Cross. Hospitals were rapidly overwhelmed and so most victims were cared for in their homes by families or neighbors. Many if not most civilians experienced the epidemic as private and personal struggles with individual cases of the disease (Iezonni). The civilian population depended on the press and the press depended on various government sources at local, state, and federal levels for information about the epidemic. Military personnel and civilians would have found it difficult to correlate their quite different experiences of the epidemic, both literal and as reflected in the media, following the war.
II. Multiple Agents of Communication with Conflicting Purposes

Significant agents of communication in this scene included the medical community; members of government, including the military; and the popular press. Purposes of these agents were in conflict. The fundamental purpose of the medical community was to save lives. The single-minded purpose of the federal government and the military was to win the war; state and city governments cooperated with the federal government and the military. The purpose of the popular press was, as always, to make a profit by reporting news, informing and entertaining the public. When these agents and motives are compared with one another, the government’s point of view, faithfully reflected in the press, is clearly seen to have dominated public discourse.

The American medical community directly opposed the virus. Whether in the armed forces or civilian life, doctors suddenly confronted multiple cases of people who had become dangerously ill, often in less than a day, and then cases began to multiply exponentially. Social order tottered on the brink of collapse as people struggled to care for the ill and dispose of the dead, numbers of whom quickly overwhelmed the capacities of hospitals and mortuaries, the supply of coffins and efforts of gravediggers (Barry; Crosby; Iezonni). The medical community was helpless to protect people from the virus, treat victims of the virus, or control the epidemic. Viruses had not yet been discovered. As a result, the medical and scientific communities, which had been enjoying high credibility with the public prior to the epidemic, lost the trust of their mass audience (Barry; “Science has failed to guard us,” 1918).

Members of the medical community fighting the virus found themselves opposed to the federal government and military concerning actions that urgently needed to be taken to accomplish the medical community’s fundamental motive, saving lives by controlling the spread of the disease and caring for its victims. The medical community within the military recognized
the imminent threat of epidemic and quickly advised the military and the government of actions that were needed in clear and unambiguous messages. For the most part their advice was disregarded because successful conduct of the war was the single-minded motive of the military and federal government. When Welch confronted outbreak at Camp Devens and called the acting Surgeon General of the Army, he urgently advised strict quarantine and cessation of troop transfers from Camp Devens. Military doctors quickly agreed that these measures should be imposed wherever the virus appeared, but Commander in Chief Peyton March chose to ignore their advice (Barry; Crosby; Iezzoni).

After Peyton March refused to stop transporting troops during the epidemic, President Wilson, at his own initiative, met with March specifically about this issue. President Wilson had been alerted to the situation by his own personal physician, Dr. Cary Grayson, a navy admiral in touch with other military doctors, all deeply concerned about the emerging epidemic. In discussion with President Wilson, March ignored medical advice he had received, claimed that the military was already doing everything that could be done, and stressed the need to continue to pressure the Germans with more American troops in Europe. He ended his arguments by saying "Every such soldier who has died [in transit of influenza] just as surely played his part as his comrade who died in France." The president agreed and transport of troops continued despite the epidemic (Barry, 307; see also Crosby; Iezonni). President Wilson and his staff knew that large numbers of troops would sicken and a significant number would die in transport. They decided to interpret these deaths as deaths in battle. Victims of the influenza became casualties of war.

From a diplomatic and military perspective, to announce that the Spanish influenza was crippling one's armed forces and civilian population was unthinkable. War justified active
federal government and military censorship of public communication, especially the popular press, as well as vigorous domestic propaganda and public relations efforts. Admitting the presence of a lethal epidemic either on the home front or the battle front could easily be perceived as encouragement for the enemy. President Wilson had already persuaded Congress to pass the Espionage Act of 1917 in June of 1917, only two months after war had been declared. "The law provided for fines and imprisonment for anyone convicted of making false statements intended to interfere with the military, promote disloyalty among the nation's soldiers and sailors, or obstruct military recruitment." This act gave postmasters all over the country permission to seize rather than deliver "any publication that they decided carried material inimical to the war effort." The Espionage Act was strengthened further when it was amended with the Sedition Act of 1918 "that provided for fines and imprisonment for anyone convicted of uttering any disloyal statement (true or not, regardless of intent); or expressing contempt or scorn for the government; or using profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about its agencies and officials.” State and local authorities already had or quickly passed anti-sedition legislation to complement federal laws. Postmasters and federal agents around the country used their own judgment about what and whom to target for prosecution. Eventually, appeals established limitations, but initially federal authorities had a free hand (Steele, 1999, 3-4).

The federal government vigorously enforced censorship of the press as well as public oral communication. Prominent public figures were arrested, tried, convicted, and sent to prison. One critic of the decision to enter the war was perennial Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs, consequently sentenced to ten years in prison. Wisconsin Congressman Victor Berger received a sentence of twenty years for the same sentiment (Barry). Postmaster General Albert Burleson "ruthlessly employed" censorship procedures and refused to deliver radical
papers or publications. The post office did not deliver Max Eastman's prominent leftist monthly, *The Masses*, and other radical periodicals for the duration of the war. Steele points to a case concerning the *Milwaukee Leader* as "one of the most egregious incidents of World War I repression." The post office not only refused to deliver the paper, but also refused to deliver mail to and from the paper and pressured advertisers to withdraw ads from the paper, effectively shutting it down completely (Steele, Preface, xxx).

As the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act indicate, there was opposition to the America's participation in the war, both by individuals and by groups in certain areas of the country. This opposition has recently begun to receive attention from scholars (Keith, 2004). The fact that scholars are only now investigating dissent about this war is evidence that the government successfully maintained official solidarity. This period was one of the most repressive in the nation's history (Steele; Murphy, 1979). Government violations of citizens' right to free speech and infringements on other civil rights during the war effort led to the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union at this time (Murphy; National Popular Government League, 1920; Walker, 1990).

The chilling effect of these laws made public figures, journalists, editors, and private individuals reluctant to say anything about the epidemic that might jeopardize the war effort. The epidemic significantly impaired military ability to wage war and civilian ability to support the military. However, the country needed to maintain an image of strength to discourage the enemy as well as maintain morale both at home and on the battlefield. The need to maintain that image resulted in censored and self-censored public discourse about the disease and the epidemic. By the time the virus appeared, America had been involved in the war for over a year, and cooperative self-censorship had become habitual.
The national public relations campaign conducted by George Creel’s Committee for Public Information to build support, raise money, and maintain morale for the war effort was one of the earliest, most ambitious and highly effective examples of its kind (Barry). Attorney General Thomas Gregory created the American Protective League, which boasted 200,000 civilian members in 1000 communities around the country whose mission was to report suspicious activities to the Justice Department. Vigilantes exercised the most extreme peer pressure, attacking perceived pacifists and enemy sympathizers as well as union organizers, immigrants, and minorities. Thousands of posters urged people to report anyone who "spreads pessimistic stories, divulges-- or seeks-- confidential military information, cries for peace or belittles our effort to win the war" (Barry, 125). According to A. A. Hoehling, author of The Great Epidemic (1961; cited in Iezonni), the fact that the press avoided discussing the influenza epidemic in any way that might interfere with war efforts or damage morale is evidence of a tacit agreement among editorial staffs to practice self-censorship. With respect to war-related topics, including the epidemic, everyone was very careful about what was said and how it was said.

America's entering war and sending thousands of young men overseas with almost complete disregard for the virus led to collapse of the last German offensive and victory for the Allies. However, the virus did not take sides. For every American soldier killed in battle, another soldier died of the epidemic. Crosby (2003) establishes that deaths from the epidemic occurred primarily in the last five months of America's twenty-month engagement. During that time, soldiers were dying from disease faster than they were dying in combat. Crosby presents evidence based on military medical records showing that October and November were the peak months of the epidemic in American, British, and French forces; he also provides evidence that German forces were affected just as badly. Stunningly, until Nov. 1, Stars and Stripes...
maintained almost total silence about the influenza, as discussed below. The influenza may have been the most significant factor in ending the war because so many troops became ill on both sides that the actual conduct of hostilities became very difficult. For all nations involved in the conflict, troop strength was seriously weakened and troop morale plummeted while facilities for transport and medical care of the ill and wounded were overwhelmed. Germany's General Ludendorff admitted that his last major offensive broke down at least in part due to the influenza (Barry; Crosby). Armistice was declared at 11:00 AM, November 11, 1918, after the influenza had thoroughly savaged Europe and was just passing its peak in the United States.

III. Rhetorical Strategies of Invalidation in Agencies of Public Discourse

When agencies of public discourse contemporary with the epidemic—primarily articles in the New York Times and Stars and Stripes—are examined, a pattern of rhetorical invalidation emerges that helps to explain Americans' relative calm as the epidemic was taking place and development of cultural amnesia once it was over. Ten specific, repeatedly used rhetorical strategies emerged that were appropriate to constraints in the scene of mobilization for the war effort. Invalidation of people’s experience of the epidemic occurred due to repeated use of these strategies: 1) confusion of names, 2) silence, 3) denial, 4) delay, 5) refutation of rumors, 6) competition from contradictory messages, 7) understatement of the threat, 8) subordination to news of other events, 9) appeals for denial of legitimate emotions and basic needs, and 10) scapegoating by blaming the victims of the influenza. For most people, surviving the influenza would have been a stronger, more immediate motivator than supporting the war. To acknowledge the impact of the influenza and accurately describe the epidemic in public discourse would have seriously interfered with the war effort by destroying troop morale, causing mass civilian panic and/or causing civilians to quarantine themselves. Government at
all levels was deeply invested in maintaining civilian public calm in order to continue successful prosecution of the war, as well as minimizing the impact of the epidemic in the public face America turned to the world in mass media discourse. These ten rhetorical strategies were the means of influencing both military and civilian audiences to ignore the epidemic as much as possible while it was occurring and then forget it once it was over.

Identification of the disease and the epidemic as a whole became fragmented in public perception because the influenza had different names at different times in different places and because the nature of the disease itself varied considerably over time and from case to case as the virus adapted during the epidemic. Blakely also highlights the multiplicity of names. It is thought to have moved through the population at home in three waves. According to Barry, "In its initial pass, the virus was so mild that doctors were reluctant to call it influenza, and in its second lethal pass, it was so severe that they were reluctant to call it influenza" (180). Initially its mild form was called influenza, flu, la grippe or grip, three-day fever, knock-me-down fever, sand fly fever, wrestler's fever, and Flanders fever. After it mutated, doctors confronted the unknown. It was called purulent bronchitis or fulminating pneumonia. The symptoms of sudden respiratory distress were similar to the effects of gases used in the chemical warfare pioneered by World War I; it would have difficult to distinguish between soldiers with damage from the influenza and those with damage from exposure to the chemical warfare of the time. The virus was confused with acute meningitis; pneumonic plague, a form of the infamous black plague; typhoid fever; dengue or break bone fever; yellow fever; and cholera. Doctors often used the words flu and influenza with quotation marks to indicate their uncertainty about the identity of the disease (Kolata). The influenza was called heliotrope cyanosis, the purple plague, and the purple death (Iezonni; Kenner and Chauder). Since most victims quickly developed pneumonia
as an opportunistic secondary infection, it was commonly misdiagnosed as pneumonia. Much of the time, cause of death was recorded as pneumonia in city, state, and military records (Barry; Crosby). Identifying cases of the disease as pneumonia, one of the most common killers of the time, reduced fear of the unknown. The multiplicity of names and close association with pneumonia contributed to the public not seeing or remembering the epidemic as a unified whole.

Silence from government authorities, the military, and many periodicals helped to invalidate the danger of the disease and the epidemic for the civilian public. The most prominent and significant silence was the silence of President Wilson, who never issued even one public statement about the disease or the epidemic. As the epidemic progressed, "Wilson . . . continued to say nothing publicly. There is no indication that he ever said anything privately, that he so much as inquired of anyone in the civilian arm of the government as to its efforts to fight the disease" (Barry, 308). Wilson's one official conversation concerning the epidemic was the decision to continue troop transport despite the disease, discussed above. At the end of that conversation, Wilson was reported to have quoted a children's rhyme that had spread across the country: "I had a little bird/ and his name was Enza/ I opened up the window/ and in flew Enza" (Iezzoni, 104; Kenner and Chauder). Whether or not he discussed the situation in public, President Wilson was certainly well aware of it, not least because of activities in the capitol to cope with the epidemic. His silence was a rhetorical choice.

The U. S. Public Health Service (USPHS) was silent until the virus was out of control. This did not take long because the USPHS did not take advantage of early warnings to formulate any plan of action and because the military chose to ignore doctors' advice about stopping troop transports. The USPHS had been subordinated to the military for the war. Although information on the influenza was being received from Europe, the USPHS disseminated little to the general
public and made no contingency plans. On July 26, the weekly bulletin of the USPHS, Public Health Reports, noted an outbreak of deadly influenza causing fatalities in Birmingham, England, described as spreading rapidly in "other locations" left unnamed (cited in Barry, 2004, 180). After Dr. Rupert Blue, Director of the USPHS and Surgeon General, visited Memphis in late July, the Aug. 1 Memphis Medical Monthly reported his remarks, including a warning about influenza. The public at large read neither publication (cited in Barry, 310). U. S. naval intelligence received an early warning telegram on August 3rd stating that the epidemic of Spanish influenza in Switzerland was actually black plague, a misdiagnosis but also a clear indication of the disease's virulence and lethality. This telegram was classified immediately as secret and confidential (Barry, 180).

When the virus did appear in the U. S., the USPHS was impotent. On Sept. 13, Blue told the press, "Owing to disordered conditions in European countries, the bureau has no authoritative information [italics added] as to the nature of the disease or its prevalence" (Dr. Copeland says N Y City is in no danger, 1918). However, this did not stop Blue from releasing advice on the following day about a course of treatment for the disease: bed rest, good food, aspirin, adequate ventilation, and salts of quinine (Surgeon General Blue makes known course of treatment, 1918). On Sept. 22, when cases began to appear in the city of Washington, he released "Surgeon General's Advice to Avoid Influenza" to newspapers, which can be summarized as a list of general principles for a healthy lifestyle plus a recommendation that people avoid crowds (Rules against spread given by Surgeon General, 1918). For the general public nationwide, the USPHS had little to say and was unable to mount any organized response until the epidemic was well underway. The minimal, general advice provided was itself a confession of helplessness.
Hume points out that many prominent, popular periodical publications were completely silent, providing no coverage of the epidemic at all. She compares the 26 articles indexed under ‘influenza’ with 223 indexed under ‘war’ in 1918 by the Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature. Widely read magazines that maintained silence included Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, Dial, Harper’s Monthly, New Republic, Scribner’s Magazine, and the Saturday Evening Post. Hume establishes that the public’s fears were certainly reflected in the few magazine articles that did appear, but she also notes that astonishingly few articles were published and indexed: only 26 articles in 1918, 21 in 1919, and 11 in 1920 (905, 907). In popular press publications indexed by the Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature in 1918, war received nearly \textit{ten times} the coverage of the influenza epidemic as measured by numbers of articles.

The editors of \textit{Stars and Stripes} in France used the strategy of silence for months. The 20 issues of the weekly published between May 31 and Nov. 1 contained only \textit{one} minor item that referred to the influenza epidemic, a Sept. 18 letter to the editor complaining about demoralizing correspondence from home (Letter to the editor, 1918). This letter also took advantage of the confusion of names by referring to the influenza as pneumonia and black plague. Aside from this small item, readers of \textit{Stars and Stripes} received \textit{no other} information about the influenza or the epidemic until Nov. 1, ten days before the Armistice, although the influenza had been striking down and killing soldiers since late spring. In the fall of 1918, it was killing soldiers faster than they were dying in combat: as many American troops died of the influenza in the last five months of the war as died in combat during the entire twenty months of American engagement (Crosby). In \textit{Stars and Stripes}, however, the influenza did not exist.

While silence continued in Europe, strategies of denial and delay occurred on the home front. Crosby describes public health officials around the country as "cautious, skeptical, and
poorly informed" with "a Pollyanna attitude" toward the threat of the influenza (72-73). Local governments responded slowly as the disease rapidly spread around the country. Iezonni observes that the typical reaction of a public official to news of the epidemic was "cheerful denial and a brash, steadfast belief in his locality's immunity" (60). In New York, Director of Public Health Royal Copeland initially told the press that cases of influenza were actually other respiratory illnesses—confusion of names. On Aug. 15, he asserted in the *New York Times* that there was no danger of an epidemic in the city (Dr. Copeland and Dr. Chafee say there is no danger, 1918). On Sept. 13, he again said the city was in no danger (Dr. Copeland says New York City is in no danger, 1918). In Philadelphia, Director of Public Health and Charities Wilmer Krusen initially denied that there were any cases of influenza in the city, although it was already present in the naval yard there. However, once the influenza escaped from military facilities and began spreading through civilian populations, its presence was no longer deniable (Barry; Crosby).

Denying the presence of the disease then shifted to denying the uncontrollable nature of the epidemic. USPHS Director Rupert Blue kept repeating, "There is no cause for alarm if proper precautions are observed" but the precautions he advised made no difference whatsoever in the spread of the disease (Barry, 338). Masks, various vaccines, over the counter patent medicines, and home remedies were all available and used. None were anything but placebos, but all were reassuring to the public. In New York, Director of Public Health Royal Copeland's statements as reported in the *New York Times* have a surreal quality. He asserted that the worst was over as the epidemic was just beginning (Health Commissioner wires to Washington, 1918). Roughly two weeks later, he blamed increasing numbers of cases on delayed reporting by doctors and asserted again that the worst was over as the city struggled with increasing numbers
of illnesses and deaths (Dr. Copeland estimates, 1918). On Oct. 24, the paper recorded the
"largest number of cases since beginning of epidemic" (Largest number of cases recorded, 1918)
but on Oct. 25 Copeland again asserted that the epidemic was on the wane (Dr. Copeland sees
grip on the wane, 1918). In Philadelphia, Director of Public Health and Charities Wilmer Krusen
turned in a similar performance. His statements to the press were unfailingly reassuring, if false.
After he could no longer deny that there were any cases at all, he admitted that there were a few
cases but claimed they were mild and the disease was under control. He continued to assure
Philadelphians that the disease was under control while the virus swept through the city and the
death toll mounted (Barry, Crosby). Hume also notes that magazine articles “spoke of the
optimism of health authorities that the epidemic would soon be under control . . .” (904).

Denying presence of the disease and the uncontrollable nature of the epidemic was
accompanied by the use of delay. In Philadelphia, a ship loaded with influenza docked in late
August, and the number of cases in the naval yard began mounting, but Krusen waited over two
weeks to meet with his military counterparts, Dr. R. W. Plummer, chief health officer for the
Philadelphia naval district, and Dr. Paul Lewis, a medical researcher who was also a navy doctor.
In those two weeks, the virus escaped from the naval yard and entered the civilian population. In
the September 18 meeting, Lewis argued for quarantine, but was overruled by the other two men.
Krusen instead launched a campaign against coughing, sneezing and spitting in public. He
continued to monitor the situation as the virus rapidly spread. This delaying action allowed a
long planned Liberty Bond parade to go forward as planned on Sept. 28th in which 200,000
people participated. A consequent explosion of cases in the city two days later finally forced
Krusen to admit that epidemic influenza was underway in Philadelphia (Barry, Crosby). In New
York City, Director of Public Health Copeland stated on Oct. 4 and 10 that he would close
schools and stop public gatherings if the epidemic justified such action (Schools will not be closed, 1918; Dr. Copeland will stop public gatherings, 1918). He did not do either, as he kept telling New Yorkers that the epidemic was waning. As noted above, this pattern of delay, usually to allow pro-war activities to continue, was repeated in other cities around the country.

As silence, denial, and delay allowed the virus to claim more and more victims, authorities on the home front and in Europe refuted what people heard by word of mouth as rumors. Captain W. A. Moffat, commandant of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, released a statement to the Associated Press about conditions under his command and prefaced it by saying it was intended "to dispel alarm caused throughout the country by exaggerated stories." Behind the calm denial of any need for fear, conditions at Great Lakes and at Camp Grant in nearby Rockford were out of control, with sick and dying soldiers overwhelming the medical facilities and staff (Barry, 335). Many statements and articles had the tone of rebuttals to what the audience might be hearing by word of mouth.

Although Stars and Stripes avoided any direct reference to the epidemic, it still managed to employ refutation of rumors. It countered soldiers’ direct experience of the epidemic by not mentioning it explicitly until Nov. 1. European newspapers first reported the lethal strain of influenza in May in neutral Spain. Subsequently the May 31 edition of Stars and Stripes published a front page story on the health of AEF troops. Italics have been added to the following quotations to highlight emphases. Headlines read, "Health of AEF better than that of troops in U. S. 'Excellent' is Medical Department's report on conditions here. Old ills most frequent. Number of cases of controllable diseases is showing creditable reduction." The second paragraph strongly emphasized that troops were experiencing nothing new. Its subheading read "Diseases all old fashioned" and then the text insisted, "One important fact
about what diseases we really have is that we brought them all from home. They are the old familiar complaints, some trivial, some serious, but not one of them is a disease which we might not have contracted just as easily anywhere between the Atlantic and Pacific." This emphasis strongly implies that rumors were circulating about a new, unfamiliar illness that was not from home. Stars and Stripes observed that "During the winter, pneumonia and meningitis claimed 72 per cent of deaths otherwise than in action, and nearly 82% of the total deaths, not including deaths in action, were from infectious diseases." On May 31st, though, the story insisted that "[E]very infectious disease . . . is wholly sporadic" (p. 1).

The Aug. 9 issue of Stars and Stripes contained more refutation of rumors. Once again, a report about the health of AEF troops ran on the front page. The lethal form of the virus had been spreading through Europe all summer, killing soldiers and civilians. The Aug. 9 report identified diseases experienced by AEF troops and listed them from most to least prevalent: mumps, bronchitis, and venereal disease headed a long list of complaints. Influenza was not mentioned at all. However, on page 3, a picture of an American soldier holding two large shells was captioned, "Medicine for sick Germans," indicating that American troops knew that illness was widespread through enemy troops. On page 6, the paper reported about a unit that had begun boiling its mess kits after every meal, in addition to washing them twice as regulations required, because "there may be germs around." The story reported, "So far it has worked so well that the unit . . . hasn't had a single infectious complaint spread through its ranks" and advised readers that they too should expect orders to adopt this practice. These three items together in one issue of the paper strongly imply rumors circulating about the epidemic among the troops, as well as editors’ awareness of heightened concerns about disease and their indirect attempts to counter these rumors and concerns.
A Sept. 18 letter to the editor is the clearest reference to the epidemic, an example of refutation of rumors, and an example of identifying the influenza by other names. The letter to the editor criticized a letter from home supposedly received by an enlisted man. This letter from home contained ten points of undesirable content. These included "Statement that over 6,000 have now died in training camps in the United States," "Fear that my brother-in-law will fall an easy prey to pneumonia," and "[A] writer in China pronounces the pneumonia cases in the camps to be a form of the old black death that they had in the 15th century." The writer of this letter to the editor advised AEF troops to tell correspondents at home "not to swallow anything and everything in the shape of disquieting rumors and to avoid writing letters . . . likely to depress [the troops]" (p. 4).

Authenticity of this letter to the editor is highly questionable due to its timing. The New York Times did not report on the first cases in army camps until September 14. A letter to an enlisted man had to be sent no later than the first few days of September to allow time for it to be received, read, written about by the recipient and for his letter to the editor to be printed in the Sept. 18 issue of Stars and Stripes. No civilian correspondent to a regular enlisted man could have been so well informed at the beginning of September. Editors of Stars and Stripes, who had access to wireless trans-Atlantic communication, may well have been trying to prepare troops to discount information about the epidemic that troops were going to receive in letters from home, refuting “rumors” before the information appeared. The illness itself was called pneumonia, the more familiar and therefore less frightening killer. When the disease in the camps was identified as the terrifying black death, credibility of that identification was diminished by attributing it to a writer in China: how could someone so far away, in such a backward part of the world, possibly know what they were talking about?
When it was no longer possible for military and civilian authorities to deny the existence of the disease itself, the epidemic, or their lack of control, and when refutations of rumors were contradicted by events, as deaths continued, then various rhetorical strategies were used to diminish and minimize the threat posed by the virus. These strategies included nonverbal modeling of desired behavior by credible sources, associating the virus with "the other," locating the virus elsewhere, and false analogy.

A striking example of nonverbal modeling of desired behavior by a credible source was used to diminish the threat of the epidemic when President Wilson led a parade in New York City on Oct. 12, marching with 25,000 other people in support of women's suffrage even as the epidemic was at its height there (Barry, Crosby). A socialite who helped organize Atlanta’s annual trade fair declared, "I have two children who are far more precious to me than a thousand pageants, and they are most certainly going to take part . . . I really do not fear for their safety at all" (Davies, 92). Around the country, prominent local citizens led the way to other public gatherings for the war effort and exposure to the virus as the epidemic progressed.

In the military, insistence on continuation of war despite the epidemic also resulted in the modeling of desired behavior by the command hierarchy. Both on the home front and in Europe, soldiers' commanding officers stubbornly carried on despite the presence of the epidemic. The 57th Pioneer Infantry from Vermont left the U. S. for Europe in late September, riddled with influenza. Men collapsed and fell out of ranks, some dying, as they marched to load the transport ship Leviathan. Men contracted the disease aboard ship in passage, with many dying during the crossing. Men again collapsed, fell out of ranks, and some died as the unit marched to its barracks in Brest, France. Even more men from the unit died shortly after arrival. The unit lost hundreds of lives long before it encountered the enemy as its commanding officers
insisted on and modeled the behavior of continuing to follow orders despite the epidemic (Crosby). Both civilians and soldiers were shown nonverbally that they were to carry on as if there were no epidemic, then despite the epidemic, for as long as possible.

Two other commonly used, related strategies for diminishing the threat were association with "the other" and locating the virus elsewhere. This created the impression that although the epidemic threatened someone else, somewhere else, it was not a serious or immediate threat to a local reader, which encouraged complacency and calmed the public. As the virus spread through Massachusetts and New England, press coverage in the rest of the country initially discussed it as an isolated problem for that region alone, rather than pointing to New England as the first example of what would inevitably strike the rest of the country (Barry). Association with "the other" as represented by undesirables discouraged readers from identifying themselves as potential victims. Royal Copeland was reported to say that German troops were falling ill because of poor nutrition; American soldiers and civilians were well fed and therefore in no danger (Malady in Germany really due to starvation, 1918). The virus was associated with the poor, immigrants, minorities, the undernourished, and those who lived in filth and practiced poor hygiene (Barry; Crosby; Iezonni; Choice of victims, 1918). Examination of the Index to The New York Times for July-December 1918 under its selected subject term "influenza" shows that while the paper reported on the illness as a terrible disaster elsewhere, coverage about New York City itself primarily focused on constructive actions being taken, giving the impression that New York was coping well with the epidemic.

Another method used for understatement was false literal analogy: the virus was often said to be just the common form of influenza, although it most certainly was not. Sources for this false analogy were often authorities such as U. S. Surgeon General Rupert Blue; Lieutenant
Colonel Philip S. Doane, head of the Health and Sanitation Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation that ran the nation's shipyards; and the Journal of the American Medical Association (Barry, Kolata). This played on the lack of respect the public had for influenza as a dangerous disease, further complicated by an older generation of doctors left behind by the draft who considered influenza to be just a bad cold (Barry).

Understatement was also accomplished by qualifying alarming facts with optimistic interpretations to diminish the threat. An excellent example of this method cited in Barry appeared in the Providence Journal after the virus overran naval facilities in Boston and Camp Devens:

> All the hospital beds at the forts in Boston harbor are occupied by influenza patients . . . There are 3,500 cases at Camp Devens . . . Such reports may actually be reassuring rather than alarming. The soldier or sailor goes to bed if he is told to, just as he goes on sentry duty. He may not think he is sick, and he may be right about it, but the military doctor is not to be argued with and at this time the autocrat is not permitting the young men under his charge to take any chance (335).

As the epidemic finally did begin to wane, Copeland stated in an editorial that New York "got off easier than other cities" but New York City had experienced at least 20,000 deaths (Dr. Copeland in interview tells why, 1918; Crosby). More recently, the death toll in New York City has been estimated to have been 33,000 (Santora, 2005). A positive spin was applied to a staggered working hours schedule instituted in New York to reduce dangerous crowding and control spread of the influenza; the schedule was discussed shortly thereafter as a possible permanent solution to the problem of crowded mass transit (Public Service Commander T. H.
Whitney says epidemic may be the means of solving transit problem, 1918). A fourth example of reporting the positive to diminish the negative occurred when Stars and Stripes finally acknowledged the epidemic on Nov. 1. The article reported that a recent troop ship convoy had lost relatively few men to influenza, and emphasized that one ship on which everyone constantly wore antiseptic soaked gauze masks had no deaths at all (Troop ship convoy, 1918). There was no acknowledgement that for the previous two months troop ships had been death traps, according to Crosby's description of how the epidemic affected troop transport across the Atlantic (121-140). Despite the fact that the paper had never acknowledged the epidemic before, on Nov. 1, the Stars and Stripes article referred to the influenza epidemic as though it were common knowledge for its audience.

In the New York Times, the epidemic was subordinate to other events, given low priority compared to other news stories. News about the war dominated the front pages of the New York Times, but so did many other subjects. As noted above, the epidemic was decidedly not front page news. Reports on the epidemic and its spread were printed daily from Oct. 1-Nov. 14, but mostly placed in back pages of the paper. Between August and December, during the worst of the influenza, the paper put stories on the epidemic on the front page of the paper only six times in six months. Except for those six days, readers had to look through the paper to find information rather than following it from the front page. The nonverbal message of this placement said that the epidemic of influenza was a background event in readers' lives, of relatively low priority compared to many other topics, a less than urgent threat to audience safety and survival. Stars and Stripes subordinated the influenza epidemic to every other event or topic it covered, simply leaving it out of the paper, as discussed above. As Hume has noted, the epidemic also received very short shrift in the periodical literature of the day, and many popular
mass market periodicals were completely silent about the epidemic (907). According to the Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature, from Sept. 14 to Nov. 30, 1918, at the height of the epidemic, only 20 articles appeared. More than half of these were in relatively specialized periodicals—Science, Scientific American, and Survey—rather than periodicals with a broader audience and larger circulations. The public at large saw very few magazine articles about the epidemic.

Competing and contradictory messages distracted and confused people. George Creel's Committee on Public Information (CPI) had already saturated the country with persuasive messages to mobilize it in favor of the war and continued to do so. Barry observes, "[T]he government inserted itself in the psyche of America by allowing only its own voice to be heard, by both threatening dissenters with prison and shouting down anyone else." Creel's campaign released tens of thousands of posters, press releases and feature stories, as well as organizing weekly community events called "Liberty Sings" and training "Four Minute Men" speakers who took every opportunity to address audiences at all kinds of gatherings (Barry, 126-127). The CPI's pro-war campaign was much better funded for many more months than any campaign against the epidemic, which was assembled slowly and must be regarded as too little too late. On Sept. 26, after the epidemic struck Washington, D. C., the USPHS asked for and received only $1 million in a special appropriation from Congress to respond to the epidemic, to supplement its annual budget of $3 million, and Surgeon General Blue returned $115,000 of that funding (Barry). When messages from the USPHS, the Red Cross, and local public health authorities advised people to avoid crowds, these messages were contradicted by many other pro-war messages that people had been hearing for over a year and continued to hear. The war had a higher priority than the epidemic. As the war effort continued, citizens were still expected to
demonstrate their patriotism actively and in public, by appearing at morale boosting events, volunteering, and fund raising. Even while the epidemic was undeniably an emergency in their immediate vicinity, people still gathered together in city after city for war related and other public events. Many if not most people behaved in ways directly counter to their best self-interest. The social stigma of being called a "slacker" (the term used at the time for those who did not contribute adequately to the war effort) was extreme and intimidating. According to Crosby, "The interweaving of the war and the pandemic make what . . . seems to be a pattern of complete insanity" (46).

Barry observes that the strategies of silence, denial, delay and understating the threat did not achieve the government's goal of enhancing civilian morale. In fact, the strategies emphatically backfired:

The government's very efforts to preserve "morale" fostered the fear, for since the war began, morale-- defined in the narrowest, most short sighted fashion-- had taken precedence in every public utterance . . . . Newspapers reported on the disease with the same mixture of truth and half truth, truth and distortion, truth and lies with which they reported everything else. And no national official ever publicly acknowledged the danger of influenza. . . . As terrifying as the disease was, the press made it more so. They terrified by making little of it, for what officials and the press said bore no relationship to what the people saw and touched and smelled and endured. People could not trust what they read. Uncertainty follows distrust, fear follows uncertainty, and, under conditions such as these, terror follows fear (Barry, 333-334, 335).
Eventually, the public health campaign against the virus used appeals to the audience asking them to *deny* the legitimate basic emotion of fear and legitimate basic needs for safety and survival. Fear was said to make one susceptible to the virus. People were asked to deny their legitimate fear and ignore their own needs for survival and safety in order to continue to function in the war effort as long as possible. Almost every newspaper in the country ran the advice "Don't get scared!" as a constant accompaniment to advice on how to avoid the influenza. People were told that experiencing inappropriate emotions of fear, timidity, worry, panic, or fright would cause them to fall ill (Barry). Hume (2000) observes that magazine articles also stressed the role of emotions in susceptibility to the disease. Legitimate emotional reactions to a very real and serious threat were invalidated when people were told that these emotions would make them more vulnerable to infection.

Connecting susceptibility to the virus with emotional state blames the victim for falling ill, as Sontag discusses in *Illness as metaphor; and AIDS and its metaphors* (1990). The implicit message was that adult victims of the influenza virus on the home front had succumbed, consciously or unconsciously, to enemy propaganda and rumors about the influenza. By falling ill, they not only deprived the country of their own support in the war effort, but also robbed even more support from the war effort due to the medical care they required. They became, through no fault of their own, "slackers." Blaming the victim also occurred when popular preachers such as Billy Sunday stopped preaching in support of the war effort and began preaching apocalypse, damnation, hellfire and brimstone (Crosby, Iezonni). From a religious perspective, the influenza was stereotypically interpreted as yet another plague sent by God to punish the sinful. Innocent children and loving grandparents who also died became secular or spiritual collateral damage; their deaths from the influenza were not unusual and also could be
blamed on slackers/sinners who spread the disease. Spanish influenza was distinguished by its ability to mysteriously kill perfectly healthy young adults, unusual victims normally not expected from influenza. Why did certain young adults fall ill and/or die while others did not? Two common, nonscientific but emotionally satisfying answers were cowardice and sin.

Kirkwood and Brown (1995) observe that attribution of responsibility for disease “may appear to be medical or scientific claims, but such claims are better understood rhetorically as a means of influencing attitudes and behaviors.” They also assert that attribution of responsibility is one of the most important meanings of disease, and that different persuasive goals elicit different attribution strategies (55-56). Messages addressed to those at risk with the persuasive motive of altering behavior to promote health and reduce disease will stress that they are responsible insofar as they can control their own behavior— for example, avoiding crowds. Messages intended to persuade their audiences to deny favorable treatment to victims will stress that the sick are primarily responsible for their own disease and respond to the consequent guilt of the sick with silence. Identifying victims of the influenza as those whose psychological state was inappropriate to the scene of mobilization attributed responsibility to those victims, subtly encouraging unfavorable attitudes toward and treatment of them.

Burke's perspective on human behavior in social structures, as well as his terms for order, are well illustrated by the episode of the Spanish influenza epidemic in America (Burke, 1945, 1950; Reukert, 147-149). From Burke's perspective, the scene of mobilization for war occurred within a civilian hierarchy and a military hierarchy. Nearly everyone was expected to serve in one or the other. In his discussion of social hierarchies and terms for order, Burke observes that no one can be sinless in a hierarchy because no one is perfect; everyone experiences self-doubt, fear, worry, or lapses of strength at some time (Burke, 1961; Reukert, 94,
Sin creates guilt and guilt requires expiation, for which there are two alternatives: atonement, in which agents take responsibility for their own sins, and scapegoating, in which agents blame their sins on someone else. Sontag points out that it is easy to interpret one's own or another's illness as punishment, so civilian victims of the influenza were especially vulnerable to blame for falling ill. Soldiers' sins, however, were forgiven due to their service in harm's way, much as the crusaders were allowed dispensations from the church in the medieval period. The sins of civilians, revealed by their falling prey to the influenza, were more difficult to expiate.

Burke defines "scapegoating," as blaming another to avoid blaming oneself. In scapegoating, an innocent individual or group is blamed and punished so that the actual sinners can escape blame (Burke, 1961). The scapegoated group is characterized as one with which the audience should not identify. Sontag also discusses how common the scapegoating of victims of disease is. Once messages from authorities asserted that fear made people vulnerable to the influenza, victims became scapegoats on the home front. Blame for the epidemic was shifted from the shoulders of civil authorities to the shoulders of the ill, dying, and dead. Those who fell ill became questionable patriots. Perhaps they had not suppressed their fears, perhaps they were on some level guilty of cowardice, perhaps their moral fiber was not strong enough to sustain the war effort, or perhaps they had sinned in some other way. Authorities on the home front avoided blame for failing to contain the epidemic by blaming the spread of the virus on its victims instead, who already felt guilty about falling ill and diverting resources from the war effort. Adult victims who survived were thereby discouraged from discussing their encounters with the influenza, since falling ill had called their bravery, confidence, strength, patriotism, and morality into question. The enormous on-going disaster of the epidemic could not be acknowledged fully in the scene of mobilization for war that existed prior to the appearance of the virus.
Scapegoating protected authorities from blame for failing to prevent the spread of the epidemic. Remarkably, the 1918 Index to Periodical Literature and the Index to the New York Times July-December 1918 reveal almost no articles in popular periodical literature or the newspaper that questioned government response to the epidemic.

In stark contrast, within the military, deaths from influenza were defined as honorable deaths in battle. This began with the decision to continue transporting troops despite the epidemic. Once in Europe, American troops received no confirmation of the epidemic at all from Stars and Stripes. Soldiers’ illnesses and deaths from conditions in the trenches, injuries and deaths from battle, and illnesses and deaths from the epidemic all merged into one horrific experience of war. Soldiers and sailors were not blamed for falling ill with the influenza because it was inappropriate to accuse them of cowardice. They were engaging in high-risk behavior and standing in harm's way, so it did not matter whether they fell prey to a German bullet or the virus. Either way, they were heroes. As noted earlier, deaths in the military during war due to infectious disease were expected and the command hierarchy treated the epidemic as a literally unremarkable consequence of warfare. For Stars and Stripes, the epidemic simply did not exist until just ten days before Armistice, when the influenza finally began to wane. Even in the U. S., when new recruits who died of influenza were eulogized, they were defined as casualties of war. At Camp Meade, MD, when a recruit's name was read in memorial services held for victims of the epidemic, the victim's sergeant saluted and reported, "Died on the field of honor, sir" (Iezzoni, 201). Silence, denial, and refutation of rumors caused soldiers in Europe to experience the Spanish influenza epidemic as indistinguishably intertwined with the war. Neurological and respiratory damage from the virus and from the war blended together after the war in shell shock and "weak lungs" of veterans assumed to be from combat rather than from influenza (Barry).
IV. A Cautionary Tale

Kenner and Chauder’s documentary for the PBS series *American Experience* (1999) ends by asking how the epidemic could have been, until recently, so forgotten by America. This unusual lapse in public memory of the Spanish influenza epidemic is much more easily understood when public discourse of the time is analyzed and interpreted using Burke’s methodology of pentadic analysis and elements of his rhetorical theory. A group of rhetorical strategies appeared consistently in mass media messages, Burke’s *agencies* of communication. This group of strategies, a rhetoric of invalidation, significantly contributed to development of selective amnesia about the epidemic: confusion of names, silence, denial, delay, refutation of rumors, competing and contradictory messages, understating the threat, subordinating the epidemic to other news topics, appeals to denial of legitimate emotions and basic needs, and finally, scapegoating by blaming the victims. These strategies in public discourse appeared in roughly chronological order. Public figures and the mass media writers who covered them, Burke’s *agents* of communication, used these specific strategies because they were appropriate to constraints in the *scene* of mobilization for the war effort. *Purposes* of the most significant agents of public discourse were in conflict. Control of the epidemic was sacrificed for continued effective support of the war at home and continuation of the war on the battlefield. Winning the war had a higher priority than controlling the epidemic. Invalidating rhetorical strategies in the *agencies* of mass media messages were the means by which communication *acts* of informing the public became instead *acts* of manipulating public perceptions and reactions.

Burke would identify the Spanish Influenza epidemic as a "representative anecdote" demonstrating that this combination of invalidating rhetorical strategies has great potential to distort our perceptions of events and of ourselves (Burke, 1945). Hume acknowledges that
“Coverage of the influenza epidemic . . . did seem selective in the service of a present interest, namely to calm fear and panic” (908). The American people had an unusually calm, muted reaction to the epidemic because public discourse about the epidemic strongly invalidated any other reaction. The New York Times treated the epidemic as a minor concern in the background of World War I on the home front, analogous to a spell of unusually bad weather, while Stars and Stripes ignored it on the battlefront. In the aftermath, veterans’ experiences of the epidemic merged with their experiences of the war, while their scapegoated civilian counterparts were motivated by guilt to keep their experiences of the epidemic to themselves. Incongruity of experiences on either side of the Atlantic minimized discussion of the epidemic after soldiers and their families were reunited. Collective cultural amnesia followed.

Both disease and war are common conceptual metaphors used to structure our perception and understanding of other phenomena (Fauconnier, Kovesces, Lakoff & Johnson, Sontag). During World War I, an actual epidemic occurred as a war was actually being waged. Another aspect of the situation for further research is specifically how public discourse concerning the epidemic became integrated with and subordinated to discourse concerning the war. Sontag claims that the Spanish influenza epidemic had a long-term impact on medical discourse and asserts that using the language of war to talk about medicine began specifically at this time and has never stopped. Another factor in the development of cultural amnesia was that the public came to understand the epidemic as part of the war experience, albeit a minor and eminently forgettable part. Analysis of war as conceptual metaphor in discourse about the epidemic would be useful as an example of how one real event became the conceptual metaphor that structured public perception of another real event. Better understanding of this rhetorical sleight of hand would enable recognition of its use in other similar situations. Papers other than the New York
Times should be examined to determine whether or not regional coverage of the 1918 epidemic had the same characteristics as the coverage in New York.

Further research may also identify use of the clustered rhetorical strategies identified above with respect to other historical or current significant topics, and there are perhaps other strategies to add to this cluster. Gerbner's *Culture of Fear* (1999) critiques the public’s frequently inaccurate evaluations of risks and irrational prioritizations of threats by addressing the role of the mass media in manipulation of these evaluations and prioritizations. Intentional use of invalidating rhetoric by powerful agents of public communication may be a significant means to ends that are not in the public's best interest. When emotions run high and national attention is overwhelmingly unified in its focus on a particular crisis, dangerous rhetorical situations are created in which applying rhetorical invalidation to a competing problem or a newly emerging crisis may be particularly tempting.

The great Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918 helps us understand how devastating biological warfare could be, but the epidemic is also an important object lesson about how distortion of public communication, public consciousness, and public memory can occur even in democratic countries valuing freedom of speech. Events like the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918 are impossible to ignore completely in public discourse but still may be discussed by authorities and covered by the press in ways that invalidate their significance for audience(s) of public discourse and influence audience perception of such events. Misdirection of public attention and concern is especially likely when it is to the advantage of authorities to keep public attention tightly focused on a single problem, such as winning World War I or the current War on Terror. The lesson for the present day may be that as audiences, we need to exercise more vigilance, not about those crises to which our attention is vigorously drawn by authorities and the
media, but about other threats from which our attention is being actively deflected, threats that are being shrouded and buried by a rhetoric of invalidation.
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Everyone write; GHQ asks you to. (31 May 1918). *Stars and Stripes*, p. 8.


Here’s the Hoyle on censorship as played in the AEF. (13 Sept. 1918). *Stars and Stripes*, pp. 1-2.


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Footnotes

1Kenneth Burke is arguably the most influential individual twentieth century scholar in rhetorical theory and criticism. His voluminous work, which encompassed and influenced literary criticism and theory, rhetorical criticism and theory, philosophy of language, and social theory, spanned over 60 years between the 1920’s and the 1980’s. He exerted wide-ranging influence on communication studies, literary studies, philosophy of language, and sociology. Today the Kenneth Burke Society organizes conferences and publishes the Kenneth Burke Newsletter as well as organizing conferences and sections of conventions for those studying and using Burke’s methodologies and theories in a variety of academic fields. His best known and most applied methodology is pentadic analysis, which is grounded in his theory of dramatism. While accepting and using the heritage of classical Aristotelian rhetoric, Burke imposed the dynamic of drama onto rhetorical communication, treating persuasive utterance as purposeful speech on the stage of world and national events. For a number of decades, his work has been widely referenced in rhetoric as discussed in both communication studies and literary criticism. An excellent anthology representing the range of his work is The Philosophy of Literary Form (1941, 1973), while the two works in which his most influential theory is explicated are A Rhetoric of Motives (1950, 1969) and A Grammar of Motives (1945, 1969).

2Cooperative self-censorship by the medical community may have continued even after the war was over. According to Iezonni, medical researchers involved with the influenza whose efforts were sponsored by the military and doctors practicing in the military who encountered the disease in military facilities had little or nothing to say about the epidemic even in their memoirs, although they were intensely involved in it. Iezzoni gives multiple examples and speculates that
the consistency of their silence about this specific event, even after the fact, is indicative of cooperative self-censorship specific to the epidemic.

3 In 1918 nearly all AEF troops wrote home for Mother's Day, a project sponsored by *Stars and Stripes*. These letters were rushed as fast as possible to boost morale, but still took over two weeks to reach their recipients; mothers' letters in reply took a similar amount of time. Normally, to send a letter and receive a reply took even longer (‘Mother’s Letter’ plan gives every man in AEF special opportunity to observe Mother’s Day, 1918; Home folks waiting for great shipload of ‘Mothers’ Letters,’ 1918; Mothers’ Letters to be delivered by end of month, 1918; Mothers’ Letters answers on way, 1918). *Stars and Stripes* articles on Mother’s Day letters project reveal that transports carrying letters written on May 12 arrived in New York on May 27 and 31. Even though they were transported as quickly as possible, they still took over two weeks to be sent from Europe to the U. S. Once these letters arrived in the U. S., they were treated as special deliveries, receiving the fastest service possible from the Postal Service. Letters not given special treatment would therefore have taken longer than two weeks to travel one way across the Atlantic. Officers with responsibility for censorship were encouraged to make processing letters home their top priority “except for killing Germans,” as letters were seen as significant in upholding troop and home front morale. Letters from the front might be held up for even more time if officers responsible for censorship were otherwise engaged (“Still more secrets from Mr. Base Censor, 31 May 1918, p. 7; Everyone write; GHQ asks you to, 31 May 1918, p. 8; The scissors vs. the pen, 5 July 1918, p. 5; Here’s the Hoyle on censorship as played in the AEF, 13 Sept. 1918, p. 1).

4 In mid July and again in early August, good news was reported about the disease affecting German troops (Called Flanders Grip by P. Gibbs, 1918) and German miners
(Epidemic among German Miners, 1918). On Aug. 14, the paper reported a dispute about whether cases disembarking in New York from a Norwegian ocean liner were influenza or pneumonia (Illness of passengers of Norwegian liner, 1918). On Sept. 27, suspension of the military draft due to the epidemic earned a place on the front page, and explanation of the suspension required discussion of the numbers of cases in army camps, which were so numerous as to shut down most training activities (Draft calls for camps cancelled, 1918). On Oct. 5 and 6, two front page stories appeared about a constructive local action to slow the spread of the disease, a staggered timetable for working hours intended to reduce crowding on public transport. There would have been only one story, but the first version of the timetable contained mistakes (Health Board issues opening and closing time orders, 1918; Time table revisited, 1918).

5 Lists of "slackers" were kept by communities to shame people into participating, volunteering, and donating (Barry, Crosby). The extreme social pressure is illustrated by a letter reprinted in Stars and Stripes written by a poor woman raising her children alone by taking in laundry: “I support myself and my two children by taking home washing. I took a load of $200 for myself . . . and now I am paying for $200 for the children to the Produce Exchange Bank. Please don’t put my children on the slackers’ lists . . . if only you will overlook my delay on my children’s account and not make it appear that my children are slackers. I have paid for my children’s loan and so they are not slackers” (Where it comes from, 1918).
Motivating people to initiate and sustain personal change has long been recognized as exceedingly difficult (e.g., Ryan & Deci, 2000; Miller & Rollnick, 1991). Ultimately, however, an individual must be intrinsically motivated for meaningful personal change to occur and to persist (e.g., Farabee & Leukefeld, 2001). In other words, it must “come from within.” Still, there are ways to facilitate and foster such change. Motivational Interviewing, for example, is a substance abuse treatment approach that facilitates internal motivation for change through examination of an individual’s ambivalence toward making changes (Miller & Rollnick, 1991). Another promising approach has been the use of motivational games and activities to facilitate change in treatment (e.g., Czuchry & Dansereau, 2000; Czuchry, Sia, & Dansereau, 2006).

Downward Spiral is an example of such a game that was developed at Texas Christian University (TCU) in which participants are in treatment for continued substance abuse. Players take turns rolling a set of dice and then moving a token a corresponding number of squares. (Downward Spiral is somewhat like the game of Monopoly®, but with the squares laid out as a spiral - see Figure 1.) When a player's token lands on certain squares then a card is drawn randomly that describes an immediate or long-term consequence of continuing the lifestyles that brought a player into treatment (see Figure 2). The game incorporates health, social, financial and legal consequences, as well as facts and quotes that are conceptually linked to these consequences (Czuchry, Sia, Dansereau, & Dees, 1997). It was designed to be engaging and to reduce the

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1 There is also an alcohol abuse version of Downward Spiral that is used primarily with college students.
resistance that typically occurs when individuals are directly confronted about substance use (e.g., Bensley & Wu, 1991), as well as to increase the likelihood that individuals would become aware that they have a problem (e.g., Prochaska, DiClemente, & Norcross, 1992).

Downward Spiral incorporates vicarious episodic information (what happens to the character) and semantic information (through facts and quotes) to encourage multi-modal processing. The game is often been combined with a number of additional activities, including other games, that target motivation and readiness for treatment. When used in combination with these additional activities, Downward Spiral has been shown to improve ratings of the effectiveness of counselors and counseling sessions (Sia, Dansereau, & Czuchry, 2000), improve ratings of the engagement and helpfulness of clients’ peers in treatment (Czuchry & Dansereau, 2000), and leads to increased motivation to resist drug use and avoid unsafe sexual practices (Czuchry & Dansereau, 2005). This approach has been shown to be especially effective for females (Czuchry,
Sia, Dansereau, 2006), clients with low need for cognition (Czuchry & Dansereau, 2004), and clients with less education (Blankenship, Dansereau, & Simpson, 1999). Anecdotal evidence provided by counselors also suggests that the game may be particularly beneficially for socially shy individuals who begin to speak up more regularly in group sessions after playing the game. A college alcohol abuse version of the game has also been shown to be more effective than educational videos on the dangers of alcohol in increasing behavioral intentions to more carefully monitor alcohol consumption at parties (Czuchry, Sia, & Dansereau, 1999).

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Your kids are caught using drugs at school and they say they got the drugs from you.

**Lose 5 Family Points**

**Fact**

Serious involvement with drugs is related to whether other family members are also drug users.

Figure 2. Typical scenario card.
beneficially for socially shy individuals who begin to speak up more regularly in group sessions after playing the game. A college alcohol abuse version of the game has also been shown to be more effective than educational videos on the dangers of alcohol in increasing behavioral intentions to more carefully monitor alcohol consumption at parties (Czuchry, Sia, & Dansereau, 1999).

For the past several semesters, the Psychology Department, Institute of Behavioral Research, and Computer Science Department at TCU have been collaborating to produce computerized versions of the Downward Spiral. This version is played on one or more personal computers with one or more participants at each computer. In addition, automated players, or computer "bots", can be engaged to perform as a player. A server computer is used when played on multiple computers; the server is used to establish the initial connection between the various client computers and as the intermediary when players at the various computers wish to "chat" interactively. The actual game, however, is conducted on the various client computers via a peer-to-peer connection. This offers two important advantages: (1) it reduces the potential for overloading the main server and thus slowing response time to an unacceptable level; and (2) keeping information about a participant's personal information and performance on the local client computer, an important privacy issue when dealing with information about individuals in treatment programs.

Many of the anticipated benefits of having a computerized version of Downward Spiral can be classified as improvements in the game's management or improvements in its effectiveness. A major management benefit has been in the distribution and maintenance of the game. The original board version required an individual or organization to contact TCU; make arrangements to pay for a package that included the board, player tokens, scenario cards, dice, and instructions; and the subsequent mailing of the package back to the individual or organization. In addition, if errors were later discovered, or improvements made, then updates had to be mailed out. While the cost of the game was only intended to cover the expenses of handling and material, they were still relatively high compared to a commercial product because of the limited demand. With the automated versions a potential user can download a free file from a server which can be run to install Downward Spiral on a PC; updates can be handled in a similar fashion.
Another management aspect, which is still in the process of being implemented, is the automated gathering of performance statistics. Since many of the players are enrolled in court ordered treatment programs, the counselors and organizations that administer the programs are required by law to ensure that individuals complete the various aspects of the treatment in a legitimate and timely fashion. In the past this has required a comparatively large number of counselors just to monitor the game to ensure a player or players do not just claim to have played it. The automated version greatly reduces the potential to cheat by such means as claiming a different position of a player's board piece or the value rolled on the dice. In the near future we hope to have a record of who played the automated version, how many turns each player had, what square they landed on, etc. This should substantially reduce the time and effort spent by a counselor in just monitoring the mechanics of the game.

An even more important benefit of the automated version of Downward Spiral is its expected increase in effectiveness. Foremost among these is the expansion of the set of individuals who can derive the benefits of playing the game. The original version of Downward Spiral involves at least two players in fairly close proximity (i.e., they must share a common board, dice, etc). This can prove daunting to one or more of the players, particularly if there are other loud or overbearing individuals participating. This situation can be further exacerbated if a player has poor communications skills, is a foreign national, their first language is not English, or if they suffer from some form of learning disability, a common problem in substance abuse treatment programs. The automated version can reduce the level of threat to these individuals in a number of ways. A less assertive player may be reluctant to object to the cheating of a more domineering individual; the computer version prevents many such forms of cheating. The mere fact that an individual can play the game in relative isolation with a high degree of anonymity at a PC away from the other players can offer a degree of reassurance. If this is still insufficient to overcome an individual's qualms, a player can make use of bots rather than play with other humans. A recent addition to the automated version of Downward Spiral is extensive training and help information. This information, as well as the text of the scenario cards, will be read aloud by computer, thereby aiding those individuals with reading and learning difficulties.

Additional automated board games implemented using the engine designed for Downward Spiral are in the planning stages. Two versions, one for alcohol abuse
oriented towards college students, and an anti-drug campaign program aimed at middle school and high school students are envisioned. If there is sufficient interest any of the automated board games could also be translated into other languages, Spanish being the most likely candidate for Texas and other parts of the Southwest.

Although the computerized version of Downward Spiral has good “face” validity in terms of its correspondence to the original version, empirical tests of its effectiveness have yet to be conducted. However, given the success of the original version we are optimistic that the computerized versions will maintain their effectiveness while facilitating transfer, distribution, and actual use of the intervention in treatment programs. Experimentation on the computerized version will be initiated with college students in the Fall (2006). We expect that the computerized version will be rated as very engaging, and similar to earlier research with the board version of Downward Spiral, that it will lead to improved behavioral intentions of college students to better monitor drinking behavior at parties, and increase internal motivation for change of clients receiving substance abuse treatment. The crux of the game, we believe, is creating change from within.

References


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6. Abstract:


Race relations in America have been drastically changing and evolving over the past decades. Through activist movements, education and the media, attitudes towards different races and cultures have improved but have not disappeared. The past two decades have brought interracial couples to the forefront of race relations and has increasingly become a significant issue guiding people’s attitudes and perceptions about race and culture. Interracial dating is not as simple as the mixing of a black person and a white person who are in love, but it is a complex situation involving the coming together of backgrounds, nationalities, traditions, histories, languages, and cultures of many races from Indians to Koreans, from Jamaicans to Japanese.

In 1993, a group of students from Dartmouth University decided to perform a qualitative study concerning the attitudes and perceptions about interracial dating between black and white people on a college campus, within families, and in society. Their research was documented in the form of videotaped interviews and their findings were fascinating, opening the door for many questions and further research on the issue. The results showed a high level of discrimination felt amongst individuals in interracial couples both within society and within their respective families. Moreover, individuals in interracial couples felt ostracized on their college campus from other students, which was a peculiar finding, judging from the typical age groups and attitudes within a college campus.

In 2006, 13 years later, have attitudes changed? With the boost in interracial dating in popular media over the past decade, is interracial dating more common? Has the recent increase in Asian Americans and Indian Americans correlated with rises in interracial dating? How does being biracial affect one’s identity and how does that play into attitudes towards dating? These questions, amongst others, were of high interest to myself and two fellow psychology students. In October 2005, we designed a replication research study based on the original study done at Dartmouth University in ’93, and we strived to learn about the current issues challenging interracial couples and how attitudes and perceptions have changed over the years.

Our research consisted of 16, 30-minute interviews conducted at Northwestern University in December ’05 with a range of individuals from different races, backgrounds and cultures. Of our sample, a large majority had been or were in an interracial
relationship. Our research was completed in January ’06 and was presented in the form of a 30-minute video consisting of interviews and dialogue from the study’s participants. The completed research showed many significant findings concerning the ideas of race, culture and identity as related to attitudes and perceptions about interracial couples. While there seems to be a tremendous change in attitudes amongst college students towards interracial dating, family issues seem to be the biggest challenge for those in interracial couples. One factor contributing to this increase of familial pressures is the increase in interracial dating involving Indian Americans and Asian Americans, where culture revolves strongly around family bonds.

On college campuses, the attitudes seem to have evolving drastically from 13 years ago, when most interracial couples felt like they had to hide from their friends to be together. Our findings show that the perceptions have changed significantly, and interracial couples not only do not feel discrimination from their fellow peers, but feel encouragement and often do not even realize that they are being “interracial.” Many factors could have contributed to this dramatic change in attitudes amongst the youth.

First and foremost, education on racial issues has been rising considerably, both at school and within the news media. Also, because race has become a prevalent topic in popular television, fiction/nonfiction, movies and music, the current group of individuals enrolled in colleges has been raised in this progressive environment.

The importance of the findings is that it shows that race relations are extremely dynamic and with a progressive education that emphasizes the significance of understanding race relations rather than pushing it away, it is possible to make a strong effort towards ending, or at least curbing racial prejudice and discrimination. The research findings from Redefining the Politics of Love have further opened the door concerning race and culture and more research will shed even more light onto methods to improve race relations in America.
Abstract: Living in a world plagued by an ever-increasing amount of environmental degradation and destruction, many religious and socially concerned people throughout the world are exploring their respective belief systems in an attempt to find solutions to these ecological maladies. This paper asserts that the congruent nature of the Buddhist worldview and an environmentally responsible manner of living in the world offer great potential contributions to helping people change their attitude and behavior toward the natural environment. Rejecting the strict philological approach employed by such philosophers as Lambert Schmithausen and Ian Harris, this paper argues in favor of a unique and tangible Buddhist environmental ethic. Given Rita Gross’s claim that “conclusions relevant to the current situation must not always be quoted from the classic texts; rather, the values inherent in the tradition need to be applied to the current, unprecedented eco-crisis,” I posit that Buddhism can be argued to support an ecological ethic according to three fundamental precepts: interdependence, compassion, and non-violence (Resources, 291). Transitioning from the theoretical realm to the practical, I then outline how these precepts manifest themselves in the teachings of two highly influential monks, Phrakhru Pitak Nanthakhun and Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu. Finally, drawing largely from an article by Leslie Sponsel and Poranee Natadecha-Sponsel this paper critically examines the potential role of the Sangha as a model for an environmentally friendly community.
We live in a world plagued by an ever-increasing amount of environmental degradation and destruction. This environmental crisis has led many religious and socially concerned people throughout the world to explore their respective belief systems in an attempt to find solutions to these ecological maladies. Deriving modern insight from ancient wisdom, Buddhists are no exception in their search for guidance. The congruent nature of the Buddhist worldview and an environmentally responsible manner of living in the world offers great potential contributions to helping people change their attitude and behavior toward the natural environment, thus ameliorating the current stresses placed on our ecosystem. This essay seeks to explore these potential contributions from three distinct, yet interrelated angles.

I begin by defining three fundamental precepts (interdependence, compassion, and nonviolence) according to which Buddhism can be said to support an environmental ethic. However, before exploring the precepts upon which I shall ground my argument for an explicit Buddhist environmental ethic I will first define what I mean by this phrase.¹ In doing so, I seek to clearly delineate the boundaries within which my argument shall operate. Transitioning from the theoretical realm to the practical, I will then outline how these precepts manifest themselves in the teachings of two highly influential monks, Phrakhru Pitak Nanthakhun and Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu. Finally, drawing largely from an article by Leslie Sponsel and Poranee Natadecha-Sponsel I will critically examine the potential role of the Sangha as a model for an environmentally friendly community.

¹ The terms “environmental ethics,” “ecological ethics,” “conservation ethics,” and “global ethics” will be used interchangeably throughout this paper. All of these aforementioned terms will ultimately connote the same ideal, that is, an ethic aimed at environmental protection and the lessening of current ecological degradation threatening the natural surroundings in which we live.
Environmental ethics was first introduced into the Western academic world in the early 1970s. Taking concrete form in the mid-seventies, environmental ethics became a subdiscipline of philosophy, with the first scholastic journal on the subject published in 1979 by Ernest C. Hargrove. The journal, *Environmental Ethics: An Interdisciplinary Journal Dedicated to the Philosophical Aspects of Environmental Problems*, bestowed professional identification to the embryonic field and provided legitimacy to this new area of philosophical inquiry (Callicott, 115).

Distinguishing this area of study from the myriad new fields collectively categorized as “applied ethics,” such as medical ethics and business ethics, J. Baird Callicott characterizes environmental ethics as “a sort of anti-applied ethics” (115). Due to the synergistic and enormous nature of the problems which constitute the entirety of the environmental crisis, Callicott argues that a complete reconstruction of previously held moral theories and supporting metaphysics are necessary in order to adequately deal with them. He contends that environmental ethics begins with the assumption that traditional moral theories and metaphysics are at the root of the environmental crisis as opposed to leading to their solution. Environmental ethics, therefore, has been more “critically and theoretically oriented than the other historically grounded and narrowly problem-centered species of applied ethics” (115).

Given this characterization by Callicott, I adopt for the purposes of this paper a sympathetic explication of the term “environmental ethics” put forth by noted environmental ethicist and philosopher Ip Po-Keung. Po-Keung contends that the primary responsibility of an environmental ethic is the construction of a system of normative guidelines governing humankind’s attitudes, behavior, and action regarding their natural environment. The central question, then, is how *ought* humankind, either as an individual or as a group, act toward nature?
Po-Keung characterizes “nature” as the entirety of the nonhuman environment, including “stones, fish, bears, trees, water, and so on” (116). Po-Keung includes environmental pollution, the aesthetic degradation of nature, human overpopulation, ecological destruction, resource depletion, and species extinction as the foremost concerns to be addressed by a code of conduct aimed at the preservation and betterment of our ecosystem. In accord with this explication of a functional environmental ethic, it is the contention of both Callicott and Po-Keung that shall serve as an operational paradigm for this paper: “traditional moral theories must be brought in line with ecology—the principal basic science of the environment, and ethical theory must be enlarged so as to include within its purview both human and nonhuman entities” (116).

Central to the Buddhist perspective concerning environmental issues is the understanding that the environmental crisis is a crisis not only of the multifaceted modern world, including problems related to technology, politics, science, and industry, but fundamentally a crisis of perception. According to Duncan Ryūken Williams’s article entitled “Eco-Buddhist Worldview, Green Precepts, and Bio-Sangha,” it is a crisis of perception because “in the Buddhist analysis the roots of the over-exploitation of natural resources or the pollution of land, air, and water lies in a misperception of our relationship with the natural world and even more fundamentally a misperception of ourselves” (1).

Failing to recognize our place with the structure of the cosmos, we tend to place ourselves outside of nature, dislocated from the natural environment. In contrast, Buddhism could be categorized as supporting an ecocentric worldview. Standing in stark opposition to the idea of anthropocentrism, the ecocentric outlook places humankind within the context of nature, fundamentally and inextricably linked to our surroundings. Stephanie Kaza shows how
Buddhist ecocentrism grows out of ideals of direct knowing, discriminating awareness, and deep compassion:

By cultivating these three practices, one’s actions in relation to the environment come to be based in relationship and interconnectedness, rather than in dualistic subject-object modes of separation. Through this approach, one’s orientation to the world is fundamentally altered from dominant species to member of a community, from part to process (22).

The eco-friendly Buddhist worldview transcends separateness from nature and identifies human “being” with the welfare of all living things. Kaza further purports that “an environmental ethic is not something we apply outside ourselves; there is no outside ourselves. We are the environment, and it is us” (25).

Implicit in my argument is a rejection of the strict philological approach taken by contemporary philosophers such as Ian Harris and Lambert Schmithausen. These critics deny the possibility of an inherent Buddhist environmental ethic on the grounds that it is never overtly stated in the Pali or Sanskrit canons. I argue that their approach is both shortsighted and potentially dangerous in light of the promise modern-day religious practice holds in changing the way in which people understand their place in and dependence on the natural world. I embrace a more inclusive perspective adapted from feminist philosopher and environmental advocate, Rita Gross. In “Buddhist Resources for Issues of Population, Consumption, and the Environment,” she asserts that “as is the case with all major traditions, conclusions relevant to the current situation must not always be quoted from the classic texts; rather, the values inherent in the tradition need to be applied to the current, unprecedented eco-crises” (Resources, 291).

I will now examine the concept of interdependence, which serves as the most important Buddhist principle supporting an ecological ethic. I will also examine the related ideals of compassion and nonviolence in relation to these foundational claims.
Common to all schools of Buddhism, the notion of interdependence (Pali: paticca-samuppāda) states that “all phenomena arise together in a mutually interdependent web of cause and effect” (Gross, Toward, 337). Variously rendered into English as “dependent origination,” “conditioned genesis,” “dependent co-arising,” and “interdependent arising,” the interdependence of all things is said to be one of the discoveries made by the Buddha on the night of his enlightenment experience. Positing the fundamental unity of all things, interdependence holds that nothing is totally isolated and independent. Simply stated, nothing can stand alone from the matrix of all else, thus everything is interdependent with everything else. This basic, yet paradoxically multifaceted, idea of interdependence is elaborated through metaphor in the following passage from the Avatamsaka Sutra:

Far away, in the heavenly abode of the great god Indra, there is a wonderful net which has been hung by some cunning artificer in such a manner that it stretches out infinitely in all directions. In accordance with the extravagant tastes of deities, the artificer has hung a single glittering jewel in each eye of the net, and since the net itself is infinite in dimension, the jewels are infinite in number. There hang the jewels, glittering like stars of the first magnitude, a wonderful sight to behold. If we now look closely at any one of the jewels for inspection, we will discover that in its polished surface are reflected all the other jewels in the net, infinite in number. Not only that, but each of the jewels reflected in this one jewel is reflecting all the other jewels, so that there is an infinite reflection process occurring. This symbolizes our world where every sentient being (and thing) is inter-related to one another.

All-pervasive interdependence is part of the Buddhist understanding of the law of cause and effect, which governs all events in our world. According to Buddhist teachings, nothing can happen apart from, or contrary to, cause and effect. Buddhism does not allow for accidents or divine intervention. Moreover, since Buddhism understands cause and effect as synonymous with the concept of interdependence, actions unleashed by one being have effects and repercussions throughout the entire cosmos. According to Gross, “logically, the proof of interdependence is that nothing can exist apart from the causes and conditions that give rise to it. But those causes and conditions are also dependent on other causes and conditions” (Toward, 338). Linear causality and the isolation of a single cause for an event gives way to a more web-
like understanding of causality in which everything affects everything else in some way because everything is interconnected.

Given this over-arching interdependence, our identity as isolated, separate entities holds no validity. In adopting a more holistic worldview, we are impelled to formulate a more inclusive and extensive identity. As Gross states in her article, “we cannot simply stop at the borders of our skin if we are truly interdependent with our world” (Toward, 338). Or as the 1975 National Academy of Sciences Report states, our world is a whole “in which any action influencing a single part of the system can be expected to have an effect on all other parts of the system” (Swearer, Challenge, 1). When we ultimately recognize that we are wholly and fundamentally interdependent with everything else, our actions and behaviors will be altered in radical ways. Arriving at the realization that nothing we do is irrelevant and without impact on the rest of our matrix is crucial if we are to take positive and decisive action on pressing global concerns and the environment. Human interference in the natural environment, according to Gross, “cannot be a glib pursuit of ‘progress’ and ‘growth,’ two things that many view as ideals” (Toward, 338). Interdependence stresses responsibility for one’s actions as they will entail consequences extending much further than our limited scope allows us to perceive. Ultimately, with interdependence as a core understanding, an environmental ethic eliminates any tendencies towards solipsism and becomes a practice in recognizing and supporting relationships with all beings.

Closely related to this concept of interdependence are the ethical precepts of compassion and nonviolence. The basis for any spiritual progress within Buddhism is found in the Five Precepts. The first two precepts serve as rather salient buttresses in adapting our backward-looking approach to our eco-ethic.

1. I undertake the rule of training to refrain from injury to living things.
2. I undertake the rule of training to refrain from taking what is not given (Gethin, 110).

The first ethical command highlights the straightforward imperative of *ahimsa*, or nonviolence. Perpetually reinforcing the idea that everything is interconnected and drawing on the concept of *karma*, the Buddhist view expresses a deep desire to limit the already great amount of suffering in the world. The second ethical teaching concerns rights to property. As the earth is concurrently the property of all persons, it is clear that a contradiction inevitably lies in wait. In adapting this second precept to formulate a pragmatic environmental ethic, this second principle emphasizes that we should not take from the earth in a way that denies others their rights and dues or in a way that would not be universally accepted as “given.” Farming the land for sustenance (that is, utilizing the bounty of the earth in a responsible, renewable manner) would be acceptable, whereas clear-cutting thousands of trees in the pursuit of wealth would not.

Within these ethical precepts we find the Buddha’s emphasis on the practical aspect of his teaching. He urges “the application of knowledge to life, looking into life and not merely at it” (Kabilsingh, 4).

Buddhist environmentalists assert that the mindful awareness of the universal nature of suffering produces compassionate empathy for all forms of life. Drawing from the *Dhammapada*, “the Sayings of the Buddha,” the ethical injunction not to do evil, but to do good, is cited as a moral principle advocating the nonviolent alleviation of suffering. According to Donald Swearer, this ideal is embodied in the prayer of universal loving-kindness that concludes many Buddhist rituals: “May all beings be free from enmity; may all beings be free from injury; may all beings be free from suffering; may all beings be happy” (2). From a concern for the total environment Buddhist environmentalists extend the ideals of loving-kindness and

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2 The notion of loving-kindness is strikingly similar to that of compassion and will be viewed for the purposes of this paper as virtually synonymous in constructing a distinctively Buddhist conservation ethic.
compassion beyond people and animals to include plants and other non-sentient things, as well as the earth itself.

For contemporary engaged Buddhists, notably the Dalai Lama, a sense of responsibility rooted in compassion lies at the very heart of an ecological ethic: “The world grows smaller and smaller, more and more interdependent…Today more than ever before life must be characterized by a sense of Universal responsibility, not only nation to nation and human to human, but also human to other forms of life” (Brown, 1). According to the Dalai Lama, compassion should rightfully be viewed as a virtue that uproots the wish to harm others. It makes people sensitive to the suffering of others and causes them to internalize this suffering, making it their own so that they do not want to further increase it. Thus, “the very core of Buddhism evolves around compassion, encouraging a better respect for and tolerance of every human being and living thing sharing the planet” (Kabilsingh, 2).

With its penetrating philosophic insight into the interconnectedness of all conditioned things, Buddhism provides the essential elements for a relationship to the natural world characterized by reverence, care, and mindfulness. The potential for an authentic Buddhist environmental ethic rooted in the ideals of interdependence, non-injury, and compassion seems boundless. I will now shift from the realm of the theoretical to the applied.

In recent decades, Thailand has become an environmental catastrophe. Harvesting its natural resources without considering long-term sustainability has resulted in ecological stresses threatening the well-being of Thai people. The reasons for this are multifarious, but all authorities cite the spread of Western ideals, understood “as a process whereby traditional, long-established societies come under the influence of Western (notably European and American) culture in such matters as industry, technology, economics, lifestyle, food and moral and cultural
values” (Westernization, 1). From a Thai perspective, Westernization is associated with materialism and consumerism that has “had a generally deleterious effect on classical moral values and religious worldviews and on traditional ways of understanding human existence and what constitutes the good or happy life” (Swearer, Hermeneutics, 23).

Culture and Environment in Thailand, an edited collection of papers published by the Siam Society (1989), connects the environmental crisis with the decline of adherence to Buddhism. Contributors to the volume, most of whom were Thai, argued that “moral collapse” was the cause of the growing ecological crisis in Thailand (Sponsel, 45). An article in the newspaper Matichon from the same time charges that careless development in Thailand benefited the elite at a terrible cost to the environment. The writers proposed that a reformist Buddhist perspective would “challenge selfishness and greed and the excessive lifestyle that has resulted from ‘too much wealth, too much power, too much to eat and drink, too many cars and mistresses’” (Swearer, Hermeneutics, 24).

I would argue that Buddhism provides the principles needed to address the environmental crisis in Thailand on three grounds. First, approximately 95 percent of Thailand’s population adheres to the tenets of Theravada Buddhism. Second, the basic principles of Buddhist teaching support an eco-friendly worldview. Finally, Buddhism has a long history of valuing the natural environment, as illustrated by the life and teachings of the Buddha and forest monks. In recent years many Buddhists, monks and lay people alike, have undertaken the enormous task of transforming principles into actual social realities, undoing environmental damage due to logging and other ill-considered development projects. Two Thai monks, Phrakhru Pitak Nanthakhun and Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa, address the ecological crisis from distinct perspectives in an attempt

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3 A prominent leader of the Thai Buddhist reform movement, Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa died on July 3, 1993. The legacy of his work certainly lives on in the growing reform movements in Thailand.
to educate the public, as well as to enact tangible change in the Thai people’s interaction with their natural surroundings.

Buddhadāsa’s ecological teachings are grounded in our inseparable link to nature and the teaching that “thoughtful spiritual engagement with the world requires a degree of contemplative distance” (Swearer, *Hermeneutics*, 24). Stressing the importance of both the teachings of the Buddha and their implementation into everyday life, he founded Wat Suan Mōkh, a forest hermitage, in 1932 near the town of Chaiya in the Surat Thani Province of south Thailand (Swearer, *Hermeneutics*, 24). The environmental ethic developed by Buddhadāsa links dhamma and nature. As Swearer explains “listening to nature and caring for nature are both forms of dhammic self-forgetting, not merely instrumental to human flourishing” (*Hermeneutics*, 28). That is, concern for nature does not come from within, but from without.

Trees, rocks, sand, even dirt and insects can speak. This doesn’t mean, as some people believe, that they are spirits or gods. Rather, if we reside in nature near trees and rocks we’ll discover feelings and thoughts arising that are truly out of the ordinary. At first we’ll feel a sense of peace and quiet which may eventually move beyond that feeling to a transcendence of self. The deep sense of calm that nature provides through separation from the troubles and anxieties that plague us in the day-to-day world functions to protect heart and mind. Indeed, the lesson nature teaches us lead to a new birth beyond the suffering that results from attachment to self. Trees and rocks, then, can talk to us. They help us understand what it means to cool down from the heat of our confusion, despair, anxiety, and suffering (Quoted in Swearer, *Hermeneutics*, 24-5).

According to Buddhadāsa, the world is an interdynamic, cooperative whole, not a collection of disparate, oppositional parts.

The entire cosmos is a cooperative. The sun, the moon, and the stars live together as a cooperative. The same is true for humans and animals, trees and the earth. Our bodily parts function as a cooperative. When we realize that the world is a mutual, interdependent, cooperative enterprise...then we can build a noble, even a heavenly environment. If our lives are not based on this truth then we’ll all perish (Quoted in Swearer, *Hermeneutics*, 29).

As Buddhadāsa often says, “we are mutual friends inextricably bound together in the same process of birth, old age, suffering, and death” (Swearer, *Hermeneutics*, 28). Being attuned to the lessons of nature is tantamount to what Buddhadāsa calls ‘at-one-ment’ with the dhamma. Being detached from or damaging nature implies the destruction of the dhamma (Swearer,
Hermeneutics, 25). To care for nature in the deepest sense, therefore, is not doing so in order to preserve nature for the sake of human beings. It is rather to participate in this state of interdynamics and interconnection in order to see nature for what it truly is – an intrinsically valuable, perpetually-interconnected whole. This stems from a realization that I do not exist independently of my total environment. No one is an ‘island unto themselves;’ or, in Buddhadāsa’s terminology, “I do not and cannot exist unto myself because to do so contravenes the very laws of nature” (Swearer, Hermeneutics, 29).

This means that our care for nature derives from a selfless, empathetic response grounded in the dhamma. It should not be driven by a need to satisfy our own earthly pleasures. Nor should it be motivated by the noble objective of conserving nature for our own physical and spiritual well-being or for the benefit of future generations. Undoubtedly, to care for nature in these pragmatic, functional terms has great value. However, to base our environmental ethic upon such impermanent and self-centered foundations is to miss the point of Buddhadāsa’s teachings. He explains that the Thai word thamachāt means physical, external nature. The Thai word for the inner truth of nature is dhammadhātu. This latter term contains the essential or fundamental nature of dhamma, namely the truth of the interdependent co-arising nature of things. According to Buddhadāsa, when we realize this second truth, “the truth of dhammadhātu…then we will overcome selfishness and greed….By caring for this inner truth we are then able to truly care for nature” (Swearer, Hermeneutics, 28).

Buddhadāsa’s teachings have made him one of Thailand’s most revered interpreters of the buddhadhamma. However, one criticism leveled against him concerns the detached nature of his hermeneutic, which leaves a wide gulf between the theoretical and practical. Whereas
Buddhadāsa develops a philosophical, teaching-oriented environmental ethic, Phrakhru Pitak Nanthakhun’s approach is manifest in social action.

Beginning in the early 1970s, a handful of monks concerned with the impact of Thailand’s rapid development and the erosion of traditional Buddhist values, began to engage in rural assistance projects based on their interpretations of Buddhist teachings. Many of these “activist monks,” such as Phrakhru Pitak Nanthakhun, have become leaders of a growing environmental movement that questions the priorities and policies of the Thai government (Darlington, Rethinking, 4). Despite their small numbers and limited effectiveness, these monks are attempting to restructure human relationships with nature in the face of Westernization. Their environmental seminars and their work with local people “illustrate the processes through which this small group of monks challenges the dominant trend of ecological capital” (Darlington, Rethinking, 1).

The causes of environmental degradation in Thailand are very complex. The nation’s rapid economic growth beginning in the 1960s, continuing up to the present time, and its staggeringly high rate of forest loss and environmental decay during the same period serves as fuel for fierce debate between the government and the environmentally-minded portion of the Sangha. Supported by international organizations such as the World Bank, the government argues that environmental destruction is primarily due to poverty, touting economic growth as imperative to solving environmental problems. Conversely, the phra nak anuraks, or environmental monks, point to the inequalities underlying the government’s development agenda, as well as the adoption of Western consumerist values as the true cause of inequality in Thailand. The government’s policies, they argue, promote destruction of the forest by
encouraging agricultural intensification and capital growth through the exploitation of natural resources (Darlington, *Rethinking*, 5).

Due to Thailand’s export-oriented development policies, the forest has been cut down at one of the fastest rates in Asia. According to official figures, the area of Thailand covered by forest has decreased from 72 percent of the total land in 1938 to 53 percent in 1961 and to 29 percent in 1985 (England, 60). Recent studies conducted by non-government organizations in Thailand estimate that as of 1991 only 15 percent of the country’s total land could be considered forest. To stop further deforestation, Phrakhru Pitak (and other monks) have started performing “tree ordination ceremonies.”

Phrakhru Pitak became involved in the fight against Thailand’s ever-increasing deforestation shortly after his ordination as a monk in the mid-1970s. In a rural mountain village in northern Thailand where villagers regularly clear-cut land in order to plant high income cash crops such as maize, he attempted to educate poor farmers about the negative impact of their actions by preaching of the *Dhamma* and the interconnectedness of all things (Darlington, *Ordination*, 5). However, he soon realized that preaching alone was not enough. After visiting Phrakhru Manas of Phayao Province, the monk credited with performing the first tree ordination ceremonies, he became actively engaged in conservation work (Darlington, *Rethinking*, 8). According to Susan Darlington, a tree ordination ceremony “lasts about an hour and includes chanting, sanctification of water, and wrapping a monk’s orange robes around the largest remaining tree in the forest in order to draw attention to the prevalent threat of deforestation” (*Rethinking*, 1). The symbolic tree ordination ceremony serves three main purposes. The ritual provides an opportunity for the *phra nak anuraksa* to teach about the impact of environmental destruction and the inherent value of the forests. Finally, the environmental monks also use the
ritual to teach the relevance of the *Dhamma* in a rapidly changing world. Phrakhru Pitak emphasizes the basic Buddhist principles of dependent-origination and compassion for all living things in his ecological interpretation of the Buddha’s life that highlights a close relationship with the forest (Darlington, *Rethinking*, 8).

Government officials, businessmen, developers, and the more conservative members of the *Sangha* have been extremely critical of the ecology monks for becoming involved in political issues and activities that they argue are inappropriate for Buddhist monks (Darlington, *Ordination*, 4). Walking a fine line between their traditional responsibilities as spiritual leaders and their new practices as social activists, the ecology monks use “the former to support and justify the latter, to counter the criticisms that their environmental efforts are inappropriate for monks” (Darlington, *Ordination*, 5). The ecology monks argue that it is their responsibility as both monks and as Buddhists to become engaged in this way. The *phra nak anuraksa* stress the Buddha’s intimate ties to nature, the forest origins of the Buddhist religion, and the Buddha’s sermons concerning the attenuation of suffering in the world (Darlington, *Ordination*, 4). They argue that their actions are “an effort to put the basic ideas of the religion in terms that meet the needs of the modern world” (Darlington, *Ordination*, 5). They see Buddhist environmentalism as “radical conservatism,” returning to the original teachings of the Buddha applied to contemporary situations.

The Buddhist environmental movement is growing and becoming more vocal and controversial. In an article on environmental monks in Thailand, Susan Darlington concludes that “it is apparent that Thai Buddhism is changing dramatically and, despite some efforts to use it as a conservative force to support the status quo and government policies, it has tremendous potential to effect social and environmental change in Thailand” (*Ordination*, 11). In light of
this encouraging outlook, it is my aim to examine the potential influence of the Sangha as a theoretical archetype for an environmentally friendly, green society within Thailand.

The Sangha plays a role of tremendous importance within Thai Buddhism. Encompassing all of the local monastic communities within a comprehensive structure, virtually no facet of contemporary Thai life is left unaffected by the far-reaching influence of the Sangha. Although they do not always function in an altogether beneficial manner, the potential of both the local monastic communities, as well as the Sangha for promoting a Buddhist environmental ethic is significant. Local monastic communities rooted in the society can teach and actualize the principles of an ecologically ideal society. According to Leslie Sponsel and Poranee Natadecha-Sponsel, the local monastic community can contribute to the resolution or reduction of Thailand’s eco-crisis according to four propositions:

1) Ideally the monastic community exhibits attributes which are similar, and in some instances even identical, to many of the characteristics of a green society.
2) There is a tremendous contrast between these ideal principles and the behavior of lay communities and society as a whole in Thailand.
3) The monastic community has extraordinary status and power to transform Thailand into a more ecologically appropriate society by virtue of its antistructural…social and moral roles.
4) By drawing on the ecological wisdom of the dhamma, the local monastic communities have significant potential to contribute to the environmental education of the populace and thereby to help create a greener society (48).

Local monastic communities support principles furthering a green, ecologically appropriate society. However, there is an enormous gulf between these principles and the usual practices of lay communities and society as a whole in Thailand. In the words of Phra Phaisan Visalo of Sukato Forest Monastery:

The lives of the forest monks and the pattern of relationship in the Sangha convey to people in the larger society certain “messages,” some of which deny or resist the prevailing values. Such messages point to the true value of life, indicating that development of inwardness is much more important than wealth and power, that the life of tranquility and material simplicity is more rewarding and fulfilling….To have forest monasteries amidst, or, to put it more correctly, elevated above the lay society, is to have communities of resistance that, by their nature and very existence, question the validity of popular values (Quoted in Sponsel, 50).
I would now like to suggest what these communities (as well as the *Sangha* as a whole) could, or “ought,” potentially offer to an ecologically constructive culture. I draw on the theoretical framework of Sponsel and Natadecha-Sponsel who note eight distinct attributes that demark a green society.

The first characteristic of an ecologically appropriate monastic community is to promote a small and controlled population. Fostering a classless “communal lifestyle based on mutual respect and cooperation,” the ideal monastic community also aims for self-sufficiency and sustainability, limiting resource consumption to satisfying basic needs (Sponsel, 49). The economy is cooperative rather than competitive. Holding fast the values of reverence, compassion, and nonviolence, this model community would encourage harmony both within society and between society and nature. Finally, the monks would advance a holistic worldview couched in deep self-examination and the eventual extinction of the self (Sponsel, 49).

From an ecologically sympathetic outsider’s perspective the promise of the *Sangha* and local monastic communities in promoting a green, environmentally responsible society seems enormous. However, as I have noted, the *Sangha* is far from uniform and subject to abuse and corruption. Bureaucracy, hierarchical prejudice, and closed-minded conservatism are limitations of the *Sangha* that need to be overcome if change is to be enacted with Thai society. However, if the *Sangha* recognizes Western materialism and consumerism as negative influences and embraces the core teachings of Buddhism, the guidelines listed above could be realized. Again I turn to the moving words of Phra Phaisan Visalo in describing the potential contribution of the monastic community to provide a viable guideline for eco-responsible living:

> Here we can see something of the contribution the forest monastery can render to society, since it is able to preserve the traditional wisdom so badly needed by Thailand and the modern world. This wisdom is not only to be found in the scriptures or expressed through words. It is manifested in living communities existing in the context of contemporary society, and is there to be perceived. Such wisdom cannot be apprehended, however, unless we perceive the forest monastery as a
system of relationships between the individual, society, and nature. The Sangha in the forest monastery is a society aiming for human development amidst the natural environment. In this system of relationships we can see the wisdom which stresses the interrelatedness and interdependence of persons, society, and nature (Quoted in Sponsel, 53).

Buddhist teachings emphasize the importance of coexisting with nature, rather than conquering it. Adapting Buddhist principles and practices of the religion to fit our modern world, some Buddhists are challenging the Western lifestyle adopted by a great number of their contemporaries. These reformist Buddhists argue for a simpler lifestyle more connected with our natural environment:

The development of Western technology was spurred by the belief that applied science could eliminate all human wants and usher in a golden age of unlimited prosperity for all. Now, having utilized technology to subjugate nature to serve human desire, we have doubtlessly succeeded in making life more comfortable and secure in many respects than it had been in an earlier era. However, our smog-covered cities, polluted waterways, devastated forests and chemical dumps remind us painfully that our material triumphs have been gained at terrible price. Not only is the beauty of the natural environment gradually being destroyed, but its capacity to sustain life is seriously threatened, and in the process of vanquishing nature, man himself has placed himself in danger of losing his humanity (Bhikkhu Bodhi, Quoted in Brown, 1).

As Bhikkhu Bodhi poignantly argues, the need for a far-reaching, innovative environmental ethic has never been greater than it is today. By bringing the ancient wisdom of the Buddha’s teachings into the modern world, I believe that a Buddhist environmental ethic can be an element of great significance for the proper conservation and restoration of our natural environment.
Title of the submission. “‘Painted Prayers’: Indian Women and Sacred Spaces”

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Paper Abstract

“‘Painted Prayers’: Indian Women and Sacred Spaces”

In their art, writing, and activism, Indian women from ancient and modern India have fore-grounded a number of social practices and concerns ranging from religious rituals, expressions and conflicts; class and caste inequities and collaborations; gender imbalances and cooperation; environment problems and solutions; development dilemmas and models of self-sufficiency; ancient traditions and modern challenges to forces of neo-imperialism and globalism. In my paper, I will focus on instances of Indian women as multiple agents of creative transformation, who express their spirituality through their art, writing and activism and advocate the building of alliances with struggles against hierarchies and power domination. As artists and writers, they have participated in transforming the most impoverished or patriarchally defined domestic and social spheres into sacred spaces of reflection, empowerment and faith. As social activists and critics, they have supported and furthered various movements and agendas to confront social ills and injustices, and engage in social change. I will explore the intersecting spaces of women’s creativity, activism, and spirituality that are interlinked with transformative social and political agency.
The art of “Kolam” referred to as the “painted prayers” (Kamat “Rangoli: The Painted Prayers of India”) of the women in South India provides the conceptual and visual framework for the specific forms of women’s struggles, triumphs and negotiations across socio-economic, religious and geo-political boundaries of India. “Kolam” is a folk art form of designs made with rice paste, lime, white stone or ground colors (known as “Rangoli” in other parts of India) that transforms the mud or concrete entrance floors of village huts, temple entrances, courtyards, as well as city houses, and are also displayed on walls. Mainly the women’s art form, it is passed on from mother to daughter through a careful and deft looping of curves around dots, from simple to complex geometrical patterns. As an “invitation to divine forces,” as well as an expression of the ephemeral and the spiritual, the patterns are drawn every morning by women and girls, particularly in South India. While the urban practices have slowed down or have become features of specific festival rituals, the rural women still practice this art form daily. As an expression of communal activity that women engage in, the “Kolam” is both a bridge across class/caste and age differences as well as a measure of individual creativity that has its roots in a spiritual center.

I will use the “Kolam” as the conceptual and visual frame for understanding the specific issues of women’s struggles expressed in contemporary women’s writing and activism in India. This framing allows an entry into the configuration of social and sacred spaces and Indian women’s intervention in redefining these spatial designs for their specific needs. It also provides an understanding of “thresholds,” “entrances,” and “exits” as important coexistences of historical and spatial markers in Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Postcolonial contexts of India. For example, the writer-activist Mahasweta Devi's
narratives of tribal women's lives and struggles in the collection, *Imaginary Maps* explore the harsh realities of neo-colonial violence against the tribal space. Arundhati Roy, the author of *The God of Small Things* and *Power Politics*, examines the marginal spaces of the subaltern, the outcastes as well as the impoverished whose voices are constantly eroded in the rhetoric of national projects of progress, modernity and globalization. In my paper, I will examine these resistance discourses and the constitution of “many subjects of feminism” (Grewal 232) within the framework of Indian women’s practice of “Kolam” as a space of multiple intersections--folk art, social practice, spiritual expression, feminist writing and political commitment.

**Works Cited**


The Experiences of Women Partners of Transmen:
New Voices, New Perspectives

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Yet another decade later, it seems we still need to ask these same questions, even as we push to expand (and even implode) sociological explorations into gender and sexuality. It is no surprise, then, that a glut of articles in sociological journals have appropriated the “trouble with” and “missing revolution” phrases for the titles of papers calling for expanded sociological analyses that engage, substantively, issues of race, gender, sex, nationality, socioeconomic status, sexuality and their interconnections. For the most part, gender (and even less often, sexuality) remains an issue primarily resigned to a factor for categorical analysis within mainstream sociology. Feminist sociology, and sociologies of gender and sexuality, while carving their own haltingly-influential niches, remain wayward children—tangents to mainstream sociology.

Disciplinary Silences, Omissions and Possibilities for LGBT Voices

Social science researchers have begun to construct a body of work examining the identities, lives and relationships of gay men and lesbians. These studies reveal that same-sex
relationships may not be so entirely dissimilar from heterosexual relationships. Many same-sex partners seek to create the same sorts of bonds and rituals to which heterosexuals have long held almost exclusive access. Lewin’s (1998) *Recognizing ourselves*, an exploration into the partnering and marriage trends among same-sex couples, discusses how these relationships and ceremonies carry both similar and divergent themes, meaning, intent and social/familial reception from those of heterosexuals.

A more recent ethnographic work by Carrington (2000), *No place like home*, addresses the household division of labor among same-sex couples, often assumed to be uniformly egalitarian in structure. Contrary to this assumption, Carrington finds evidence that the structuring of household labor among these couples is not so dissimilar from that of heterosexuals. He finds that these couples [like some heterosexual couples—a la the findings of Hochshild (1989)] generate relational myths to create the semblance of egalitarianism.

While many of these studies are subsumed under the category of theory and research on “LGBT” populations, the social science literature rarely discusses bisexual and/or transgender individuals and the relationships they create. In fact, some social science research may even contribute to further marginalization and pathologization of those who are transgender-identified by normalizing psychological/medical diagnostic categories such as Gender Identity Disorder (Burke, 1996; Scholinski, 1997).

In 2005, a search for the word, “transgender” in the two most influential and prestigious sociological journals (*American Journal of Sociology* and *American Sociological Review*), yields zero returns in either an article title, abstract or keyword. The same holds true for the word, “transsexual.” The most substantive contribution on transgender issues, within either of these journals, is a rather scathing two-page book review by Devor (2004), in the *American Journal of*

Despite the palpable absence of transgender issues within the flagship journals of American sociology, sociological work on transgender issues is beginning to grow in the United States and beyond. Devor (1989, 1997) and Rubin (2003), both “out” as ftm transsexuals, are two of the few sociologists grappling substantively with transgender-identified people and transgender issues. In Australia, Lewins (1995, 2002) conducts sociological work on transsexuals and their partnerships. In the U.K., Ekins & King (1999) seek to develop a sociology of transgendered bodies. It is clear that while, for the most part, transgender and transsexual issues have not yet entered the radar of mainstream sociological academe in the United States, important work is being conducted.

Transgender issues have been an area for incredibly productive subcultural political discourse and academic investigation in the humanities for more than a decade. A number of books, videos and television shows offering visual representations of transgender-identified people and their lives have been quite successful within queer communities, and have also enjoyed more limited popular culture success (Allen, 2003; Cameron, 1996; Davis, 2001; Gamson, 1998; Schemerhorn & Cram, 1996; Volcano & Halberstam, 1999). Texts on transgender issues, often written as first-person accounts of a wide variety of transgender experiences, cultures and politics, have also gained some popular recognition (Califia, 1997; Diamond, 2004; DiFranco, 2004; Green, 2004; Kotula, 2002; O’Keefe & Fox, 2003; Scholinski, 1997; Stone, 1993; Stryker, 1998; Troka, Lebesco & Noble, 2002; Wilchins, 1997).

In the humanities, scholars such as Judith Butler and Judith Halberstam, guided by postmodern understandings and the interpretive/analytic styles of philosophers such as Jacques
Lacan and Michel Foucault, are academic superstar elites. They are also two of the leading theorists on transgenderism, which encompasses anything that falls outside of normative understandings of binary sex and gender schemas (e.g. drag kings and queens, intersexuality, transsexuality, butches, femmes, androgynes, ftms, mtfs, bois, girlz, boy-girls, he-shes, fag dykes and countless other permutations at the interface of sex, gender and sexuality). By conceptually disrupting the binaries, some scholars insist that gender (and even sexual) hegemony can also be destabilized (Alexander & Yescavage, 2004; Fausto-Sterling, 1997; Hausman, 1995; Kessler, 1998; Nestle, Wilchins, & Howell, 2002; Queen & Schimel, 1997). Butler (1990, 1993, 2004) and Halberstam (1998, 2005) emphasize the performative, dramaturgical and contextually-specific aspects of sex, gender and sexuality in order to extricate them from essential, biological, transhistorical, transcultural and/or predetermined ways of being in the world. Revealing the complexity and experience of transgender identities, communities and politics may allow a more complete picture of the diverse transgender community to emerge.

**Representing Transmen in Social/Relational Contexts**

As gender studies continue to gain popularity in the humanities, more is written on the experiences of being transgender-identified. The majority of this incipient research has focused, largely, on male-to-female (MtF) transsexuals and often assumes a fairly autonomous perspective that rarely situates these individuals within their relational contexts (especially with regard to romantic partners and relationships). Part of the gap in the research literature may derive from the myriad, unpredictable and often complex forms these relationships may take.

Cromwell (1999), in *Transmen & FTMs: Identities, bodies, genders, & sexualities*, offers one of the most thorough ethnographic studies and analysis of the lives of female-to-male (FtM) transgender-identified people/transmen. His last chapters even include some provocative
discussion regarding the (primarily) women partners of FtMs/transmen, and the complex negotiations they face in terms of their own and their partners’ identities. This research is ripe for expansion and greater focus to explore the experiences of the women partners of transmen/FtMs. My study picks up on this thread by focusing on these women partners and their experiences.

**New Explorations and Directions for Analysis: A Place for Liminality?**

By specifically targeting and exploring transmen and their women partners, I hope to bring more focused attention to transgender identity and transgender relationships. These identities and relationships may illustrate the limits of binary and reductionist understandings of sex, gender and sexuality. Indeed, by examining some of the spaces and sites that exist outside of our conceptualizations of “normality,” we may discover some productive and illuminating possibilities regarding a wider array of possible identities and relationships.

In the third chapter of his text, *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*, anthropologist Victor L. Turner writes about the concept of liminality. In this work, liminality is discussed as a transitive state between one phase of belonging or community membership and another. Occupying this limbo means no longer inhabiting a space within which one was previously a member; yet also not yet being fully subsumed into a new space, role or community as a member. Existence at these interstices brings with it a host of potential challenges as fundamental lack of belonging is often tied to depression, ambiguity, fear and isolation. The concept of liminality may hold great promise in articulating some of the lived experience of transgender-identified people and their significant others, friends, families and allies (SOFFAs). In order to examine this concept in relation to transgender-identified people and their women partners, I conducted an exploratory qualitative study with twenty, self-identified women partners of transmen.
The testimonies and experiences of these women may be extraordinarily illuminating in terms of identity, identity negotiation, gender and sexuality. Just a couple of the questions deserving further research exploration are: How do the women partners of transmen/FtMs understand their own sexual orientation and reconcile these understandings with the bodily reminders of their partner’s sex? How do these couples simultaneously reify, challenge and radically reconfigure our understandings of sex, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, “same-sex relationships” and their intersections?

Method

Design & Data Collection

I utilized qualitative methods to elicit in-depth narratives of the experiences and perspectives of a group of self-identified women partners of transmen. The sample of women represented within this study was recruited using the following strategies:

1) Through email to land-based groups, Internet groups and online listservs connected to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and ally communities; particularly targeting those listservs and groups focusing on transgender-identified persons and their SOFFAs (significant others, friends, family and allies). See Appendix A for an example of recruitment and pre-screening materials used in this study.

2) Through word-of-mouth and snowball sampling, those who heard about and/or participated in the study told other potential research participants who were then referred to the author.

Twenty women participated in a digital audio-recorded interview for this study. I conducted one-on-one interviews with each participant over a six-month period (May-October, 2005).

I conducted face-to-face interviews in the United States in the Midwest (6) and on the West Coast (2). I conducted the other interviews over the telephone with participants from the Midwest (4), East Coast (3) and West Coast (3) of the United States, Canada (1) and Australia (1). Participants completed a pre-interview demographics and background assessment (see
Appendix B). Prior to (or at the beginning of) each interview, participants provided oral and/or written consent for both interview participation and digital audio recording (see Appendix C).

The twenty, self-identified women participants all reported female sex self-identification. Participants ranged in age from twenty to fifty-one years, with a mean of twenty-nine. The sample consisted of seventeen self-identified white participants, two participants indicating multiracial identity (one participant indicated white and Latina identity and another indicated Irish, Native American and Black identity) and one self-identified black participant. In terms of sexual orientation, nine participants self-identified as “queer” or “pansexual”; six participants self-identified as “lesbian” or “dyke”; four participants self-identified as “bisexual; and one participant self-identified as “heterosexual.”

Participants’ reports on the duration of their relationship with their current partner ranged from four months to eleven years, with a mean of three years. Fifteen respondents reported cohabitating with their partners, and five participants lived alone or with someone other than their partner, at the time of our interview. All of the participants not currently cohabitating with their partners reported relationships of two years or less in duration. For ease of connecting participants’ comments to their demographic information, please see Chart A, below.

**Chart A: Participant Demographic Information by Pseudonym**
Interviews followed a semi-structured, open-ended format and lasted from 74 to 135 minutes, with an average of 110 minutes. I developed my interview protocol with the following aims:

1) To begin addressing the striking absence of data on transgender partnerships in existing research literatures;

2) To elicit substantive, preliminary data regarding the various structures and forms of romantic relationships between women and transmen, as articulated by participants;

3) To extend existing research on lesbian and gay partnerships (e.g. Carrington, 1999) to transgender partnerships to discern areas of possible convergence and divergence and;

4) To identify particular areas of social support, resources and stress for these transgender partnerships in order to identify met and unmet social service/social support needs (see Appendix D for interview protocol).
Each participant received $20 in compensation for their participation and was also asked if they would be willing to participate, at a later date, in another paid research interview with the author to gather follow-up or additional information. Participants were also provided with a sheet of local and Internet resources (e.g. support groups, social groups and counselors) for transgender-identified people and their SOFFAs.

*Data Analysis*

Digital audio files were transcribed by two, professional transcriptionists/research assistants who signed written agreements to protect the confidentiality of all research participants and materials (see Appendix E). I cross-checked transcripts with digital audio files to ensure transcription accuracy prior to importing the data into nVivo (a qualitative research analysis software tool) for further analysis. Once I imported all research data into nVivo, I assigned various “attributes” to each interview file (e.g. race/ethnicity, age, sex, and sexual orientation of each participant and their partner; number of years participant and partner have been together, whether or not the partners are cohabitating, etc.). I re-read all interview transcripts and developed thematic categories from notable, recurring, convergent and divergent participant statements across the interviews, using inductive techniques. I coded both confirming and disconfirming interview data under each emergent theme (or “node”).

*Results*

*Queerly Liminal*

Respondents, discussing their partner’s “transition,” often invoked language and central concerns that parallel research literatures on liminality. For instance, many women partners of transmen described their partners’ lives and identities in multiply-situated and contextually-
dependent ways that would likely seem mind-whirling to most people who do not live and function in these liminal spaces every day:

So like when I moved here a year and a half ago… he was identifying as male and going by male pronouns around his friends. But around strangers, he wasn’t really doing that much to pass as male. And [he] still didn’t really give male names for some reasons… So some of my friends met him when he was still using, “Bobbie,” to sort of give himself the girl – boy space at the same time. And so they met him as, “Bobbie” and he didn’t really… He looked male but not male… A year and a half later, I have met some people who only know him as “Bob,” [and] don’t know he is trans… Both of my parents are together and then I have six siblings. So about half know and refer to him with male pronouns. And the other half that don’t know, like, just still know him as my girlfriend… He identifies as an ftm transsexual, but still identifies as a dyke in many ways. So he lives as a man, legally his name is a male name, passes as a man, prefers to be treated as and recognized as a man. But also is still—presents as a woman sometimes, presents dyke sometimes. So identifies, I guess, I think as more medically and sort of socially-identified as ftm transsexual. But sort of personally, and among friends, still identifies as a dyke, so a woman in those ways. –Nina

I think that everyone has masculine and feminine qualities to them so it’s really hard for me to specifically pinpoint what I think is definitely male or manly about him because I genuinely believe that no one is definitely male or definitely just female or masculine or feminine. –Veronica

So in academic circles and stuff related to that, he is trans. But to people he doesn’t really know or just the average person on the street he doesn’t really disclose it so he is more male. –Charlene

[My partner] identifies mostly in the masculine, but is not uncomfortable if he’s called, ‘she.’… Right now, because of the legalities involved… I mean, in a perfect world he would check ‘male’ in a heartbeat. But, given the legalities [being] what they are, and still being in the course of his transition, he would be obligated to check, ‘female.’… Around our house, it could be ‘he’ or ‘she’ in any given moment—and usually in the same sentence. But that’s more about our history and experiences. For instance, if you’re saying: ‘You know when we were in California two years ago, [my partner] was out there and she had a great time; and now when we think back, he really looks forward to going back.’ And it works. So outside, I try and remember to use male pronouns because it’s less confusing for the other people around us. –Selma
Many partners discussed particular strategies (in addition to those mentioned above) that they adopted for actively managing others’ perceptions of their partner’s gender identity across various contexts:

Unfortunately, I have to use female pronouns [when around my partner’s family], which doesn’t thrill me; but I pretty much just generally avoid using them all together unless I absolutely can’t get around it. For a long time it was really strange for me—like when we were first together, being around them…like, over a period of two years, I maybe had to refer to him with a female pronoun like, one time. I was actually keeping count because I got so good at just omitting pronouns in sentences. –Drea

When I’m talking to other partners of ftms, I almost always use, ‘he.’ With [my partner], we’ll switch back and forth—depending on the context—with our close circle of friends. We’ll all switch back and forth depending on the context and a level of linguistic playfulness, what have you. And out in the world, and with [my partner’s] family, I use female pronouns almost exclusively. –Michele

It is often not only the transgender partner’s identity that reflects a liminal state or status. As one participant commented, in response to the question of how she categorizes the relationship she has with her transgender partner in terms of sexual orientation:

I think that maybe instead of having definitions like lesbian, or straight, or whatever, it might be just people are attracted to others on this part of the gender spectrum. One thing I’ve learned is there are people who are neither gender who are sort of somewhere in the middle. If you’re dating someone like that, where does that…you can’t really define it as a straight or gay relationship. –Charlene

Another participant discussed shifts in her thinking about her own sexual orientation since forming a relationship with her transgender-identified partner:

Until [my partner] came out to me, I was very comfortable calling myself a lesbian or a dyke. But the whole thing has really made me question not necessarily my own orientation but the way that people identify and what orientation is so I don’t really feel comfortable putting a label on it anymore. You can [call me] queer. –Robyn

In this instance, the shift that occurred in Robyn’s labeling seems to derive not so much from a central shift in her affectional desires, but from a shift in her understandings of what it means to
identify in various ways. Robyn’s narrative demonstrates the way transgender identity and relationships with transgender-identified people introduce a new awareness and dis-comfort with previously unexamined and unproblematized “static” identities.

Other participants expressed frustration with labels, asserting that they and their relationships exist in a space that simply does not have a sexual identity label that “fits” their experience.

Bisexual is a term that I don’t really like, but that’s what most people would automatically label you as. If you’re not a lesbian, if you’re not straight, you’re bisexual. –Linda

[My partner] passes as male in public—I would say maybe 15% of the time. He doesn’t always want to pass, either. So it’s not something that he’s intentionally always trying to do. He definitely is interested in reading as not feminine, not female—but not necessarily as an authentic male. So we get a lot of – ‘What is it?’ When he passes as male, and we’re together, then I’m a straight girl.
–Michele

People are wondering what your sexuality is, and even on quizzes I get asked on surveys and things like that and I really don’t know what to put because I can’t put that I’m heterosexual and I can’t put that I’m a lesbian. I almost feel like I’m compromising him by saying that I’m a lesbian, because he’s still female and I don’t want to do that. I haven’t really found anything that fits perfectly… I can’t say that I’m bisexual because I have no interest in biological men and it’s really hard to find something that fits women and transguys. I have no term—I have to create one on my own. –Tiffany

Some participants addressed this gap by filling the space with reinterpretations of already-existing categories:

I identify as a lesbian. My primary attractions are to masculine, female-bodied people and that has always been the case for me. –Jess

In this instance, Jess reinterprets the definition of “lesbian” to include attraction to masculine, female-bodied persons. This revision allows Jess to retain her identity while still acknowledging her partner’s masculinity. This revision may run aground for some however, in that it also asserts attraction to a female body—a body with which some transmen do not identify.
Some articulations of transgender identity challenge traditional understandings of liminality insofar as liminal states are often defined as transitory, with the ultimate destination of membership and identity within a new group or community. For many transgender-identified people, however, transgender may be less about “transition” from one sex or gender “state” to another, than it is about “transcendence” from the confines of each to become both or neither. As one participant, speaking about her partner’s gender identity, attests:

> He identifies as transsexual, but he does not identify as a man. What he feels is that he’s not either male or female. And the reason that I use male pronouns and that he prefers male pronouns and he uses a male name is because he has to pick one or the other—he feels uncomfortable with both—but he feels less uncomfortable being seen as male by others and being referred to as male. Although, you know, it drives him nuts when people on the phone say, ‘Thank you sir.’ So, he really feels in-between and not that he is or is becoming a man. —Toby

In some instances, transgender identity and experience seems to be forged out of (and centered upon) living *through* and *within* liminal space, itself, and distinguishable from assimilation into binary understandings of sex and gender.

> My notions of gender have been stretched and I think about it much more and I think about—I try to puzzle out ways—how gender’s used in a binary way and ways that it really isn’t [binary]. —Toby

This is certainly not the case, however, for all of those who could be considered transmen. Indeed, many transmen are quite committed and personally motivated to uphold the gender binary.

**Policing Gender and Sexuality within Transgender Relationships**

In many instances, transgender identity represents a liminal embodiment of sex, gender and sexuality. Perhaps it is not so surprising, then, that this identity may pose challenging at times in its perceived ambiguity and ambivalence, especially when the transgender-identified person in question wishes *not* to perpetually inhabit a liminal space, but to transition. In such an
instance, the role of a partner’s identity, in terms of gender and sexuality, may face heightened scrutiny. For those whose gender identity and sexual orientation are ambiguous, and perhaps at odds with one’s sense of self, a partner’s gender expression and open espousal of a particular sexual orientation may be “read” by others to infer the transgender partner’s gender and/or sexuality. As such, a woman partner’s gender presentation or sexual orientation may become increasingly salient to one or both partners:

I think there are times where I feel like I need to make him feel more masculine by me being more feminine than I might want to be. Like beauty maintenance for instance I didn’t shave my legs for a couple of days is it okay if I show [him] my legs? That kind of thing because I don’t want him to think: ‘Oh, I have female body too. I have hairy legs and so do you.’ I don’t want to make him feel uncomfortable. So in that way… I sometimes put pressure on myself to be the more feminine one where it’s not necessarily required. –Veronica

In addition to heightened salience, certain self-expression of gender and/or sexual orientation may be perceived as threatening on the part of some transgender partners who view these expressions as reflective or indicative of their own identity.

Many participants articulated feeling compelled to alter their own gender expression or sexual identity to affirm or reify their partner’s status as “male.” One participant’s comment reveals just how powerfully transformative such dynamics can become in the context of a woman partner’s own gender and sexual identity:

When he first came out and started transitioning, it really was difficult because he expected me to become more feminine and play more of the straight girl role, the straight girlfriend, and be very feminine, and he wanted me to grow out my hair—I had my hair very short—and dress in women’s clothing. So that way, he thought that that way, I wouldn’t give him away…I could see that when he wouldn’t pass he would always look to me and be like, ‘Well, you gave me away. It’s pretty obvious you’re a dyke and people just assume that I’m a dyke too, I guess.’ I was really upset about it for a long time because I felt like this was his transition and why would I have to change who I am just so he could be happy with who he is? And it took me awhile to realize that I needed to do this for him at this point in his life. It was something that was really important to him and I have the rest of my
In this instance, the woman partner justified her choice to adapt her gender expression to remedy her partner’s anxiety surrounding the instability of his gender in the eyes of others. It is important to note that the justification this woman partner expressed runs counter to her initial sentiment that her partner’s transition was his own and that her identity should not be challenged or in question. Later, however, she “realized” the supposed erroneousness of this assertion and offers a justification founded in her concern that to not change her gender expression would be emotionally damaging to her partner. In this explanation for her choice to change her appearance, her transformation met a “critical” “need” to ensure her transgender partner’s “safety.”

Another participant articulated the confusion and “identity panic” experienced by some women whose partner’s transgender identity calls their own sexual orientation and identity into question:

It’ll come up on [Internet support] lists—people coming on to the lists, freaking out, ‘Oh my God, I’m a lesbian. What am I gonna do with this guy? How do I identify?’ And other people saying, ‘Well, I just quit identifying,’ or ‘Now I identify as bisexual.’ I thought about it, but it seems dumb to me because I identify as a lesbian. The label doesn’t matter, in a sense, but it’s just dumb to just change the label just because my partner has transitioned. I still feel like who I am. I don’t feel any need to say, ‘Oh, well, because he is appearing to be male then I have to say I’m bisexual.’ It seems kind of imposed. –Toby

Both of the preceding narratives give voice to the notion that women partners must determine whether or not to gauge their own sexual identity primarily through their partner’s gender and sexual identity or by some other barometer. As supported by the following narrative, some women do feel that their partner’s gender guides this attribution process:

I think [the label for the type of relationship we’re in] really depends on [the trans partner] because some of them are stealth and, then, it sort of forces you to be heterosexual because you can’t out them as trans—which makes them not queer, which makes you not bisexual or whatever you could be—which sort of de-
complicates the whole issue; but yet complicates it all at the same time. And since my partner isn’t that way, and he’s very open with his identity and who he has been in the past and who he intends to be in the future and who is now, it sort of doesn’t matter. And so I guess if you want to put a word on it, we would just be ‘queer.’ We just are, I think. We’re not lesbian and we’re not straight, that’s for sure. I don’t know if there is any typical trans/female relationship. If there is, maybe we’re that. I don’t know. –Samantha

Extending this quandary about how to identify, partners expressed frustration and anger at being “read” as heterosexual in social contexts.

Sometimes it’s really frustrating. And part of that is just, you know, not wanting to be perceived as a normal, straight, couple. Clearly there’s nothing wrong with being straight, being in a heterosexual relationship. But I feel like that assumption just invalidates a lot of experience. And so it’s frustrating in that way because I want those experiences validated in ways that they just don’t get [validated].

–Nina

One of my initial reactions when he told me that he had to transition was—I was adamant—I did not want to be seen as a straight woman. So if he wanted to walk around looking like a man and have people see us a straight couple, that was gonna drive me crazy and I would not put up with it. But that didn’t make me question my identity. I mean the reason that I was upset about that idea was that I am a lesbian. I didn’t want to be seen as other than a lesbian. So it was more about how I would be perceived or if he would want me to be perceived that way—which bothered me. –Toby

The major thing that I feel incredibly frustrated with is… before [my partner] and I got together, I was dating women… and my biggest frustration is the constant debate about my sexuality. Like, the first thing I would say is, ‘Mom, [my partner’s] having a sex change,’ and the first thing they would ask is about me. They would say, ‘Well, what does that make you, then?’ And it’s like, gosh, this isn’t about me. It’s really got nothing to do with me at the end of the day. And regardless of how I answer, I feel like it’s something that’s still in limbo in their minds. Like saying, ‘Oh, but I thought you were attracted to girls.’ And it’s like, isn’t it obvious that I’m not just attracted to girls if I’m in a relationship with a guy? Why do you even need to bring it up? –Linda

In these instances, it is not only the fact of being “misread” that is so upsetting, but that one’s queer identity is simultaneously rendered invisible. The narrative of another participant makes this dynamic poignantly clear:
I think as a femme, as someone who’s feminine, I don’t feel like I’ve ever been seen as queer when I’ve been by myself. I think, so often in my history of dating people, that the people that I dated would make me visibly queer. So it’s really interesting when the person I’m dating makes me invisible, and so I don’t gain any visibility as a lesbian or as someone who is queer when being out in public with [my passing ftm partner] the way I would with past [masculine lesbian] partners. So that’s really, really hard. However, in a way, it sort of feels almost liberating because now I and only I am responsible for my queer visibility; so I feel like I’ve really kind of owned that and looked at that and looked at how unfair it is. In queer communities, femmes are seen as invisible at all times. I think that’s really unfair. I think that it’s sexism, honestly, that femmes are seen as invisible beings when, really, we’re radically queer in our own right and we’re just never given that credit. –Jess

Queer community becomes another space where liminal identities may be erased through assumptions and ambiguity—rendering transmen and their partners peripheral to many communities within which they previously enjoyed full membership and recognition:

When we participate socially [in lesbian and gay space], there’s definitely a tension, because we look like a straight couple in queer space and I’m very sensitive to that because I know how it feels to see straight couples in queer space, or to see straight people in queer space because it makes me feel like they’re not respecting the space. And just kind of taking over and taking up a lot of space and so I’m really super aware and we really try to be aware and not make these people uncomfortable. –Jess

**Bodies in Flux: Partners Negotiating Trans Bodily Formation**

Deciding whether or not to transition is a complex, difficult and (for the most part) irreversible decision. The choice to transition will impact every fact of a transperson’s life—certainly their interpersonal and romantic relationships. While many women partners of transmen meet their partner after he has already come out as transgender, choices to engage in hormonal and surgical transition strategies may not arise until later into the relationship. Participants offered numerous accounts of how their partner’s choice to transition evolved as a very independent decision, as a careful and explicit negotiation between partners or as something in between.
So in February, I asked him if he thought any more about gender, since he talked to me about gender in January, and he said he was going to transition in the next couple of months and I was like. whoa, where did that come from? –Robyn

Women partners who have primarily formed romantic relationships with other woman-identified females, in the past, often face an adjustment when partnering with transmen. While the transgender-identified partner may still have a female body, this body may not seem at all familiar. Some women discuss this adjustment as a grief process. In some cases, this grief derives from missing the familiarity of the bodies of past partners who identified with their female bodies.

I was still trying to come to terms with the fact that the first so-called female relationship I was in wasn’t with a female. I mean we pretty much knew at that point that we wanted to be married so also coming to terms with I will never have a truly female relationship but I knew that I had to be careful about what I said as far as his gender went because I mean he could be very sensitive about it. I mean there used to be but now we’re pretty open and honest about it. He sometimes he’ll get to a little funk where he’ll tell me that I’m not good enough for him or that he’s not good enough for me because he can’t offer me what I want but he doesn’t really say what I want and I get confused. But he’s like I don’t have the parts that you want and I don’t have the mentality that you want… Sometimes he kind of feels like he’s in between and that that isn’t what I want. –Kendra

Sometimes I miss women’s bodies. I mean, my partner has still a very female body but he uses it very differently now than when we first met. So sometimes I do miss… Like when I do sleep with a woman, I am like whoa. You have the same body as my partner but this is really different. And that is what I do miss. It is just like the way he uses his body and the way he is comfortable with his body—what sexually he wants and what he doesn’t want has changed. So that is really the only thing that I miss sometimes is knowing that I used to interact with his body differently. I miss that sometimes but not in a really consistent way. –Nina

In other cases, this grief may stem from the transformation of a current partners’ body through the use of testosterone and/or sexual reassignment surgeries.

The day before the surgery I kind of broke down and cried and he was like, ‘Whoa, where is this coming from?’ I was nervous about it. I didn’t necessarily think that I wasn’t going to be attracted to him anymore. I was just nervous about how things would e different sexually and about how I would see him and how
my view of him would change. Because it was kind of really, to me, the biggest thing as far as his transition. Like this was it. This was the final thing that really made him male…So I think it was about a year ago, exactly, that he finally did have chest surgery. It was hard for me because it was kind of like, ‘I’m really losing part of you now, the femaleness of you.’ And I know how terrible he felt everyday that he woke up and he still had breasts, and how much he wanted those gone… I couldn’t do anything but support his decision and try to help him in every way possible to have it done. At this point, we had told my family about him. He was desperate. He was getting to the point that he was getting very depressed. To the point where I was afraid that he was suicidal. –Kendra

[My partner’s] body didn’t instantly look the way he wanted it to look, because he had just had chest surgery. And that was definitely the expectation in the trans community—that you do this and you’re fixed and it’s better. And it was actually really hard. There were things about it that was hard and there were things that were hard for me. My partner’s body felt different to me. I had never seen my partner just barely having a chest—and the fact that it was gone and totally flat made a difference in the way things felt. So I experienced a grieving process; whereas I was told that I would be so much more attracted to my partner after this…but I experienced grief. –Jess

Transformations of the body can have significant impact on how partners view one another. Just as the partner of someone who experiences mastectomy or limb amputation as a result of cancer or injury must adjust to their partner’s transformed body; so, too, must the partners of those who choose to use hormonal or surgical methods to transition.

These bodily transformations may be experienced by partners in both positive and negative ways; as variously alienating, disfiguring, surprising, liberating and affirming.

His voice definitely dropped a lot. Yeah, I still sometimes don’t recognize him when I hear his voice. Much, much lower voice. That happened…he was raspy for like a month and then it just dropped. There wasn’t a long period of time, having the sort of the tranny boy voice that I hear often or like a scratch period. It was just scratchy and then dropped. –Nina

I’m very jealous because his hips just seemed to fall off – yeah his hips disappeared. And it’s very strange to me because during the time when I wasn’t seeing him as often, I would see him once every two weeks and one time he was with me he had hips and the next time he didn’t. So it was a very rapid and surprising change for them to disappear. It was kind of weird because you get so used to somebody’s body being a certain way—especially somebody you’re close
to. You get to a point where you memorize every single part of their body and so it’s very difficult when something changes—especially that quickly. –Tiffany

One participant had a very unique viewpoint on women partner’s experience of grief or anxiety in connection to their partner’s hormonal and/or surgical transition:

There are several schools of thought on female partners of transgender/transsexual men. And I come from the school of thought where it’s not about you. It’s not about you, baby. I’m sorry, it’s just not. Yes, it’s going to affect you, you know, it’s going to be a big thing. But it’s not about you. And he’s gonna do it whether you’re gonna be around or not; so you make that decision in the beginning and so does he. But you know, you can’t [say], “Well, I hear that he’s gonna turn into an asshole.” Well, you know, if he was an asshole already… Things like, “I’m gonna miss her—his—her—he’s breasts.” So? He’s not! And… all these support groups that they get into…[it’s] like, ‘Come here, honey. It’s okay. If he’s treating you bad, you just leave him.’…Technically, he doesn’t need you…and…it’s a huge bone of contention for me. I’m like, either you’re in it for the long haul or you’re not. It’s not about you. It’s about him. And he’s gonna need somebody, but it doesn’t necessarily have to be you. There’s other people out there that he can probably find to lean on… It just drives me nuts if somebody’s partner says… ‘I’ll be there for you,’ and then they start bitching and whining… Obviously, you didn’t explore this enough in yourself. –Terry

This viewpoint reflects not only frustration with women partners of transmen who do express grief or anxiety in response to their partners impending or actual transition; it also suggests that those who feel this way are dispensable and suffering from unresolved issues. While this participant’s complete support of her partner’s transition may be considered admirable by some, one wonders about the defensive tone and strength of this argument. Other participants offered stances that can be situated between absolute support for and absolute fear of transition:

I want him to do whatever it is that makes him feel the most confident. Of course, like any partner of anyone going through surgery, I have my own concerns for his health and a little bit of concern over how his personality might change when he’s on T. Because I know some people go through bursts of anger and stuff like that. But I’m also very strong-willed person and can see through a lot shit, take a lot of shit and dish a lot of shit [laughter]. I’m not too concerned about that. I’m not this mild mannered person that’s going to sit back and let him have his fits without calling him out on it. And we talked about it. Because none of this has happened yet, we have had frequent discussions about what he might do, how he might act
over this and that. So by no means is it a closed-off topic, or that we should talk about it only once it’s happening—which is kind of nice. –Drea

I really like tits. It’s kind of a drag that they’re not available to me. But on the other hand…I don’t know. It doesn’t bother me. I don’t feel like I’m being shorted. If anything, I guess there have been times when I feel like he comes out on the short end because I get so much attention; and he’s got me and I’m not able to give it back as inclusively as maybe I think he’d like. But, on the other hand, that’s just in my head—that he would like that. Because, for him, that’s an uncomfortable thing; and if I draw his attention to it, then he loses kind of where we’re at. I don’t feel shorted by it. Sometimes I feel bad for those parts. Poor things are just sort of missing out. But it doesn’t really take away from me, I don’t think. –Selma

Interrogating the “Trans” in Transition

“Transgender” and “ftm” are hotly-contested terms within the transgender community. As with all communities, some factions within the community seek to claim these identities while pronouncing their prototypical embodiment of it. One participant articulates this drawing of explicit boundaries quite clearly:

I think the risk would be between ftms and people labeling themselves ftm when they really…when that’s not really what they are. Like, we met some people a couple of years ago who called themselves ftm and they were quite vocal about it. One of them said to us, ‘I don’t really think of myself as male or anything, you know. I’m not going to have surgery or anything like that. I don’t really see myself as a man.’ But they would still publicly refer to themselves as ftm And, I guess the concern there is that when someone is quite vocally and publicly labeling themselves something that’s really not what they are, that’s what other people come to understand—that’s what an ftm is… We find it quite frustrating—people using ftm as an umbrella term when it’s not, really. It’s quite a specific term which a lot of people are starting to use quite casually, as a passing phase or something you call yourself when you can’t quite decide. –Linda

In this instance, ftm identity is understood in the absolutist sense of transitioning from female-to-male. This transition includes psychological, emotional, hormonal and surgical transition from one end of the gender binary to the other. Those claiming ftm status who do not follow this regime are designated imposters; and pesky and dangerous ones at that. Other participants articulate this tension from vantage points that challenges Linda’s assertion:
I think there are tensions and riffs between butch lesbians or butch dykes and transmen, definitely – lots of tensions around that. Around who owns masculinity, around who owns more masculinity… There’s definitely tension between transmen around how transition works. Who does what and yeah…basically someone who is going to transition physically by taking hormones, someone who is going to have chest surgery and someone who isn’t there yet. There’s a lot of tension. There’s a lot of, ‘You’re not trans enough’ confrontation that goes on that’s really hard to witness… I feel like transgender is about transcending gender, [but] that it feels like we’re recreating the gender boxes, now, in the [trans] community. –Jess

There’s a certain life-long process to it… There’s all these…[people who] think of transition as surgical or hormonal. Like you’re not transitioned if you haven’t had both top and bottom surgery; or you’re not transitioned if you’re not on hormones…or you have to be on hormones for X number of years… and [there are others] who have never taken hormones and they consider themselves transitioned. –Maya

Some transgender people shake off the label, “transgender,” as quickly as possible—preferring to get through the transition process—and assume a male identity. As Terry asserts:

In some cases, [trans]men… wanna go off and do, like, the hibernation thing and then come out of their chrysalis and be…He would just get this fatalistic attitude… ‘I’m gonna be stuck in this tweeener hell forever.’ And I’m like, ‘No you’re not. You’ve gotta do something about it. You’ve gotta realize you can do something about it. –Terry

In this case, the goal is to attain true selfhood through the private metamorphosis of the transition process. Being “stuck” in the interstitial space between genders is seen as a nightmare. It is a liminal status that must be remedied, urgently, by doing “something.” The “something,” in this particular instance, includes taking testosterone and having top surgery. The “trans” in this transition is clearly the process of moving from one end of the gender binary to the other. The in-between stages are an uncomfortable (though perhaps necessary) part of the process that simply must be survived and gotten through.

Other participants discussed their partners’ more ambivalent positionality with regard to their status as transgender:
[My partner] identifies as a man and does not identity as some third gender out there. Some transgender individuals do… He’s a transsexual man – his license shows male. If you were to give him a form or whatever, he would put down, ‘male.’ He wouldn’t put down, ‘transgender.’ However, he does a lot of work on behalf of the transgender community and the whole ftm community, specifically, because he is ftm… [He] goes about his life and will insist that he lives his life as male and the trans thing is not a big deal, even though all of his life revolves around transgender issues. All of it. 100%. I tried to say, ‘Well, if being trans is not that big of a deal, and that’s not a big issue with you, then how come…why so much activism? Why not be involved with the local horticulture society or whatever? Go bowling. But everything he does has something to do with transgender activism –Maya

Some participants, like Jess (also referenced above) expressed deep criticism of transgender identity as a pass-through state on the way to the other end of the gender binary:

What I feel about the trans community, today, is that we’ve recreated the patriarchy and we basically found out ways to basically fit into the two gender boxes; whereas the way I see trans, is not fitting in the gender box. However, I think that the trans community right now tries really, really hard to fit into those two boxes, and I see that a lot. [My partner and I talk about it a lot. The pressure, specifically to transition, is great. It’s an expectation that [my partner] would go on hormones and [that he] would have surgery and [that he] would do this and [he] would do that. And so I really feel like, in recreating that—the two gender boxes again in the trans community—we recreated the patriarchy. –Jess

Another interesting feature of some of the interviews I conducted with the women partners of transmen is that they expressed their own immersion in a liminal status while focusing time, energy and resources on their partner’s transition:

I’m very clearly the caretaker in the relationship. There was a time in which we realized I was doing this massive amount of maintenance work on everything. I’m a graduate student, I’m working on a Ph.D.,… I provide an enormous amount of support around maintain [the] household, [and] doing domestic tasks. I have assimilated massive amounts of [my partner’s] own work—school work to assist him in completely his work. [There’s] a huge amount of emotional time spent in processing transitioning, family [and] frustrations around the transition process. A huge amount of work. I’m supposed to be writing a dissertation plus [I’ve been engaging in trans-inclusive policy negotiations]… A lot, a lot, a lot. My own work has been very neglected to, at this point… if I do not find a way to get my work done, it will be a problem in my career. I’m at that stage that it is important that I start doing my own work very seriously. I’ve put it off for nine months. I put it off since [my partner] started transitioning. –Michele
Michele articulates the suspension of her own productive activities and self-care that occurred when most of her energy was transferred to her partner’s efforts to transition and attending to the stress that results from these efforts.

**What Lies Ahead? Anticipating Post-Transition and Non-Transition Realities**

For many partners, the possibility of physical and/or hormonal transition is discussed as an uncertain time filled with unanswerable questions and unforeseeable results. As one participant noted:

> And a lot of it is, you’re just not sure what comes up next, what physical changes will you see? How will your experience differ from that of somebody else within the trans community?... We are in contact with a lot of trans folks across the world. Sometimes it’s kind of in tempering where your expectations are… ‘Well such and such happened for so and so and everybody said this happens,’ and then you don’t really see that same result. It’s sort of that middle ground, where it’s the unknown. You don’t really know. –Selma

A majority of participants articulated concerns that, as their partner transitioned, their sexual desires and orientation might also shift. For most, transition was articulated as a period of physical, hormonal emotional and sexual adolescence for transmen. Participants also noted their partners’ physical presence during this stage and the confusion it prompted in others:

> They weren’t quite sure what was going on because he looks like either a really boyish-looking girl, or a 13-year-old boy. –Robyn

> He does look like a very feminine boy. He works in an organization that does case management and so, sometimes, his clients are the ones that have called him, ‘she’; and other people have called him, ‘she.’ And he’s not into it. It freaks him out. If you look at him, he kind of looks like this sixteen-year-old boy; but when he has a beard, he definitely looks older and he definitely looks male. So it really depends on who you ask. –Lilia

Other partners expressed *their own* confusion about this period of adolescence and what it might mean for their relationship with their partner:
I think going from being a girl to being a boy, okay that makes a lot of sense. I think I have definitely had more reservations about the boy to man transition. But it’s just something that we talked about and it was linked at the same time. Me saying well what exactly does it mean to you to be a man? Because like all of these conceptions or all of these assumptions that come with that word. –Ani

In addition to having the semblance of physical adolescence, this adolescence was also characterized by many participants as a time of great experimentation.

This adolescent period during transition, then, may serve as a highly-liminal space in relationships. During this period, partners express having no idea whether or not their partnership will remain, intact, at its culmination. Some partners approached this possibility with relative calm, expressing the explicit or implicit sentiment that change and the possibility of no longer being together is a central aspect of all relationships:

If he’s not attracted to women anymore or if he feels like it’s changing, I just kind of… want to stay updated so it doesn’t come as a huge shock. I don’t know, I feel like it’s like any relationship; it can change. People stay married for 40 years and then their partner will cheat. I don’t know. Maybe it’s like a bigger element of the unknown than most people have but it doesn’t seem that unusual. –Robyn

I guess right now he looks like a sweet, little, Jewish boy [laughter] and in a few years he won’t. I know he wants a beard very badly and one day he’ll have a beard and maybe the way I view him if we’re still together…or even if we’re just friends, it will be different because in a way the fact that he doesn’t have so much facial hair is a really good way to say you know he’s not really that much of a man. And so that might make me feel a little weird, but I don’t know. I’d like to think that wouldn’t affect anything. –Veronica

One participant offered a more structural and contextual analysis of the trend, among some transmen, to experiment sexually with other transmen:

When I first knew him, he was kind of, like, playing the cad a little bit and he was into other, like, masculine women and drag kings. And [he] would talk about [how] he sort of identified as gay and, so of course, I thought I did not have a snowball’s chance in hell. But little did I know—he was kind of in this phase of trying to figure out who he was; which I think a lot of transguys go through—especially the ones I’ve watched around me. They go through this, ‘I want to be with other transguys. I want to identify as gay.’ At least [that’s the way it is] around here. He kind of had an interesting point where [he said] most of them
already come from a place that identify as gay—they identify, mostly, as very butch dykes and they don’t want to lose that sense that [they are] still a part of a culture. And so now that [they] consider [themselves] trans, [they] still want to consider [themselves] gay; and so they seek out other people that fit that bill to them. –Drea

Other partners’ narratives reflected great anxiety that their partner might “emerge” from transition with sexual desires and/or a sexual orientation that precluded interest in their woman-identified partner:

He said before we started dating [that] he was just getting into exploring his sexuality around bio-men—experimenting and stuff (which I encourage). but I can’t do anything if he’s like, ‘I’m not into ladies.’ That totally sucks. That’s where mostly the trouble is and it’s still an issue because it’s hard for me to trust that. And we’ve had conversations and, even then, he’s like, ‘I do like you,’ so I have no choice but to kind of believe him, you know? –Lilia

There is so much in question. It’s very much a puberty, a time of growth, exploration, experimenting. And for me, what I’ve decided and I’m comfortable with…I will help [him] explore these things and [he’ll] do them with my knowledge and my understanding…in hopes…that…makes us that much stronger. Because if it doesn’t, there was nothing else I could do any way. But I worry about it. How do you deal with the knowledge of…there’s very much a part as a partner of trans… the odds are against us that our relationship survives—especially when you were in that relationship pre-transition. They’re not favorable. On pretty much every article and every news show and things that I’ve seen, there is very few couples that survive, in tact, 5 or 6 years down the road. And I’m fearful about that. I’m very ambivalent about the whole thing, because I wouldn’t have wanted to miss the journey. Not a step of it. It’s been my honor, it really has. And still, there are days that I think I can’t believe it’s me you picked to walk by your side. And I amaze myself at my level of understand and how easy it comes to me to just go with the flow, with a new adaptation or a new something…But, also, to think you might be what’s sacrificed in the end—for all of your understanding and all of your support and everything… I think that I’m not alone when I say that I think a lot of partners have an underlying insecurity—will it still be me that they want? –Selma

When [some guys] come out as trans, then it’s like, ‘Oh, I’m trans, like, I don’t have to like women anymore, woo these guys are cute!’ I get really nervous about that because I’m not a man. I don’t look like it, I don’t act like one. He says that it would never be like that but he doesn’t know. Neither of us do. We’ll just have to see. –Samantha

Learning (Not) to See and Seeing Past
For most ftms, complete surgical transition is a non-viable option. Contemporary phalloplasty is extraordinarily expensive and not covered through medical insurance. It is also a lengthy process, often taking well over a year, that involves disfigurement and possible loss of the functionality of the limbs due to their use as skin graft donor sites for formation of what will later become the penile skin. The resulting penis is generally quite dissimilar from the penises of biological men. Phalloplasty results in a penis that does not really look like the average penis; nor does it function like the average penis (spontaneous erection and ejaculation are not possible). It is also quite possible for transmen to lose physical sexual sensation as a result of the various surgical procedures involved in phalloplasty.

Given that most transmen’s bodies will always retain certain female, anatomical structures, transmen and their partners must often engage in complex implicit and explicit negotiations connected to the body and sexuality. One of the most compelling of these negotiations is a recurrent theme that emerged across many participants’ narratives. This theme consisted of explicit disavowals that the transgender partner’s body and core being is anything but male:

He’s never questioned whether or not I want to be with him because I see him as a man…in his mind he’s always known that the way I see him is male and no matter—all the clothes come off and the binding shirts come off and he feels comfortable how I see him and he knows that I want to be with him because of who he is. And I recognize him as male and I’ve always known that. And I don’t know if that was partially because he was already out when we were first friends and so we didn’t have to go through the whole, ‘Oh, my boyfriend is now my girlfriend and now [I’m] is unsure.’… We’ve never really gone through that. He knows how I see him and he’s confident in that and I’m thankful for that. –Drea

Even though I hadn’t been in a female relationship it just wasn’t what I expected at all. So in that sense I kind of never really viewed our relationship or him as female…It’s kind of hard to explain. It’s not anything in particular that he does that I think makes him male or female. There’s just something about him that isn’t female to me at all. He definitely has feminine characteristics but I wouldn’t say that makes him male or female. –Kendra
He’s one of those guys…I think that there are different sort of transguys and different sort of things that bring you [to] defining yourself as male when you’re female bodied. And he is one of those people who I believe is born this way. When he went through puberty, he used to bind himself when he was, like, eleven; and he hid everything about himself. He’s not a girl. I just know that. It’s impossible to be in a lesbian relationship when they’re not a girl. It just makes sense to me and I think he knows that, too. It has nothing to do with his body, nothing, it’s about who he is. And I know that. I don’t know… I cannot see him as a girl. It’s like impossible. And so I don’t see any of his parts as a girl either. I don’t see any of his parts as female.—Samantha

Another participant used similar terms to express her thoughts about her partner’s maleness, but was more explicit about the possibility that this is something requiring training or practice to perfect:

I think both of us have really trained our brains to see his body as masculine and mine as feminine. And… even though by doctor’s standards our bodies are identical, I see his as being completely different [from] mine. And he sees it as being completely different [from] mine. To a doctor, the same parts are there; but to me, they’re not. It seems different for some reason. –Tiffany

Some participants reported anxiety in connection with how they were to relate to their partner’s body once their partner began transition:

I even have shifted the way that I sleep at night. Because it used to be that I would sleep up against [my partner’s] back and slide my arm around his waist and sort of tuck it underneath his body; but then I would end up touching his breasts. But, for a good two months after he first came and informed me of his growing feelings of transness, I didn’t know what the hell to do with my arm. I would try various things. I really couldn’t figure out how to sleep. So snaking it around the waist felt a little feminine and girly…[and] sleeping [with my back] against [his] back replicated, too closely, the metaphor of being shut out. –Michele

Other partners articulate the importance of “seeing” their partner’s female bodies and acknowledging differences between male and female anatomy and physiology:

[My partner said]: ‘It’s important for you to look at me as a man.’ And I understand that, but I think having sex with a transman is different from having sex with a bio man. Even if it’s just physically different, it is. Like, having sex with someone with a real, live penis is different for me; in my opinion, there’s no doubt. I feel like that’s a touchy subject. –Lilia
That whole area of him having to deal with how he compares to ‘real men’… he would like hearing me say, ‘To me, it’s apples and oranges,’ because, to him, it’s apples and apples because he’s the same as them. He is a man; but I think it’s not—he doesn’t have the same parts and he doesn’t have the same growing up experience because his mother treated him like a girl all his life until fairly recently. –Maya

Tiffany offers a striking example of the jarring disjuncture between the material and abstract body through the following narrative:

There have been times that he’s taken [his prosthetic penis] off and set it on his desk, and it’s almost unnerving to me that it’s not touching his body. It’s definitely something that’s his. He left it behind once, and it seems very strange to have this thing in my room and not have him here… I can’t even touch it when it’s not on his body. It’s like a foreign thing to me when it’s not on him. –Tiffany

Tiffany’s discussion of her partner’s penis characterizes this presumably essential part of him as unnerving, foreign and grotesque when no longer connected to his physical body. This testimony would seem to support the view that the abstract takes on a material essence, but only in connection with the physical body. While attached to his body, the penis is part of her partner; when detached, it loses all of its material essence and becomes nothing but phantasmal and disembodied abstraction—a reminder of the body from which it is so oddly disengaged.

One of the most frequent articulations of the difficulties and ambiguities facing the women partners of transmen centered upon sexual interaction and determining ways to be sexual with their partners that respected boundaries, were still fulfilling to both partners and made each partner feel desired and desirable:

[Having sex with my partner] was worse than trying to have sex with a corpse; because at least you don’t expect a corpse to ever respond, no matter what you do, the corpse is not going to respond… I felt totally undesirable, utterly vacated of any kind of ability to generate any sexual desire in my partner. And also the real pain around myself feeling quite a bit of desire and knowing that it was absolutely not reciprocated. I feel as though the rules changed and I don’t know how to be sometimes. They’re really radically shifted [and] I lost a goodly portion of sexual
vocabulary and have yet to find what is, for me, a new vocabulary with the same richness that I felt that I previously had. And that is concern for both of us.

–Michele

**Fitting In and In-Fighting**

Many partners reported mistreatment of their transgender partners and/or themselves (because of their involvement with someone who is transgender) at the hands of family members. Some of the examples recalled by participants were heartbreaking:

His grandmother…she is the only grandparent that is still living and she is trying, I guess, to be supportive of us. She’s the stereotypical older person where she’s set in her ways and she doesn’t know how to deal with that and still love her grandchild. We went to visit her and she was kind of embarrassed of us in that she took us almost an hour away to go eat dinner because she didn’t want any of her friends to see us. She pretty much just said, ‘Well, we’re going to go here and eat because I don’t want to have to explain to them who you are because, frankly, I’m embarrassed.’ –Kendra

I had previously been in relationships with biological men who were physically abusive to me, and my parents ended up realizing they were physically abusive to me. But [they] were, amazingly, never against those relationships; but the moment they found out I was with my partner, who isn’t abusive to me [and] who does everything he can for me, the minute they found out his biological identity, it became a problem. –Tiffany

While many might assume that transgender persons and their partners often encounter scorn, hostility and ostracization from non-LGBT communities, it may come as a surprise that transpeople and their partners also encounter hostilities and stigma within LGBT communities. This means that transpeople and their partners often express feeling that there is nowhere they really “fit” or are welcomed and affirmed.

Well like I said about the [local ftm] organization… it’s quite… gender binary, stereotypically-based and, even though [my partner] identifies as straight, he would be the total opposite of what we would consider a stereotypically straight man to be. Like, he is very queer rights based, very women’s rights. Basically, we call him the new-age model, the upgraded model… A lot of the ideas that all those people in that group seem to aspire to is the real catalog image of, you know, get a wife, have children, have a job, like in the suburbs. I think that’s not [my partner] at all. –Linda
He always felt that he would identify in the gay community b/c that’s all he’s ever known. But then, once he came out as trans and began to be trans and finished being, you know, ftm; nobody wanted to hear from him anymore. –Terry

We can go anywhere and not have people looking at us except when we’re in the Castro and then [it’s] like, ‘Oh, another breeder couple invading the Castro.’ And I just want to wear rainbow flags everywhere I go so I can prove that I belong in this community. Sometimes when I’m talking to people at our synagogue or to other people in the queer community, I have to purposely state my involvement with [bisexual and transgender organizations] in order to kind of have a referral like I belong. It’s annoying and frustrating… dealing with everyone’s assumptions. –Maya

Right now, I’m at college and it’s difficult because I want to be active in the gay/bisexual community; but I almost feel like I don’t belong because if I go in there and I call myself, ‘lesbian,’ and people see me with my partner (who obviously looks male), it’s kind of confusing for them unless I sit down and give them the whole story and out him—which I don’t want to do to every single person I meet. I appear to the world as being completely straight and being in a completely heterosexual relationship; where I’m really not. It’s kind of like I’m giving a different face to the world than what I actually am. –Tiffany

In LGBT communities, lesbian, gay, bisexual and even transgender members may express confusion or resistance in connection to transgender identity:

I did have a friend who refused to call my partner his male name and use male pronouns. And he would still call us ‘lesbians’ and it was very upsetting for both of us because I was like, ‘Well, we’re not lesbians and that’s not how I choose to identify and that’s definitely not how he chooses to identify. And, you know, this is his name now. It’s been legally changed.’ We were both really upset that he just wouldn’t recognize it—especially because this friend of ours was a drag queen and we thought he would be the most accepting person of all; but it turns out he wasn’t. –Kendra

There’s definitely tension in the LGB community. There’s a group on campus here and I’ve tried multi times to be active in it and I get ignored, I get stares, I get rude things said to me if I go because I’m in what looks like a heterosexual relationship. And for the people who know the details, a lot of the lesbians on campus think that I started batting for the other side or something. They’re very against the idea of my moving away from just being attracted to female-identified females. –Tiffany
Unfortunately, some transpersons may face not only confusion, ignorance and resistance from LGBT community members in connection to their gender non-conformity or atypicality, but direct hostility and abuse, as well:

He was at a gay bar and he went to the women’s restroom because he wasn’t fully male and he didn’t want gay guys to find out that he didn’t have a penis, so he choose to use the women’s restroom that night. He was still fairly early into his transition and a guy followed him in there and watched him urinate and said, ‘Take off that binder, I don’t know why you want to be a guy,’ just a lot of really hurtful, very trans-phobic things. And then, later, the guy lunged across the dance floor at my partner and, luckily, one of our friends pushed him out of the way. Nothing really ended up happening from it, but it was very hard for him because it was really the first time he had ever experienced anything like that—and the last time, thankfully. At least so far. –Kendra

He was going to the bathroom and there is, like, one side where there are urinals and stuff and then there is another side where there is just the stalls; and he was waiting for the stalls. And…this old lesbian got up in [his] face and was like, ‘Go use the other bathroom, we need this one more than you do.’ And he was like, ‘Whatever,’ and sort of was avoiding the subject. And she got really up in his face about it and he was like, ‘I’m trans, you know. I have to sit to pee.’ And she was like, ‘No you’re not.’ And he’s like, ‘Well, actually, I am.’ She actually ripped his shirt off to see. And he was like, ‘There, are you happy?’… He went to the owner of [this LGBT] bar and she did nothing about it. –Samantha

Finding and Making Community Across and Within Virtual Spaces

Just as transgender identity can often be described as existing in a liminal space; so, too, can transgender community. Community for transgender-identified people and their SOFFAs has one of its earliest and strongest presences on the Internet. In this virtual space, persons from all over the world could “meet,” share information, exchange contact information and resources and provide support to one another while never meeting face-to-face.

I don’t know anybody else that is a partner of a trans-guy really. There’s online resources but just the day to day things I wish I could have someone that I could sit down and talk to face to face and not through a computer screen. –Kendra

Some of them [online trans and partner support groups] my partner found and some of them it was just me trying to find them on my own through Google—which is incredibly dangerous to try and look up, ‘transgender’ in Google because
you get things that you really don’t want. But some of them I found that way. You find a lot of them on live journals. I think that’s the best place to get information and get support. I think it also helps that there’s anonymity behind it, that you don’t necessarily have to be completely out to the community; and you don’t have to necessarily talk in the person’s face. I think it’s a lot easier to do virtually.

–Tiffany

Discussion

This exploratory qualitative study on the romantic relationships between self-identified women and transmen demonstrates the multiple sites and contexts within which transmen and their self-identified women partners navigate and negotiate liminal status in terms of personal gender and sexual identity, as well as relational status and identity. It highlights the many adaptive strategies transmen and their partners use to make sense of this space and assert their right to live neither firmly “here” nor “there” along the poles of the gender binary. Living in this liminal space is articulated as a possibly productive endeavor that challenges personal, interpersonal and political gender and sexual identity status quo. It also reveals that for even those persons who do chose to “live” at one end of the gender binary; the physicality of the material body may instantiate a middle status of lived experience that is also neither “here” nor “there” on the sex and gender binary. Finally, this study demonstrates the challenges in finding community and support in the context of powerful attempts to assert and draw rigid boundaries both within and without the LGBT communities. In such a context, the Internet has emerged as another liminal space for generating, configuring and maintaining support, resources and connection in a “virtual” arena.

Of course, the major strength of this study is also its strongest limitation—it’s exploratory nature and in-depth focus on a small, non-representative sample of the self-identified partners of transmen. It is hoped that future studies will draw larger, more representative samples and
engage more substantively with some of the most pressing questions raised by this study. Some of these questions include: What are the major needs for (and sources of) social support among transmen and their women partners? How do transmen understand and articulate the issues explored and discussed within this study—where do the narrative converge and diverge? How do romantic relationships between transmen and other possible permutations of partners differ and parallel the relationships and issues explored in this analysis. Finally, what’s at stake in asserting the power of liminality in disrupting hegemonic structures connected to identity and representation?
Appendix A

Do you self-identify as a woman?

Are you at least 18 years of age?

Have you been in a romantic relationship with a transman/ftm-identified person for at least three months (currently and/or in the past)?

Do you want to make $40 chatting?

I am a doctoral student in Sociology and Social Work at the University of Michigan conducting research on the romantic relationships of self-identified women (of all sexual orientations) who are partnered with transmen/FTMs. I will be conducting one to two hour interviews with participants to discuss issues connected to your and your partner’s identity, relationships and sources of support. These interviews will be scheduled at mutually-convenient times and locations. Each participant will receive $20 per interview and you may be requested to complete a follow-up telephone interview at a later date (also for $20).

If you feel you might be eligible for this study, and are interested in participating, please contact Carla at (734) 644-4305 or cpfeffer@umich.edu before August 4th.

This research project has been reviewed for compliance with federal.
Women Partners of Transmen

REGULATIONS FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS AND APPROVED.

APPENDIX B

Consent Form for Participation in Carla Pfeffer’s (Investigator),
Women’s Romantic Relationships with Transmen/FTMs Study

Thank you for your help with this study. This research is being conducted as part of my graduate coursework in Sociology at the University of Michigan. The purpose of this study is to gain knowledge about identity and relationships between women and their ftm/transmen partners. Research in this area is only in the beginning stages and your participation in this study is both appreciated and highly valued. By signing this form, you indicate that you understand this research project and agree to provide your consent to participate in this study as outlined on this page. Please feel free to ask me questions or to ask for clarification at any time.

In order to participate in this study, you must be a self-identified woman of at least 18 years of age. You must also have had (or are currently involved in) a romantic relationship with a transman/ftm-identified person for at least three months’ duration. Your participation in this study consists of two interviews that will take between one and two hours each and will be conducted on different days (scheduled at our mutual convenience). Most of the questions will focus on your identity, your partner(s) identity and the relationship that you have (or have had) with your transmen/ftm partner(s). The nature of some of the material we will discuss during this interview may be very personal or uncomfortable and I will provide a list of resources and contact information that may help in dealing with some of the issues we may discuss. Please understand that your participation in this study is completely voluntary and that you may choose not to answer any question or to withdraw from the study at any time.

For the purposes of this study, our interviews will be audio recorded with your consent. You may ask to have the audio recorder turned off during any part of our interview. Your identity will always remain confidential and specific identifying information will be removed from transcripts of the audio recordings. When discussing your partner(s), please protect their anonymity by using a pseudonym rather than their real name(s). Only my research assistant, course instructors and I will have access to the interview audio recordings and transcripts, and these interview transcripts and audio recordings will be kept under locked and password-protected storage. The audio recordings will be destroyed as soon as they have been transcribed and checked for accuracy. Parts of the interview transcript may be quoted in papers and future publications, but specific identifying information will be removed. These interview transcripts will be kept, indefinitely, for the purpose of future study unless you request otherwise.

You will be paid $20 for each interview and you may withdraw from participation at any time without penalty. If you choose to withdraw from the study during the first interview, you will still be paid $20 for that interview, but will not receive payment for the second interview. Your signatures, below, will indicate your understanding and agreement with all of the details listed above, including your consent to having your interviews audio recorded. You will also receive a copy of this form to take with you today. Thank you, again, for your participation.

______________________________                   ___________________
Your name, printed                                                             Today’s date

_______________________
Your signature

Please sign, below, if you are willing to have your interviews audio recorded. You may still participate in this study if you are not willing to have your interviews audio recorded.

_______________________                  ____________________
Your signature                                                                    Today’s date

If you have any further questions about this study, please feel free to contact the individuals below:
Carla Pfeffer, MSW (Investigator) OR Karin Martin, Ph.D. (Instructor)
(734) 644-4305/cpfeffer@umich.edu                              (734) 936-0525/kamartin@umich.edu
TEXT FOR PARTICIPATION SCREENER

QUESTIONS TO ANSWER:

1) GENDER:
   1a) SEX (male, female or intersex):

2) SEXUAL ORIENTATION:

3) AGE:

4) RACE/ETHNICITY:

5) ARE YOU CURRENTLY IN A RELATIONSHIP WITH A TRANSMAN/FTM?
   5a) IF YES, FOR HOW LONG?
   5b) IF YES, ARE YOU CURRENTLY LIVING TOGETHER?

6) HAVE YOU HAD A RELATIONSHIP WITH A TRANSMAN IN THE PAST?
   6a) IF YES, HOW LONG AGO?
   6b) IF YES, HOW LONG DID THIS RELATIONSHIP LAST?
   6c) NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH TRANSMEN;
   6d) LENGTH OF YOUR LONGEST RELATIONSHIP WITH A TRANSMAN:

7) ARE YOU ABLE TO COMPLETE TWO, ONE-TWO HOUR LONG INTERVIEWS ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CAMPUS?

8) WITH THE ASSURANCE OF CONFIDENTIALITY, ARE YOU WILLING TO DISCUSS SENSITIVE ISSUES CONNECTED TO IDENTITY, GENDER, SEXUALITY, SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH A (WOMAN) RESEARCHER?

9) WITH THE ASSURANCE OF CONFIDENTIALITY, ARE YOU WILLING TO HAVE THESE INTERVIEWS AUDIO RECORDED?

COMPLETED ONLY IF PARTICIPANT MEETS PRESELECTION CRITERIA:

10) NAME:

11) CONTACT INFORMATION (phone/email):
    12a) PREFERRED METHOD AND TIME OF CONTACT:
Appendix D

WOMEN PARTNERS OF TRANSMEN/FTMS PROTOCOL

SELF & PARTNER GENDER & SEXUAL IDENTITY

1) Can you briefly tell me about your identity in terms of how you gender identify?

2) Can you tell me about your identity in terms of your sexual orientation?

3) And what about your partners’ identity in terms of gender identification?

4) How does your partner identity in terms of sexual orientation?

5) What pronoun(s) do you and your partner use for your partner’s gender?

6) What pronoun(s) do strangers, friends and family tend to use when referencing your partner’s perceived gender?

7) Does your partner generally “pass” as male/a man in public?
   IF YES OR NO→ How does this make you feel? How does it make your partner feel?
   IF YES→ Why is it, do you think, that your partner generally successfully passes as male in public?
   IF NO→ Why is it, do you think, that your partner generally does not successfully pass as male in public?

8) Have you had any conflicts or struggles between your gender and sexual identity and those of your partner?

9) Has you understanding and experience of your own gender or sexual identity changed since being with a transman/ftm-identified person?
   PROBE IF YES→ If so, how and what are your feelings about this?

10) As far as you know, has your partner’s gender or sexual identity changed since being with you?
    PROBE IF YES→ If yes, how and what are your feelings about this?

11) How do you conceptualize the relationship that you have with your partner in terms of sexual orientation?

12) Do strangers, friends or family ever misperceive your relationship (in terms of sexual orientation and/or gender)?
IF YES→ How do you process the situation (both individually and as a couple) when that happens? What do you do?

TRANSITIONING
13) Has your partner transitioned?
IF YES→ Were you in the relationship when your partner transitioned?
   IF YES→ Can you describe the process undertaken, your role in it (if you had one) and your feelings about this transition.
   IF NO→ Can you tell me a bit more about how your partner made the choice and how you feel about it?
IF NO→ GO TO Q14

14) Is your partner currently in the process of transitioning?
IF YES→ Can you tell me a bit about what is happening, what is your role in this process (if you have one) and how you feel about it?
IF NO→ GO TO Q15

15) Is your partner considering transitioning?
IF YES→ Do you know what do they intend to do? What is your anticipated role in the process (if any) and how do you feel about it?
IF NO→ Have you spoken with your partner about the decision not to transition? What are the reasons for not transitioning?

16) Is there any discrepancy between how you and your partner talk about your partner’s gender identity and how you feel about it?

17) Is there any discrepancy between how you and your partner talk about sexual orientation and how you feel about it?

18) How do you experience your partner’s maleness/male identity. Is this identity ever challenged or in question?

FRIENDS & FAMILY SUPPORT
19) Do your friends and family know about your relationship?
   IF YES→ What pronoun(s) does your and your family, your partner’s family and friends tend to use when referencing your partner’s gender?
   IF NO→ Can you tell me more about why friends and family don’t know about your relationship?

20) IF FRIENDS/FAMILY KNOW OF RELATIONSHIP→ Are your friends and family generally supportive of your relationship with your partner? Can you give some examples of support and non-support?

21) Are there any other transgender-identified people in your or your partner’s family?
22) Is your partner “out” as transgender to family, friends and coworkers?  
IF PARTNER IS NOT “OUT”→ How are these situations handled?  
IF PARTNER IS NOT “OUT”→ Has there ever been a “pronoun “slip”?  IF YES→ What happened?

COMMUNITY & SOCIAL SUPPORT & STRESS

23) Do you and/or your partner participate within the LGBT social and political community? Why or why not?  
Are there any tensions in your participation within the LGBT community?

24) Do you and/or your partner feel connected to the transgender community?

25) Do you and your partner have transgender friends?

26) Do you have any friends who have transgender partners?

27) Have you noticed any tensions or rifts among and between various types of transgender-identified people (ftms, mtfs, those who transition and those who don’t, those who identify as trans and those who don’t, feminists and non-feminists)?

28) Have you ever had any interactions with social workers in the context of your relationship—as therapists, counselors, health professionals, etc.?

29) What are some sources of support that you have for this relationship? Are they enough? Do you wish for more? If yes, what might you wish existed?

30) Have you experienced any harassment or discrimination due to your or your partner’s gender or sexual identity? PROBE FOR DETAILS

31) How do you feel your relationship with your partner “fits in” to the social structure (or not)?

32) How do you and your partner deal with harassment, discrimination or feeling like you don’t fit?

33) What effect do you think these stressors have on your relationship and on your life?

34) Do you think that you and/or your partner have special strengths due to your or your partner’s gender or sexual identity? PROBE

35) What do you feel are the unique strengths of your relationship with your partner?

RELATIONSHIP STRUCTURE
Women Partners of Transmen  42

36) [FOR THOSE WHO REPORT BEING IN A HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIP NOW AND IN THE PAST]:
How is your heterosexual relationship with your ftm partner similar to and different from heterosexual relationships you have been in with men who are not ftm?
Do you miss anything from your heterosexual relationships with men who were born male?

[FOR THOSE WHO REPORT BEING IN A HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIP NOW AND LESBIAN RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PAST]:
How is your heterosexual relationship with your ftm partner similar to and different from lesbian relationships you have been in?
Do you miss anything from your lesbian relationships?

[FOR THOSE WHO REPORT BEING IN A LESBIAN RELATIONSHIP NOW]
Is your partner aware that you think of your relationship as lesbian?
IF YES→What does your partner think about this?
IF NO→Why does your partner not know and how does this make you feel?

[FOR THOSE WHO REPORT PREVIOUS LESBIAN RELATIONSHIPS ONLY]
Would you consider dating a man who had been born male? Would you consider dating other ftms?

37) Do you and your partner consider yourself married? Do you want to be married?

38) Do you and your partner each play certain roles in your relationship?
IF YES→What are the roles in your relationship and how flexible are they?

39) IF PARTNERS LIVE TOGETHER→Can you tell me a little bit about how housework divided?

40) Do you and/or your partner have any children?
IF YES→Prove for more information
IF NO→Have you and your partner had any discussions about the topic of having and/or raising children. What are your thoughts and feelings on this issue?
IF YES→Adopt or not?
   Who would have the kids?
   Have you thought about the legal stuff?

LANGUAGE/BODILY/DISCURSIVE REALMS

41) What sort of language do you and your partner use to describe:
you (girlfriend, wife, partner)
your partner (boyfriend, girlfriend, husband, wide, partner)
your relationship (heterosexual, queer, transgender)
your sex (female)
your partner’s sex (female, male)
your gender (woman, lady, female, girl, tomboy, femme, butch)
your partner’s gender (man, male, transgender, genderqueer, genderfluid, boi)
your sexual identity (bisexual, queer, lesbian, heterosexual)
your partner’s sexual identity (bisexual, gay, lesbian, heterosexual)
your body parts (soft, tomboy, feminine, masculine)
your partner’s body (soft, tomboy, hard, masculine, feminine)
your partner’s breasts (if they have them)
your partner’s genitals
your partner’s menstrual cycle (if partner still has one)
the sexual practices with which you both engage (mutually and/or independent from one another)?
What is your comfort level with this language?
Do you and your partner have an understanding that your relationship is monogamous or polyamorous? Is this understanding implicit or has it been explicitly discussed?

42) Does your partner’s body image or experience intersect or shape feelings that you or your partner have about your own body?

43) Are there certain issues that are considered off-limits to discuss or areas that you avoid in order to maintain certain understandings about sex, gender, bodies, sexuality, identity, etc.?

ETIOLOGY

44) How do you and/or your partner think your partner’s gender identity came to be?

45) How do you and/or your partner think your gender identity came to be?

FINAL/CONCLUSION

46) What else should I be asking about the experiences and lives of the women partners of transmen/ftms?
Appendix E

Research Assistant/Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement

This study is being undertaken by Carla Pfeffer, MSW, a graduate student in the Joint Doctoral Program in Social Work and Social Science at the University of Michigan. Carla Pfeffer’s faculty supervisor is Karin Martin, Ph.D. (Sociology and Women’s Studies). The purpose of this study is to gather information about romantic relationships between women and their transgender-identified partners. Data from this research will be used to write reports and papers. Reports on this research may be presented to the University community, and the results may be written up for publication or conference presentations.

Project Title: Women’s Romantic Relationships with Transmen/FTMs

I, _______________________________________, the Research Assistant/Transcriber, agree to:

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than Carla Pfeffer.

2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.

3. return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to Carla Pfeffer when I have completed the research tasks.

4. after consulting with Carla Pfeffer, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to Carla Pfeffer (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).

Research Assistant/Transcriber:

___________________________    ___________________________    _____________  
(print name)                                      (signature)                                         (date)

Researcher:

___________________________    ___________________________    _____________  
(print name)                                      (signature)                                         (date)

If you have any questions or concerns please contact:
Carla Pfeffer, MSW (Investigator) OR Karin Martin, Ph.D. (Instructor)  
(734) 644-4305/cpfeffer@umich.edu  (734) 936-0525/kamartin@umich.edu

This research project has been reviewed for compliance with federal regulations for human participants and approved. For questions regarding participants’ rights and ethical conduct of research, please contact the Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.
References


Framing Fatness:
Oppression Across Multiple Social Contexts

Carla A. Pfeffer

University of Michigan
Abstract

In this paper, I explore the construction of fatness as revealed within interdisciplinary academic discourses. I attend to the way fatness is articulated (and constructed) within these discourses to determine points of tension and convergence across and between these discourses. I also survey and interrogate social constructions and representations of fatness and fat identity across various realms of interlocking social systems (medical-legal-political-sociocultural-economic). Within each realm, I discuss and critique particular constructions and representations of fatness and; identity, “rights,” fitness, health, ethnicity, poverty, consumerism and disability. Noting connections, tensions and silences within the academic literature to indicate future directions for scholarship, I conclude my analysis with some suggestions for possible new ways to (re)frame fatness by exploring the concept of liminality and by “queering” the issue.

KEYWORDS: bodies, cultural studies, fat, fatness, fat studies, identity, liminal identity, liminality, media studies, queerness, queer bodies, queer studies, women’s studies
Setting the Stage: Constructing and Representing Fatness

Fat politics and the framing of fatness as (variously); disability, fetish, choice, destiny, disease, identity, epidemic and source of pride carry many practical, political, legal, personal and social implications. In this paper, I explore the construction of fatness as revealed within interdisciplinary academic discourses. I attend to the way fatness is articulated (and constructed) within these discourses to determine points of tension and convergence across and between them. My intention is to survey and interrogate the interface between various constructions and representations of fatness and fat identity.

In order to further explore these issues, I selected an array of multidisciplinary texts and articles reflecting the themes (and intersections) of fatness, health, disability rights, identity, social construction and consumerism. I use these resources to frame my understandings of the issues, as well as to offer critique. My aim is to further understandings and interpretations of the academic literature on fatness with regard to identity and representations; while also noting connections, tensions and silences within the academic literature to indicate possible new directions for scholarship.

The particular content I explore within this paper encompasses social constructions and representations across the realms of interlocking social systems (medical-legal-political-sociocultural-economic). Within each realm, I discuss and critique particular constructions and representations of fatness and; identity, “rights,” fitness, health, ethnicity, poverty, consumerism and disability. I conclude my analysis with some suggestions for possible new ways to (re)frame fatness by exploring the concept of liminality and by “queering” the issue.

Social Constructions and Representations of Fatness and Fat Identity

Medical Realm: Constructing the “The Obesity Epidemic”
In her qualitative dissertation, *Body imperfect: The social construction of fatness*, Karen Honeycutt (1999) argues that the terms, “obesity” and “overweight” are highly subjective and contextually-dependent terms with very little stand-alone meaning, and that “fatness” is a far more appropriate, descriptive and accurate term. Honeycutt discusses the use of terms such as “obesity” and “overweight” as supportive of a master narrative about weight that is highly informed by and through the categories of gender, race, age and sexual orientation (see Oliver, 2005 for an analysis of the ways class is also deeply important to the master narrative about weight in the United States).

Michael Gard and Jan Wright (2005) provide an analysis of the so-called “obesity epidemic” constructed and supported through scientific, moralistic and ideological rhetoric. In 2001, (then) U.S. Surgeon General Dr. David Satcher warned that “300,000 Americans die annually from illnesses caused or worsened by obesity…The toll of obesity has been rising and threatens to wipe out progress fighting cancer, heart disease and other ailments” (Gard & Wright, 2005, p. 17). Other doctors are featured in popular news publications prognosticating that obesity’s epidemic-level scourge will overshadow that of AIDS (Gard & Wright, 2005). Such apocalyptic proclamations have become par for the course, even among scientists, over the past decade. These warnings are often coupled with scientific-looking numbers and rationales detailing why and how Americans are becoming ever-fatter.

In these descriptions, bodies are dissociated from their human “inhabitants” according to a Cartesian dualistic frame. Fat bodies are generally described with an air of nostalgia for the universally-perfected human form available to us all, their human inhabitants are described as weak-willed, out-of-control, pathological, ruled by emotion and lazy. Bodies are seen as universal (having relatively equal caloric needs and metabolic rates), mechanistic (the body as a
machine) and under the control of (and dependence upon) the human will for maintenance and upkeep. The idealized body comes to be seen as the woeful depository for pathology, sloth and gluttony of the human will and psyche.

The body of the weak-willed and pathological psyche is inscribed as “diseased.” Obesity, then, is little more that the medical establishment’s treatment of fatness as a disease of its own right. Obesity is understood, under such framing, to be a causal force in a system of associations. Obesity is blamed for increases in heart disease, type II diabetes, osteoporosis, joint and ligament problems, premature death, stroke and some cancers. This blame is curious given that many (if not most) studies examining weight, illness and death obtain only correlational evidence (Gard & Wright, 2005; Saguy & Riley, 2005).

So, despite the fact that obesity and some illnesses may be co-occurring and connected to some other independent factor; or obesity may even be the result of some of the illnesses it is said to cause, fatness has been targeted. Perhaps this occurs because fat is such an obvious, tangible and visceral target—much more so than the mysterious, hidden workings of the body’s interior or the myriad, shifting environmental and contextual forces constantly surrounding bodies. In addition, if a particular causal site can be identified, targeted and blamed; it can be rooted out by an effective “cure”—the search for which is an enormously profitable, global enterprise.

Whether or not the enterprise is benevolent is yet another quandary. Weight loss drugs and diets have a long and unsuccessful history. Severely restricting caloric intake initiates the paradoxical effect of rapid weight gain once restrictions are lifted. Diet drugs speed up one’s metabolic rate and are then linked to physiologic damage and, in some case, death (one example is the diet drug Fen-Phen, as discussed within Mundy, 2001). Gastric surgeries are increasing in
popularity; yet alarming complication and fatality rates (as well as post-surgical vitamin
deficiencies and weight re-gain) are reported within the literature (Gard & Wright, 2005).
Despite the substantial risks associated with many weight loss methods and treatments, they still
enjoy fairly wide-ranging support and advocacy by the medical establishment. The medical
construction of fatness has also been employed, not infrequently, to guide and inform legal
discourse and understandings surrounding fatness.

Legal Realm: Constructing Rights and Wrongs

In her book, *Tipping the scales of justice: Fighting weight-based discrimination*, Sondra
Solovay (2000) entitles the final chapter, “The fat lady’s screaming, not singing: Continuing the
fight against fat discrimination.” In this chapter, Solovay writes: “Prejudice on the basis of
weight is a civil rights issue. It is imperative for every group and every person who supports civil
rights to treat it as such” (p. 238). Solovay (2000) goes on to discuss several cases involving
discrimination claims by fat persons.

The inspiration and backbone for Solovay’s work is the case of the felony trial of
Marlene Corrigan, mother of Christina Corrigan. Christina Corrigan died in 1996, at the age of
13 years, weighing 680 lbs. Her mother reported and documented years of seeking medical help
and treatment to no avail. Most doctors simply instructed Christina Corrigan to diet, a
prescription likely resulting in even greater weight gain once Corrigan’s body went into
starvation mode. Some activists and specialists assert that Christina Corrigan likely suffered
from Prader-Willi, a syndrome that triggers intense, non-abating hunger and very low
metabolism. Critics and prosecutors, however, assailed Marlene Corrigan with charges of child
abuse and neglect for “allowing” her daughter to become so fat.
Ultimately, Marlene Corrigan was found guilty of a lesser charge of misdemeanor child abuse. What this tragedy and trial most clearly reveal, however, is the mainstream public’s (and medical and legal establishments’) strong commitment to the belief that fatness is always the result of individual, personal lack of control. This belief also reflects a universalizing assumption of the non-fat body as normal and the fat body as deviating from the norm, thus attaining the status of hegemonic non-normativity. Under these premises, a fat person (or their guardian) is blamed solely for their fatness. It is little wonder, then, why many fat activists challenge such stigmatizing and hegemonic understandings.

Kristin Bumiller (1988) critiques legal-political discourse as a paradoxical, powerful and manipulative apparatus. Within the parameters of this circumscribed discourse are assurances of atomistic, universalized, individual-based “civil rights” abstracted from (and in explicit contradistinction to) “group rights.” Operating within this cultural norm of “rugged individualism,” Bumiller argues, most individuals assume these understandings of universal “individual rights” and come to behave in ways that limit the potential for real power transformations founded upon group-based discrimination claims.

The power of the law assumes a productive capacity as it constructs its own subjects as “victims.” The prophetic subjectivity of victimhood becomes self-fulfilling when, in tragic collaboration with social hegemony and subordination, individuals fail to organize collectively and assert their entitlement to certain “rights,” becoming victims of the system without recourse or imagination of other possibilities. This popular form of legal ideology maintains its stronghold, Bumiller argues, by not only generating self-limiting subjects, but through “real-world” confirmation that actions to disrupt this process generally result in legal failure of the claimants. Indeed, the legal system’s primary purpose is to assess culpability and deservedness
and this is precisely one of the biggest sources of the problem. By remaining within the frame of legal-moral discourse, fat people are left only to accept or deny personal responsibility and blame for their own corporeal existence.

Such framing has extraordinarily limiting consequences on the construction of fat identity, cultural reactions to (and constructions of) fatness and political/legal repercussions connected to all of these. Kathleen LeBesco (2004) discusses the law as being too enmeshed with hegemonic social and cultural practices to be truly useful in reframing cultural constructions of fatness (p. 84), and I am inclined to agree. Indeed, examining Anna Kirkland’s (2003) framework for how fatness has been framed in the legal realm thus far, it is difficult to see how transcendent, communal-rational, functional or actuarial models of fat personhood will ever serve to secure substantive gains in the cultural reconstruction and acceptance of fatness. While it may be fashionable to denounce efforts of the legal realm in securing substantive social and political gains for fat people; far fewer critique political movements or fat activists, themselves, as relatively ineffective in constructing and reframing issues connected to fatness and fat identity.

Political Realm: Fat Activist Constructions of the Fat Body and Health

Susie Orbach writes: “Getting fat… can be understood as a definite and purposeful act; it is a directed, conscious or unconscious, challenge to sex-role stereotyping and culturally defined experience of womanhood” (1988 as quoted in Gard & Wright, 2005, p. 155). Under this analysis, fat is understood as political and disruptive to social norms and imperatives for women. Can this political challenge be articulated on the basis of anything other than a politicized fat body? Are the identities of those with fat bodies pre-constituted, to a degree, by these politicized
and political bodies? If embodied and politicized fatness is, indeed, an identity; how may it be deployed, across what contexts and to what ends?

What are the productive and limiting effects of framing fatness as identity? LeBesco (2004) liberally employs Erving Goffman, Judith Butler and Michel Foucault to discuss the importance of texts and discourse in the co-constitutive process of forming and reforming identity and culture, as well as reconfiguring subject arrangements within fields of power, agency and resistance. LeBesco (2004) posits the possibility of a multiplicity of subjectivities that strategically resist simple categorization or targeting. LeBesco is not content to remain within discourse framed in the natural and life sciences. Rather, she wishes to interrogate fatness and to examine it from critical sociocultural and political perspectives. LeBesco is concerned less with fatness as personal identity, per se, than fatness as a politically-constructed and highly regulated/regulatory discourse.

The most prominent fat-as-identity-based organization setting the terms for fat discourse today is the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance (NAAFA). Those who are members of this organization are referred to as, “NAAFAns.” NAAFA represents one identity-based organization that focuses upon fighting discrimination against its members. Members of NAAFA articulate differing perspectives on the issue of whether fatness is biological destiny or related to individual choices (in connection to food, exercise and identity). LeBesco (2004) characterizes some fat acceptance politics that generate “born this way” or “can’t help it” explanatory frameworks as essentialist in their attempts to secure civil rights-type legal protection. Another possibility is that such framing reflects defeatism upon growing tired of being perpetually angry and frustrated.
To political subjects who are often denied “voice” and subjectivity in establishing, enacting and maintaining “legitimate” medical-legal-political-sociocultural-economic pathways to “justice” and representation, the mere articulation of one’s anger by taking the form of “agitator” can serve a very satisfying purpose. Collectivities of multiple subjects, similarly positioned with limited “voice,” also stand in congratulatory alliance with the “agitator.” This “agitator,” in the end, derives little more than his or her self-satisfaction and the congratulatory expressions of his or her similarly-disenfranchised supporters, engendering feelings of self-importance and pride. In this way, it can be asserted that in fat rights discourse and activism, the working of power remains largely unaffected, political-legal systems maintain their status quo and disenfranchised groups and individuals are rendered tired, yet relatively satisfied, and the process repeats ad infinitum.

From a less critical and pessimistic vantage point, fat rights discourse and activism—as it is broadly defined (e.g. through NAAFA and HAES)—may, in some contexts, have the power to rile people up and challenge prevailing notions of fat shame, invisibility and innocuity. While fat rights activism and discourse can be critiqued in terms of its functional role in simultaneously (re)producing, justifying and resisting anti-fat bias and prejudice, this activism and discourse also serves other purposes. Another purpose of fat advocacy, for example, is its role in stigma management (Honeycutt, 1999). In a sense, proclaiming pride in one’s fat body, and/or in fatness per se, challenges the cultural imperative to be quiet and to feel guilty or shameful about one’s fatness. As such, these proclamations of pride may serve to bolster one’s self-esteem, challenge prevailing cultural notions of bodily beauty and worth and resist internalization of a negative self-concept.
The Health at Every Size (HAES) perspective, for example, is relatively new (but rapidly-expanding in ideological popularity), among fat activists and researcher academics who write, critically, on the subject of fat. Much of this movement is based on empirical research evidence that disaggregates fatness from fitness in order to independently assess these two constructs so often conflated. Experiential manifestations of the HAES movement include fitness videos for fat and super-size individuals, fitness classes for fat people and advocacy for balanced, non-restrictive, “intuitive” eating and nutrition. Some within the HAES movement are committed to very public approaches, seeking to ensure that the mainstream public sees fat people being active (and, thus, “healthy”).

HAES arguments are often supported through references to medical-physiological indicators that are understood to be correlated with health and fitness levels (e.g. measurements of blood pressure, pulse, insulin, cholesterol, triglycerides and glucose) and to nutrition and eating that are said to parallel those of non-fat individuals. Indeed, these measurements and diets are often invoked by the “fit and fat” to demonstrate superior fitness (and, implicitly, control) over sedentary, non-fat individuals. Of course, this position also allows for an oppositional dynamic to develop between the “fit and fat” and the “unfit and fat.” Indeed, Paul Chapman (in Sobal & Maurer, 1999) draws parallels between much “healthy eating” rhetoric and more explicitly-articulated weight control (vis-à-vis “dieting”).

In some sense, the HAES movement seems almost anxious to counter the prevailing view of fat people as lazy, slothful, gluttonous and out-of-control. The HAES stance, therefore, may be seen as serving at least a dual purpose in stigma management and identity construction. The first purpose of HAES is its insistence on broadening the hegemonic social construction and
understanding of fatness, while simultaneously challenging our understanding of physical fitness and healthful eating as the sole proprietary right of non-fat persons.

In a sense, then, this function of the HAES movement is to render fitness and fatness less antithetical across numerous discourses (public, medical, self-talk). The second purpose of HAES is that of a reactive force against hatred, stigma and oppression. This element of the HAES movement can be understood as a, “But we’re just like you!” argument connected to the ostracizing and stigmatizing effects of being fat in a fat-fearing and fat-hating culture. While those who are fat certainly face societal scorn and stigma; those who are fat, poor and/or non-white may bear the brunt of cultural antagonism toward fat and fatness.

**Sociocultural Realm: Constructing Fatness as Poor and non-White**

Both LeBesco (2004, pp. 58-59) and Paul Campos (2004) argue that much of our current construction of fat is grounded in hierarchy maintenance of social class (and racial) inequity—even to the point of eugenics-type arguments against fatness and fat people. As such, perhaps it does makes sense to advance fat acceptance claims in the context of civil rights. Such claims, however, have made little inroads and may actually serve in antagonistic and self-limiting ways to frustrate the goals of fat acceptance activists (as Kirkland, 2003 demonstrates). LeBesco, however, challenges some of these goals themselves. As long as fat acceptance advocates claim innocence for fatness, they will forever remain entrenched in the realm of essentialist politics and its concomitant reliance on a helpless, hapless victim of their own biological destiny. Such arguments also fail to shift the discussion from one of etiology to one of basic rights.

J. Eric Oliver (2005) discusses the way white elites are able to express fat hatred, classism and racism under the guise of benevolent concern about the health and well-being of those who are fat. Others frame the fatness of those who are poor and/or non-white as an issue of
access to high-quality, healthy food options at affordable prices in accessible locations. The trope of, “There are no fresh fruits and vegetables in the ghetto” is frequently invoked through these arguments. On their face, these arguments seem entirely well-founded and inspired by social justice sentiment. However, the argument still frames the relative fatness of poor and/or non-white persons as one of poor nutrition and food choices. The context surrounding these food choices are then limited only to issues of food quality, affordability and accessibility.

The interdisciplinary academic discourse surrounding obesity in poor and non-white communities offers little (if any) mention of the possibility that healthy food choice availability, accessibility and affordability may only be as (or perhaps even less) important than other contextual factors. One factor for greater consideration when examining gaps in this discourse is the existence of culturally-specific food preferences (and their symbolic and specific roles and use in traditions). Researchers could also critically examine the possible use of comfort foods among poor white and non-white populations to reduce relatively high levels of stress, anxiety and depression resulting from poverty and oppression. Psychologists could explore whether or not there might be cultural rejections of certain “healthier” food choices considered “white” and/or “high-brow.”

Sociologists (a la Marx) could examine the more immediate availability phenomenon of poor and/or non-white fast food workers consuming the objects of their production for; convenience, a sense of personal efficacy and self-sufficiency. Finally, medical researchers could investigate the possibly bodily-addictive nature of fast and processed foods and whether or not consumption of these foods is associated with differential health effects across cultures. These food choice issues do not even begin to address other issues that likely affect the relative fatness of poor and/or non-white people.
Other contextual issues I suggest for further academic exploration include: culturally-specific norms for body size and shape; the highly-atomistic, assembly-line nature of fast food work—whereby workers spend most of their working day confined to one area with relatively little substantive movement; the geographic and social structuring of urban space that keeps poor and/or non-white persons relatively encapsulated in their smaller-than-average homes for safety; and the relative unavailability of time and monetary resources to invest in exercise for the sake of exercise. Indeed, in some circumstances, exercise may be seen as an indulgent leisure activity not afforded to those poor people who must serve the wealthier people who have extra time on their hands.

Economic Realm: Representations of “Fatness?” and Consumerism

The HAES movement clearly exemplifies one facet of attempts to “sell” fatness to mainstream culture. This movement also, of course, appeals to many fat individuals who do not pridefully identify based upon (or with) their fatness. This movement offers not only new possible conceptualizations, but for a new consumer base as well. The diet industry is a $33 billion per year business (Honeycutt, 1999). This business that simultaneously reflects, accommodates and reifies the supposed desires of “overweight” people who wish to become thin is often derided by fat activists and those within the HAES movement.

Interestingly, however, the HAES movement fosters and supports another body-based business that parallels the diet industry’s method (though not nearly so profitably) of reflecting, accommodating and reifying the supposed consumer needs and desires of fat people (see LeBesco, 2004 for further discussion of fatness and consumerism). Businesses catering to fat people market items such as reinforced and extra-wide beds, chairs, toilets and toilet seats, seat belt extenders, supersize clothing, extender poles and hoses for reaching and cleaning feet, toes
and “intimate areas,” oversized bicycle seats, extra-large bicycle helmets, extra-long and wide
towels, exercise videos for those who are fat, supersize and/or have limited mobility, scales that
measure up to 1000 lbs, scooters, walkers, canes, crutches and wheelchairs for fat people and fat-
affirmative books and magazines.

One of the largest retailers of fat-oriented merchandise on the Internet is
Lifestyle” and purports to sell “Interesting Accessories for People Living Large.” Quickly
perusing through this site reveals the extraordinary mark-up associated with this specialty niche,
where a reinforced toilet seat in the reduced-price “Bargain Bin” section costs a remarkable
$97.70.

In addition to these less-well-known industries that cater to those who are fat, some
mainstream businesses have attempted to extend their reach into the fat market demographic; or
at least appear more sensitive to the average female consumer. Curves is a women-only gym that
uses empowerment rhetoric to sell memberships. One of their most popular commercials features
a woman, so full of pride she seems on the brink of tears, asserting: “I became a larger woman in
a smaller dress size.” Always recently began marketing a maxi pad for women “size 14 plus”—
Always Maximum Protection with Flexi-Wings (see photo, below). The intent behind this
particular product is mystical and somewhat dubious in its implicit assumptions regarding fat
women’s anatomy and physiology.
Dove introduced its “Campaign for Real Beauty” with the slogan: “Real Women have real bodies with real curves. And Dove wants to celebrate those curves.” These ads (see example, below) feature women who can only be considered average or very slightly above average weight. It also seems that Dove’s idea of “celebrating” “real women’s” curves is to sell them “intensive firming cream” (see photo, below). The sales tactic espoused by Curves Gym and Dove sends women the paradoxical double entendre: “You’re perfect just the way you are” and “Please change so you can be perfect.”

Swanson’s Hungry Man dinners have generated their own distinctly gendered (and wildly successful) marketing campaign. Their demographic is hefty and burly men (i.e. “fat”) who are hungry for a satisfyingly large microwavable dinner. In their television commercials, men eating dinners of smaller quantity than the Hungry-Man dinners are, quite literally, blown away by a desk fan. The commercials imply that these fragile lightweights are not the “real men” consumers targeted for these frozen dinners. Swanson’s marketing for this product reads not unlike something we might expect from a 1950s television dinner advertisement in its focus on men’s purportedly ravenous, meat-and-potatoes, throw-caution-to-the-wind appetites (as an implicit yet distinct contrast to women’s hypervigilance around food and supposed bird-like and
vegetarian appetites). The Hungry-Man breakfast, for example, contains 1,030 calories, 64 grams of fat, 690 milligrams of cholesterol (231% of the recommended daily allowance) and 2,090 milligrams of sodium (87% of the recommended daily allowance). Indeed, this advertising campaign serves as a striking example of the use of normative constructions of gender to appeal to particular, gendered demographics.

A discussion of specialty and mainstream marketing of products and services for (and sometimes by) fat people would be incomplete without a discussion of fat fetish pornography. While not all pornography containing fat persons is fetish (some pornography merely reflects inclusion of a wider diversity of body shapes and sizes), of the 35,400,000 “hits” one receives conducting a Google search for “porn,” 7,650,000 of these (22%) contain references or links to “fat porn.” Indeed, this is a substantial fetish niche in the porn industry. It is very clear, then,
that all of this porn featuring fatness is not created exclusively for fat people, but primarily for the mainstream public’s consumption.

This is an interesting fact considering the mainstream expressed revulsion for fat people and their bodies. This paradox of parallel cultural revulsion and sexual objectification is a common trope and framework we might recognize in operation with other marginalized groups as well (those who are disabled, transsexual and/or intersex, for example). Fat pornography emerges, ultimately, as one fascinating (though fraught) departure from the characteristic absence, invisibility and de-sexualization of fat people and fat bodies. This representation, however, seems largely to derive from situating fat persons entirely as objects rather than subjects—an observation supported by the relatively extreme humiliation, revulsion and parodic display of fat bodies usually on spectacle in mainstream fat porn. Of course, it is the public’s demand for these representations that establishes and fuels their reproduction. It is always important to consider both the productive and co-constitutive power of the economic realm as it affects (and is affected by) all other social realms.

Medical, Legal, Political, Sociocultural and Economic Realms Interface: Constructions of Fatness as a Disability

Now that I have presented various constructions and representations of fatness and fat identity across a number of social realms, I would like to offer an example I feel demonstrates the interlocking nature of these social systems. Claiming fatness as a disability provides a compelling illustration of the convergence of medical, legal, political, sociocultural and economic systems in constructing and representing fatness. Disability claims related to supposedly fatness-based ailments and limitations become legitimated as deserving of remedial action only when the sufferer can demonstrate an inherent, medical/biological predisposition to the disabling condition. Of course, such claims meet with only limited success in the
contemporary legal and political arenas. Then what, we might inquire, are the productive and limiting sociocultural effects of framing fatness as disability? What are the effects, on fat identity, of framing fatness as a disability?

It is also important to ask: What are the motivations and intentions that underlie framing fatness as identity and/or disability; and with whom or what are they in dialogue, alliance and/or conflict? Just as claimants have much to potentially gain in establishing their right and entitlement to disability benefits; so, too, do they have much to potentially lose. The stigmatizing and limiting effects of framing fatness as a disability may be far-reaching. One of the most striking possible effects of framing fatness as an identity (and a disability) is its potential for assuming a master status in one’s self perception.

David Engel and Frank Munger (2003) claim that, recursively, when disabilities are internalized as identity, they may serve to “recolonize” the body, actually lessening the likelihood that one will seek legal redress for disability-based discrimination. Do those who profess fatness as an identity seek legal redress for claims of fatness-based discrimination? If so, how are these claims articulated and to what end? Indeed, the authors claim that one may not even recognize and/or claim disability-based discrimination, as such, given the consciousness-shaping effects of structurally-sanctioned, taken-for-granted practices connected to disabilities (e.g. “special education” or “special needs” classrooms segregated from “normal” classrooms).

These claims are particularly interesting when applied to the issue of fatness. What are some existing sociocultural practices and sites that seek to instantiate fatness as “other than” non-fatness? Some possible sites might include seating in certain venues and establishments, some restroom facilities, mainstream beauty, most clothing stores, many fitness institutions, etc. While these spaces of segregation for fat and non-fat persons may be overwhelmingly salient for fat
people, in what contexts and to what extent are these practices conscious and purposively exclusionary?

Just as the wheelchair serves as a cultural symbol, with all of its attendant meanings and assumptions conferred upon its human inhabitant, so, too, does fat. In the instance of the very fat person in the wheelchair, our readings of these cultural symbols and embodiments battle for coherent understanding of, ultimately, the source of culpability. While all wheelchair users are sometimes met with avoidance, fear and pity; fat wheelchair users often confront additional relational layers—namely, contempt and blame.

In most cases of non-fat people in wheelchairs, passerby might wonder what unfortunate incident led to the pitiable necessity of the wheelchair. In the case of the fat person in a wheelchair, however, the wonderment is displaced by scorn as the wheelchair is seen as partial producer, inevitable consequence and enabler of its inhabitant’s master status/spoiled identity as a lazy glutton. In such instances, in the war of competing symbols, fatness retains ultimate explanatory power and one is deemed piteously disabled, yet “undeserving” in terms of legal protection resulting in economic benefit and support.

Even if fatness were considered disabling (and worthy of rights protections) under the ADA, however, would a powerful cultural script not continue to negate and antagonize fat people in wheelchairs? Such a scenario seems not entirely unlike the stigmatizing cultural treatment of people of color on public assistance. Rather than furthering a “like race” argument, however, my intention is to begin to interrogate and problematize the politics that lead some fat rights activists to advocate for fatness to be seen as a disability, per se, protected under the ADA. Indeed, I feel we will need to extend our understandings of, and arguments for, representations and constructions of fatness and fat identity in order to make substantive gains.
New Directions: Exploring Fatness in the Context of Liminality and Queerness

Through this analysis, I have surveyed a number of frameworks for constructing and representing fatness and fat identity across interlocking social systems. I have also interrogated these various constructions and representations—portraying them as highly limited in terms of their ability to secure substantive transformation across any of the realms discussed. Not only are they limited, but I have also articulated some of the ways they are also limiting to personal understandings and constructions of fatness and fat identity. To conclude my analysis, I will suggest some alternative paradigms for framing the issues of fatness and fat identity.

In the third chapter of his text, *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*, anthropologist Victor L. Turner (1969) writes about the concept of liminality. In this work, Turner discusses liminality as a transitive state between one phase of belonging or community membership and another. Occupying this limbo means no longer inhabiting a space within which one was previously a member; yet also not yet being fully subsumed into a new space, role or community as a member. Existence at these interstices brings with it a host of potential challenges as fundamental lack of belonging is often tied to depression, ambiguity, fear and isolation. I believe that the concept of liminality holds great promise for articulating some of the lived experiences of those who are fat and not working or seeking to become non-fat. People who are fat and not seeking to change inhabit the interstitial space between valued and normative non-fatness and self-hating and wanting or working-to-become-thin fatness.

In the current “healthist” environment that largely deems “fatness” and “fitness” mutually exclusive or diametrically opposed, those who are fat and not seeking to change certainly occupy an odd space in terms of identity (as defined by either self and/or other). This liminal status becomes even more salient when issues connected to disability, accessibility and accommodation
are raised. In this context, fatness emerges as a liminal identity insofar as there are moralistic cultural proscriptions that those who exist as fat must transition to thin in order to “fit” and be fit, healthy, loved, attractive, alive, able-bodied, industrious, worthy, insured, self-assured, parents, Godly, evolved, etc. This bodily transition is assumed (by many of those who seek it, as well as those who advocate for it) inevitably and wholly possible, desirable and ameliorative to all personal and social problems associated with the identity of fatness itself.

To contentedly inhabit a fat body, then, is to inhabit a culturally-liminal identity that is nearly impossible to recognize given cultural imperatives to non-fatness and contemporary constructions of “health” and “fitness.” In this hostile, anti-fat climate, it is of little wonder that many fat people search for alternative avenues of fuller representation and less stigma. Rather than being reactive, apologetic or conformist, however, perhaps learning to cope with the tension and strain of living in this interstitial realm (over time) would afford such residence greater personal and cultural intelligibility, viability and resonance.

There can be little doubt that refusing (or better yet, becoming indifferent to) cultural imperatives for thinness is a queer act in our society. As such, however, it carries the possibility for transformation and recognition outside of rigidly-bounded cultural expectations. LeBesco (2004) frames fatness as queer performance and revolt in a thin-obsessed culture that deems their very existence revolting. LeBesco focuses upon micro-interpersonal, iterative interactions that occur each and every day across myriad contexts. It is within these interactions that fat people and fat acceptance advocates may exercise greater interpersonal agency to forge new meanings, understandings and (re)presentations of self and other.

Currently, no one is (successfully) arguing that the fattest of fat people should be allowed to eat whatever and whenever they choose, never exercise and still have access to good jobs,
high self esteem, respect, socially-desirable romantic partners and legal restitution should they become injured or disabled (in relation to, or independent of, their size and how/why they became or remain that way). By framing fatness as an unapologetic, unashamed, liminal and queer state and status, however, we create greater possibilities that such arguments will be articulated.

We should not anticipate medical discourse, legislation, policy or marketing that protects one’s fundamental right to queerness (e.g. fatness) because it chafes against the very structures these discourses and apparatuses reify and reproduce—the normative, non-disruptive and hegemonic. In this case, there will be no dismantling of the master’s house with the master’s tools in the foreseeable future. We have a much greater chance of reconfiguring cultural constructions of fatness, I believe, by picking away at the loose threads that weave these constructions together, than we do by employing existing medical, legal, political, sociocultural and economic frameworks and strategies. By peeling back the accessible and vulnerable margins of normative and hegemonic discourses, it becomes easier to see cultural representations of fatness for the constructions that they are.

Important work is being conducted in the burgeoning fat studies movement, prefigured by such provocative and wide-ranging interdisciplinary texts as Jeffery Sobal and Donna Maurer’s (1999), Interpreting Weight and Jana Evans Braziel and Kathleen LeBesco’s (2001), Bodies Out of Bounds. Much of this work challenges not only the medical establishment’s construction of the “obesity epidemic,” but some fat activists’ biologically-essentialist explanations for fatness and arguments that fat people are 1) the “same as” non-fat people (only fatter) and 2) subject to discrimination and prejudice that is the “same as” that experienced by those of other stigmatized groups. Many fat studies scholars argue that we must be cautious in
our wholesale acceptance, use and deployment of reductionist explanations for fatness. Similarly, we must be mindful of the political effects (and limitations) of generating ideological parallels to articulate anti-fat prejudice, hatred and discrimination.

To do so may risk alienating certain groups that might otherwise be open to collaborative, anti-stigma, anti-oppression and anti-discrimination work. To obscure important differences between various forms of discrimination may be seen by these “other” marginalized groups as yet another violent attempt at erasure, minimization and/or colonization. In addition, by framing anti-fat prejudice, hatred and discrimination as “same as” other forms of oppression and discrimination, the dynamics and undertones of these acts that are quite particular to fatness are rendered invisible and presumably unimportant.
References


Title: A Discussion of “Financial Security in Later Life: A National Initiative and Model for eXtension” to Gain Insights on Designing an Evaluation System to Measure Participant Behavior Change

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Abstract:

The vision for the national Extension initiative on Financial Security in Later Life (FSLL) is a nation composed of individuals and families who are financially literate and empowered with the knowledge, attitudes, skills, and confidence to practice effective and successful financial management strategies that ensure financial security in later life. The initiative articulates the research which provides the foundation for Extension programs and models the use of the Internet for program design, delivery, and evaluation (http://www.csrees.usda.gov/fsll). As a result of this effort, the Cooperative Extension System’s capacity to deliver personal finance education has been strengthened and participants have reported changed
behaviors, i.e., using recommended practices, developing plans for retirement and/or future income goals, and increasing financial security in later life.

An on-line, Web-based data collection system enables the aggregation of impact data and program evaluations. This national database, accessible by states through the FSLL Web site, is continually collecting data from Extension educators about program results. Data are collected on program participant numbers and participants’ satisfaction level with the program, knowledge changes, behavior/practice changes, and changes in participants’ level of financial security.

As of January 2006, 24 states reported 46,815 individuals completed one of more of 8 educational program curricula delivered in a face-to-face format. Among the key findings are the following:

- 89% of program participants increased their financial knowledge related to later life issues;
- 68% planned to use recommended financial management practices;
- 59% planned to manage their use of credit, reduce debt, and/or reduce household spending in light of their long-term goals for later life; and
- Of those who also were surveyed using additional follow-up survey techniques (31,505 individuals), 43% percent reported using one or more recommended financial management practices from an initiative program; 55% reported they developed plans to achieve retirement and/or future income goals; 52% reported that they had increased their financial security; and 75% reported that the program was valuable to them.

The Financial Security in Later Life Initiative provides many insights for eXtension, a new Internet-based, customer-centered, virtual educational environment designed to provide 24/7/365 access to objective, science-based information from universities and partners nationwide directly to consumers. FSLL was one of three programs showcased in the prototype and a full toolbox of programs is currently
being transitioned into eXtension. Insights are needed for the design of an evaluation system which will adequately measure participant behavior change in this new virtual educational environment.

**Reference:**

Submission for Publication

1) Marriage, Feminism, and Equality
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Marriage, Feminism, and Equality  
in the Words of Margaret Cavendish

One of the most prolific writers of the later seventeenth century, Margaret Cavendish (1623-1673) was renowned during her time. She was nicknamed “Mad Meg” for her notoriously eccentric political opinions, social, and feminist beliefs. Famously peculiar both in her flamboyant dress and in her worldly beliefs, she became known also for her written words. She wrote a total of fourteen works on a broad selection of topics ranging from scientific and philosophical treatises, science fiction, a biography and autobiography, to essays, letters, memoirs, poetry, “orations,” and several plays. Cavendish spent her life challenging the rules of science, society, and gender relations. A Royalist during the English Civil War, Margaret Lucas was Maid of Honor to Queen Henrietta Maria from 1643 to 1645. During her exile with the queen she met and married William Cavendish, thirty years her senior and a leader of the Royalist forces. The happy couple, eventually named the Duke and the Duchess of Newcastle, retired from court life and Margaret spent her years fighting against unequal power in domestic relations using the power of her pen. Her philosophical observation of the world resulted in her becoming the only woman of the time to visit the Royal Society in 1667.

Margaret Cavendish was the first woman in England who wrote for publication, but unfortunately up until the 1990s her works were still considered objectionable and “unreadable.” Up to this day critics continue to characterize Cavendish’s work as diverse and contradictory. Their standard unevenness of quality, as editor Emma Reese put it,
Jacqueline Pearson is one of few critics who have given Margaret Cavendish a favorable reading. I will argue in support of Pearson’s idea, that Cavendish’s erratic behavior resulted from the disconnection between her views and her times. I will demonstrate that Cavendish’s behavior resulted from, but was not merely a reaction to the seventeenth-century social norms. I will primarily focus on the political and feminist expressions in three of her fictional works and her autobiography (1656). Although there are many shorter, yet notable works by Cavendish, I will be referring to her larger and her more popular works: *The Blazing World* (1666), an imaginative story in which Cavendish presents her idea of the perfect world; *The Convent of Pleasure and Other Plays* (1668), in which Margaret exemplifies her views on marriage, gender expectations, pregnancy, child-birth, and raising children; *Sociable Letters* (1664), a compilation of actual letters between two fictional characters who also discuss marriage and family; and the comical play *The Bridals* (1668), where Cavendish explores sexuality and marriage through two brides.

Scholars generally agree that Margaret was indeed a feminist, though her tactics for revealing it were inconsistent with her time. She would introduce a controversial view, then retract it in order to follow societal norms. Why didn’t she protest and speak publicly on feminine equality and politics? Pearson says that many, if not most, female writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century held conflicting opinions about feminism. She says that along with other writers, Cavendish’s plays “are the results of a

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‘deep and pervasive conflict with herself and with the society of her time.’” There are many possible reasons why Margaret’s opinions were only confined to her pen and paper, according to Pearson. But in examining Cavendish from a political viewpoint, my conclusion is that she was mainly trying to protect herself from persecution as a female writer. She did that purposely by contradicting her own opinions in order to mask their radicalism. She knew her surroundings, politically and socially, and since her main interest was to publish, she was careful about pushing her beliefs into a world that she knew was not ready for them.

The starting point of my analysis is her autobiography. Scholars, such as Elaine Walker, have seen Margaret as a brilliant manipulator of the public, making them believe she was scatterbrained and fickle. In the words of Walker, Cavendish was “offering her readers ambrosian richness have they the intellectual appetite to enjoy it.” Margaret's adulthood was also clearly influenced by her upbringing. Margaret’s father died when she was an infant, and she was raised by only her mother. She confined herself in solitude as all her siblings did. In her autobiography, she recalls that when her sisters and she lived in the country, “it was to reade, work, walk, and discourse with each other.” Margaret mentions that they rarely visited with other children: “For I observed, they (her sisters) did seldom make visits, nor never went abroad with strangers in their company, but onely themselves in a flock together agreeing so well.” She also mentions that she was a very shy as a girl. This could be a reason that Cavendish, in her adulthood, could

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not express herself publicly. She satisfied her yearning for fame, popularity, and acceptance in print.

Because Margaret was born into a family that was traditionally well-educated, and more importantly because she was raised by her mother only, she was encouraged to read and write. Had her father been around, her educational encouragement might have been reduced since most men traditionally underestimated females who were willing to continue their education. Her mother, on the other hand, was a well-educated woman herself, and strongly supported Margaret in her gifted desire to learn. Although aristocratic girls in early modern England were more educated than lower class girls, they were constantly undervalued for their gender, even more so than in the middle class. Boys were particularly highly prized by aristocratic families. This caused disdain and neglect of the proper education of upper-class girls. They were only taught to read, but not to write. They were not encouraged to stimulate their intellects; instead they were manipulated into thinking they could never make it on their own. But since Margaret grew up in the company of siblings and had no male authority in the household, she was innocent of the typical belief that females in the seventeenth century were inferior receptors of education and writing. This is why, in "The Blazing World", she describes her modest writing abilities to the Empress by saying her letters are “characters” rather than “well-formed letters.” Her defense of her lack of proper English and grammar is also stated in her autobiography. She strives for the equality of women, yet she utilizes

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6 Ibid., 192.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., 379.
her gender as an excuse for her poor writing and spelling. She claims in her autobiography that it is against nature for a woman to spell right and admitted that she was “unable to understand grammar and the little she knew was enough to make her renounce it.”

She tried to persuade her readers to take her writing seriously despite the grammatical errors.

There is a seeming conflict between her diminishing the importance of her own spelling ability and her strong criticism of the intellect of other women. Cavendish knew that she was privileged, and even though she was a woman herself, in her autobiography she often criticizes females by stating that they talk too much and are irrational. She criticizes their method of arguing as “words rushing against words, thwarting, and crossing each other, and pulling with reproaches, themselves thereby.”

Modern critics have considered this arrogant condescension to women, but it could also be understood simply as frustration with the way things were. Margaret was at times very critical of women, however, strong feminist views were prevalent throughout her work. For one thing, she was consistent: all of her stories, poems, plays, and other works share the perception, that in an ideal world women can be as intellectual as men, and given the proper education, they can be even wiser. She was well aware of her inadequacies, but accepted the fact that the time in which she lived simply did not allow her to become the writer that she desperately wanted to be. Nevertheless, she knew of her advantages over other women.

Cavendish believed that most of her female contemporaries were not worthy of improvement, and considered herself to be unique, a heroic character because she is a...

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12 Ibid, 207.
female writer. She encouraged such views of herself by exposing only enough to keep her mysterious: Some examples are that she rarely appeared in public, she had no evident friends, and when she did go out she was sure to dress in ostentatious apparel, leaving a memorable trace for her admirers. This made her seem hero-like, thus her work and character fascinated the public. Famous diarist, and a young boy at the time, Samuel Pepys wrote about Cavendish at the May Day Celebration of 1667. He described her coach as being strange, dressed up in black and silver colors. He said, in the words of D. Roberts, that “‘100 boys and girls’ ran after her, and everyone wondered at her dress and entourage, making her ‘whole story…a romance, and all she doth…romantic.’”

Margaret was not the only woman who was idolized for her looks. This was a typical notion of aristocratic women writers who “patterned their own lives on a model of female heroism and female political agency.” She used her writing as a tool to uncover and gradually reveal her political views, as well as her personal opinions on life and marriage, while never revealing too much, only enough to get her work published.

One of the primary aspects of her literary work is Cavendish's high evaluation of herself. As in her autobiography, Cavendish often related herself to Queen Elizabeth I to demonstrate her support for an imperialist England. While it was common for Interregnum royalists to “manipulate the image of the Virgin Queen to suit their political or creative needs,” Cavendish is explicit about her resemblances to the queen. One of

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14 Ibid., 151.
her best known works is the *The Description of a New World called The Blazing World*, a utopian fantasy based on the proposition that there are an infinite number of worlds, some of them ruled by women. In this story she assigns herself the role of Queen Margaret I. Displaying similar concerns to those of Queen Elizabeth, she uses the queen as a way to explore the disenfranchisement of women and the possibility of female empowerment,\(^{18}\) that is, empowerment of only the privileged few. Her stories hardly ever involve middle class society, and they never involve the lower class, no doubt because she desired to cultivate an upper class audience for her writing.

Another way Margaret enhances her power is by giving authority to her voice by turning it monarchic. In the *Blazing World*, Cavendish displays her desire for equality by putting her voice into the voices of her characters. The main character is an educated empress of the Blazing World. Her curiosity causes her to question contemporary issues, along with the roles of women and children in public affairs like religion and politics. She presents several significant points to try to sway the public’s view on such matters within the story. The empress also creates schools and founds several societies. Margaret uses fictional writing as a means of communicating reform ideas without risking too much. This could represent Margaret’s remote goals for the future, but conscious of the limits of her world, she writes about it instead, making it seem dreamy rather than genuine. Her character also tries unifying the world by making friends with women worldwide and congregating them by converting them into her religion.\(^{19}\) Many intellectual women of early modern England joined societies where they were able to

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\(^{18}\) Ibid., 383.

\(^{19}\) It is not specified what religion the Empress was involved with, but it was clearly stated that she made it an only religion.
discourse amongst each other. Cavendish, on the other hand, never revealed an urge to exchange and confirm her beliefs and ideas with other women. This could be a result of either her shyness, or because she believed that her ideas would seem inconceivable to everyone else, and feared rejection. Fiction was her method of communicating socially. Writing for Margaret meant more than just status and power. By her own account, she was shy around others; Through her female characters she transcended this limitation in her personality.

It is in these female characters that Margaret’s views on feminism emerge most clearly. Two plays, Convent of Pleasure and The Bridals, best explore her thoughts on marriage. The female characters in The Convent of Pleasure reject marriage and family in order to accomplish their utopian projects. The play exhorts its characters “from patriarchal economies to envision female political agency.” Cavendish criticizes women’s political inferiority and tries to shine a light on women’s independence from men, challenging the notion that women need men to satisfy them. In her autobiography Margaret expresses her love for her husband, yet she doesn't specify by which means. They did not produce any children, yet Margaret does not display sorrow for herself. She admits to regretting their childlessness for her husband’s sake. Since Margaret’s marriage to William produced no children, Margaret may have blamed herself for the barrenness. It has been suggested, however, that it may have been her husband who was sterile considering his age, reputation as a womanizer, and a father already to ten children.

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from his first wife.\textsuperscript{23} If Margaret was controlling her destiny to become a publishing writer, however, it could have been her choice not to have children. She married an enormously wealthy, aristocratic, eminent man, thirty years older than her, who had the resources and ability to provide his wife with opportunities and achievements that were otherwise unreachable.

Although both \textit{Convent of Pleasure} and \textit{The Bridals} revolve around marriage, their focuses steer away from each other. Cavendish’s \textit{The Bridals} is a comedic approach to the question, what makes a marriage good or bad, whereas \textit{The Convent of Pleasure} dismisses the concept of marriage completely. \textit{The Convent of Pleasure} centers on Lady Happy, whose father just passed away and left her his riches. The gentlemen decide they will attempt to win the lady over for her riches in a competition to become her husband. The lady, however, expresses no interest in marriage. When Madame Mediator attempts to convince the lady to take a husband for God’s sake, she states that “it cannot be good, if it be neither pleasure, nor profit to the gods; neither do Men any thing for the gods but their own sake.”\textsuperscript{24} As a result, to escape her persistent suitors, Lady Happy decides to gather twelve other ladies and live with her, cloistered in her estate, calling it the “Convent of Pleasure.” When Madame Mediator asks her how she will live without the pleasures of men she responds by saying that

\begin{quote}
men are the only troublers of Women; for they only cross
and oppose their sweet delights, and peaceable life; they
cause their pains, but not means to please themselves, they
must serve only to please others… [they] make the Female
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 219.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 219.
sex their slaves, but I will not be so enslaved, but will live
retired from their Company.25

When a prince dresses up as a princess to gain access to the convent, Lady Happy feels
an attraction towards the so-called princess, and describes him as “a Princely brave
Woman truly, of a Masculine Presence.”26 At the end of the play the prince is revealed a
man and insists on marrying Lady Happy. They wed and it is unknown what Lady
Happy’s thoughts are as she speaks less and less as the play progresses. Nevertheless she
never recants her prior beliefs.

As in all her works, Margaret Cavendish displays her personal opinion about
marriage through the main character, Lady Happy, mainly in the beginning of the play
(although the primary role is later passed to the Princess). In the beginning Lady Happy
is confident and outspoken in her views and she is happy with the unmarried life style she
has chosen, thus the name Lady “Happy.” As soon as she begins to let her guard down
for the so-called princess, her voice is heard less on the matter. The reader can never be
certain whether Lady Happy is satisfied with her new marital state and why. Similarly,
we cannot know what the basis or extent of Margaret’s happiness was in her own
marriage. Margaret was consistently assertive in her autobiography that she had a happy
marriage. In fact, she makes it known that she loved the duke. “He was the onely person
I ever was in love with.”27 In her autobiography she devotes an entire chapter on the life
of the duke, referring to him as “His Majesty” and “My Lord”.28 But she had to know
that she was taken much more seriously as a writer because of her husband’s eminent

25 Ibid., 220.
26 Ibid., 226.
28 Ibid., 21-178.
position in society. She could have been happy simply about her living situation, happy about her political and social status, happy for the immense support from her husband, or happy for having the opportunity to publish with no family or financial distractions.

Lady Happy’s decision to marry the prince, after she completely discarded the idea in the beginning, could also be Cavendish’s interpretation of women’s typical behavior: fickleness and inability to stand up for themselves when it comes to men. Margaret also expresses her views on marriage in her 1664 Sociable Letters, a compilation of letters between two fictional women. She says that she loses patience with wives who are overcome with delight in being pregnant. She feels they only yearn for attention while with child rather than the actual responsibilities of raising a child. She also suggests that the old and foolish only marry for beauty, while the young and the beautiful marry for the fortune. This poses an interesting irony as Cavendish herself married a man thirty years her senior who was extremely wealthy. Her husband’s status and support gave her the ability to write, and a greater chance to publish.

Margaret’s primary motive for writing and publishing was a zealous desire for fame. That motive took precedence over her concern for women's equality. With no distractions in the home, and no children, Cavendish immersed herself in writing. She always proudly owned her work, and admitted to its grammatical inadequacies. She wanted nothing more than to be taken seriously as a writer and remembered for her wit and creative intelligence. Unfortunately the public didn’t share her outlook and scorned her simply because she was a woman. Her idiosyncratic self-display was regarded with deep suspicion, even after the Restoration. One woman in particular, Dorothy Osborne

30 Ibid., 90
expressed her judgment on Cavendish’s first publication, *Poems and Fancies*, to her future husband, not having read it herself: “Sure the poore woman is a litle distracted, she could never bee soe ridiculous else as to venture at writeing book’s and in verse too, If I should not sleep this fortnight I should not come to that.”31 Fortunately many contemporary readers do not share Osborne’s prejudice against women writing for publication. Since then, Cavendish’s character, as well as her writing, has received serious attention. Many scholars have overlooked Margaret Cavendish because it was assumed that she was a jealous aristocrat. However, her writing and views were serious responses to the circumstances and time she lived in. Her success in the male-dominated intellectual activities of literature and science displays strength, will, and passion.

31 Cavendish, *The Convent of Pleasure and Other Plays*, 4.
Ambivalence Versus Aggression: The Application of the Death Penalty in California and Texas

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Three Thousand Six Hundred Seventy prisoners were under sentence of death in the United States as of April 1, 2000, with Texas and California having by far the largest death row populations (California -- 568, Texas -- 457) (NAACP 2000). While these states have substantially similar death row populations in terms of number of prisoners and rate of capital sentencing, Texas executes convicted offenders at a much higher rate, far and away leading the country in executions per year. In fact, of the 598 prisoners executed in the United States since the death penalty’s reinstatement in 1976, 223 (37%) were executed in the state of Texas. In reference, California drags far behind, having executed only 8 inmates (1% of the nation’s executions) during the same period.

While controversy continues to surface over the motivation, arbitrary sentencing, racial subjectivity and constitutionality of the death penalty perhaps its most interesting feature remains overlooked. Why do so many states sentence defendants to death yet rarely execute?
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Submission ID No.34                                                                 |
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Caste based discrimination in Microfinance Institutions-Experiences from Self Help Groups in India

Abstract

Micro-finance interventions are well-recognized world over as an effective tool for poverty alleviation and improving socio-economic status of rural poor. An empowerment woman is the central goal of Micro finance intervention. In India too, Micro-finance is making headway in its effort for reducing poverty and empowering rural women through Self Help Group Model. However in Indian context women are not a homogenous category as graded inequality exists in the form of caste system. Majority of the Indian poor are Dalits who constitute 1/3 rd of India’s population. The Dalit women who are at the bottom most ladder of the caste hierarchy are still remaining illiterate, ignorant and most backward. SHGs are looked as poverty alleviation tools only. However, there is a need to look at SHGs as a tool for socio-economic and cultural empowerment of dalits. There is a scarcity of resource literature regarding the impact of SHG’s on their socio-economic empowerment. Against this background, present study has been carried out in three villages of different geographical locations in Andhra Pradesh to assess the impact of micro-finance on socio-economic conditions of SHG’s members belonging to dalits (Scheduled Castes). The study is empirical in nature. The data is collected through semi structured interview schedules and focused group interactions with the group members, village officials and NGOs. Studied at length the historical background of SHGs in India and Andhra Pradesh, the status and stakes of dalit women, the caste based discrimination faced by them in terms of credit access, bank loans Govt. schemes and the limitations of capacity building which hampers the effective decision making process in the Groups. The study reveals that illiteracy, ignorance, lack of skills, caste discriminations, antipathy of bankers towards Dalits and ineffective implementation of Government schemes are the stumbling blocks in the effective participation of Dalit women in SHGs.

Introduction:

The International year of Micro Credit 2005 has made significant achievement towards generating financial sector growth and poverty alleviation. As the year of Micro Credit ends it is time to look at the unfinished agendas. Micro Finance has been growing in tremendous speed. However, a large proportion of poor are unable to access the credit, particularly in the developing countries like India where 400 million people are living below poverty line. The State of Andhra Pradesh (AP) is one of the India’s poorest State (70% of Dalit families are below poverty line) has used development of Self Help Groups (SHG) as a primary tool of poverty alleviation and empowerment. The decade 1990 in A.P has experienced one of the most successful solutions for poverty eradication through women SHGs.

National and state government initiatives, as well as Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) efforts, have used SHGs to implement poverty alleviation programs in Andhra Pradesh, since 1979. Self-help groups also empower poor women, more than 4.8 million of whom are mobilized into SHGs. Early programs sought to provide self-employment, empower and incorporate rural poor women into the development process. Homogenous
groups of women would choose and collectively undertake an economic activity suited to their skills and resources, supplemented by state matching grants. Following on successes in earlier programs, which were modified to make them more meaningful, the state has promoted significant increases in SHGs using a social mobilization approach. The state-sponsored *Velugu* program working in over 860 Mandals (sub-district revenue unit) in 22 districts, aims to reach 2.9 million of the poorest of rural poor.

Indian society is caste-based society with graded inequality among different castes of which the scheduled castes or Dalits are at the lowest rungs. Dalits constitute 16.48 total population of India. Despite protective discrimination through reservations as enshrined in the constitution, large portions of them are still backward and are under below poverty line. They suffer in terms of low access to resources, ownership of assets and exploitation. The poverty is more pronounced in Dalit women majority of them earn their livelihoods as agriculture wage labourers and small proportion of them serves as scavengers, sweepers and other menial works in unorganized sector.

Micro finance has brought tremendous changes in the empowerment of general women. However, this is not the same with Dalit women who are illiterate, economically poor, socially disadvantaged and living in rural areas. The poverty reduction among Dalit women is less. As per the study done by the World Bank in A P and Utter Pradesh two largest States show that 80% of Dalits have no access to credit 85% have no access to insurance and 56% borrow from money lenders. Given our male-dominated rural society, there is growing realization that Dalit rural women have been underestimated and discriminated in all walks of life, despite their substantial contribution to the household economy and in turn, to the national economy. They have almost been excluded from these financial services either because they were not available (collateral and procedural requirements rendered them inaccessible) or simply because they were not considered credit worthy. Dalit women are discriminated in SHGs on Caste lines in various ways.

The present study aims to:

- Study the historical background of Micro Finance Institutions (MFI) and SHGs in India and A P and the status and stakes of Dalit women in SHGs.
- Study the caste based discrimination and untouchability practices which they are subjected to.
- Study the aspirations, perceptions of dalit women and their participation in the decision making process.
- Study the Dalits access to credit and bank linkages and the disparity shown by banks in granting loans.
- To study how far the Government strategies are woven to address their problems.
Review of literature:
Various studies have been undertaken in the recent past regarding the functioning and impacts of MFIs, MC and SHGs. Trivedi, Neela (1992) studied the non-formal education needs of rural women in the socio-cultural context of a village in India. It was found that women were not aware of many of their needs. Their needs were complex and varied according to their roles and responsibilities, and the different categories of class, caste, age and occupation. There was little ‘felt need’ for literacy.

UNDP (1997) highlighted on the limitations of SHGs with a reference to micro credit. It is shown in that micro credit self-help groups especially linked to microcredit schemes have not been without their critics. They are not panacea for meeting challenges, in economic and social development. It is widely recognized that such schemes are not universally successful. One promising strategy is the use of market-driven measures to enable the poor to own and operate enterprises to add value to the primary products they usually produce. However, they highlighted on the limitations of SHGs with reference to micro-credit.

In the words of S.L.Sharma (2000) that women should not be treated as a homogenous category with regard to their development. The development programmes and policies which aim at women’s empowerment should categorize women based on their age, caste, class region (rural or urban) education etc. as women have internal differentiation so also their problems. During the last fifty years of development in India, a very small proportion of upper middle-class women, which are already dominant and privileged has been benefited the most. The rural uneducated lower class housewives remain by and large unaffected by it.

According to Mathew Titus (2003) as Malcolm Harper explained, the most widespread model for Micro-finance in India is that Self-help groups (SHGs). The study findings states that making financial services available to women clients, without adopting those services constraints and coping strategies that arise from women’s multiple social roles, misses the opportunity to achieve both significant outreach and economic and social empowerment. There is a need to re-look at the micro credit movement in it’s entirely lest we lose another decade like we have done in following false leads of other similar programs

Methodology
Three districts namely Nizamabad, Anantapur and East Godavary districts representing Telangana, Rayalaseema and Andhra regions of Andhra Pradesh respectively were selected for the study. In consultation with the local contacts villages were selected randomly where SHG activity is going on. One village per district namely Borgaon of Nizamabad district, Alamor village of East Godavary and Miduthuru of Anantapur were identified for primary data collection. The various forms of discrimination faced by Dalit women as members in groups, getting loans from banks and the government schemes are
analysed through three case studies drawn from the three villages from where the data is collected.

The secondary data related to district and village planning process was collected from the state headquarters, district headquarters, mandals and villages. The data consisted of published and unpublished sources and covered the following: demographic and socioeconomic profiles, role of institutions, progress of implementation of schemes and notes and reports on district and village planning process with a special focus on women.

Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews with the chief functionaries of local NGOs, SHG leaders and members of the SHGs. Focus group discussions with the members of the SHGs were organized to understand the decision making process in the SHGs. The members of women self-help groups and political leaders were identified as the target groups for the focus group discussions. Two to three focus group discussions were held in each village.

Historical Background of micro finance Institutions, Micro credit and Self Help Groups:
The first effort in institutionalizing rural credit was made by the Government of India in the first decade of the present century with the passing of the Cooperative Societies Act in 1904 to support the country’s predominantly agricultural economy. Though the country witnessed significant growth of commercial banks since then, their involvement in rural lending was negligible till the mid-sixties. Following the introduction of social control in 1967 by the Government of India and later nationalization of major commercial banks in 1969, these banks also were directed to involve them in rural lending. Later in 1975, Government of India also introduced a specialized state sponsored, regionally based and rural oriented regional Rural Banks with the objective of accelerating rural economic development of identified target groups i.e. weaker sections comprising small and marginal formers, agricultural labourers, artisans, small entrepreneurs etc.

Micro-credit has been defined in the Micro Credit summit “Programmes that provide credit for self-employment and other financial and business services to very poor persons”.

Micro-Credit has recently become be new development mantra for international donors, international financial institutions, and national development programmes.

Micro finance has emerged as an effective tool for alleviating poverty in many countries, particularly in developing countries, and thereby leading to normal development. As such, micro credit has become more or less a buzzword with international organizations also, because it has great potential as an anti-poverty tool and as development-oriented scheme.
Self help Group Model:
In 1976, Prof. Mohammed Yunus of Bangladesh started women’s groups in Bangladesh and developed thrift and savings among the poorest of the poor. Now it has developed into a Bank named Bangladesh Grameen Bank. The expansion of the rural credit delivery system since 1947 has not changed the dependence of the poor on money-lenders and commission agents/traders. Given the poor rural transport system, day to day banking transactions are negligible and the transaction costs for borrowers and the bankers are also rather high. Further, the poorest of the poor (about 30 percent of those below the poverty line) have been excluded from bank finance. This appears to have led voluntary organizations to promote the formation of informal groups and encourage them to save small amounts for their future needs. The outcome has been the evolution of various methods of organizing, collecting, managing and utilization of funds that are collected largely by the poor themselves. The Seventh Five year Plan (1985-90) had emphasized the need to closely associate NGOs with rural development programmes, particularly poverty alleviation.

Self help Group Model:
The self-help group model was developing in India to reach very poor people isolated from mainstream financing. Self help group models work best when group is kept to 20 or fewer. (This is to comply with government of India laws, but groups may be larger outside India, probably upto 35 women members). Groups may consist of women or men, but not mixed together. Loans are highly flexible. Loans with terms longer than three months require regular monthly installments. Loans with terms with less than three months may be paid in a lump sum fashion. Lines of credit are also possible, though few groups seem to be doing this.

The Pre-formation stage:
The promoter explains the benefits and mechanics of a self-help group. Community members decide if they would like to participate.

The formation stage:
The promoter organizes participants into groups of 10-20 members, usually all women. The group then creates its ground rules, such as, deciding how much can they save on a monthly basis for six months. The group also chooses a President for the group and a Secretary.

The bank linkage stage:
The SHG may link to a local bank after six months, if the group has demonstrated regular savings, consistent meeting attendance, low arrears, good financial record-keeping, and the fostering of strong internal democratic processes.

SHGs are voluntary associations of people who are homogeneous in terms of same-economic background or traditional occupation and have come together for a common cause for the benefit of group members. Their common objectives are:
• To save small amounts regularly.
• To mutually agree to contribute to a common fund.
• To meet their emergent consumption and production needs.
• To have collective decision-making.
• To resolve conflicts through collective leadership and mutual discussion.
• To provide collateral free loans with terms decided by the group at market driven rates.

The earliest form of SHGs of SHGs was the cooperative credit system. SHGs work on the principle as cooperatives, but have the chance of becoming much more successful than the formal co-operative structure as far as the poor are concerned. This is because SHGs are highly cohesive entities; for example they may be of women only, the members may have the same occupation, they may belong to the same caste or sub caste they may be living in the same village, and so on. Admittedly, different situations require different forces to bind the people together and there can be no generations. But the common feature of the SHGs, irrespective of their organizational character, is their participatory nature as they are often small in size (their membership varying from 20 to 60). In fact, large SHGs often break into smaller ones as members, due to their caste or occupation, etc., get ‘ignored’ and lack participation or ‘voice’.

Thus, there emerged an effective setup of NGO-SHG-Micro finance in recent years.

Functioning of SHGs in Andhra Pradesh:
In Andhra Pradesh DWACRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas) groups have started in 1982-83 by the government of A.P, to eradicate poverty. In the first stage it was in three districts viz., Srikakulam, Cuddapa and Adilabad, later all the districts were covered. Till 1988-1989 there were 2026 groups with 33,074 women members. By the year 1992-93 the groups have increased to 2517. After 1993-94 women SHGs have accelerated, presently 65,40,000 women are organized into 4,75,646 groups and their savings are Rs.904.42 crores and the Govt. has given Rs.720.95 crores as matching grant with this corpus fund became 1624.95 crores.

Under bank linkage to SHGs got Rs.1812.30 crores as loan. Total matching grant, bank loan and savings amount comes to Rs.2532.83 crores.

Every month these few women are earning Rs.1500 to 1800 per month, along with this their participation in the community activities has been increased and even all the Govt. programs are implementing through women groups and to be benefited by govt. schemes it has become compulsory that women of the family must be a member of the SHG.
Under *deepam* scheme 18.83 lakhs gas connections were given, for every gas connection they have given a subsidy of Rs.750 to Rs.1000. Which means Government has given Rs.164,76,25000 subsidy, in the same way preference have been given in construction of houses, till now for construction of 36452 houses each house been given Rs. 40000, for this 36.45 crores of subsidy given. Along with these 53,156 groups are given opportunity for cooking mid-day meal, construction of toilets is also given to them.

In 2004 financial year 110 crores were released as revolving fund. Till 2004 loan amount through NABARD and other banks Rs.1103.24 crores were released. In the same year planned to repay Rs.1000 crores of loans. Till now Rs.709 crores were earned, with this 1.42 lakh groups were benefited and products sold by them were free from sales tax and stamp duty.

From last four years funds are allocated in budget for the works of DWACRA 50% of subsidy is given on the loans taken by SHGs, no other state is giving this much of subsidy for women SHGs.

Most of the benefits given by the government are not reaching Dalits. In AP alone where 70% of Dalit families are Below Poverty Line, which means equitable number of benefits under DWACRA should go to these Dalits, then only the Governments and the planners target will be reached.

**Disparity between Dalits and non – Dalits in SHGs in Andhra Pradesh:**
Savings are the primary component of in DWACRA groups, many groups are saving money and the government is giving revolving fund. But business is business to produce commercial goods huge amount of loans are needed, which the banks should give and they have given also. But the families under BPL and SCs have not received any loan. Only higher caste families and politically influencing families have got the loans.

The data indicates that if STs already had a low overall membership (6%), SHGs with exclusive/predominant membership of STs were even fewer (4, 3%). Where socially advantaged castes accounted for 22.8% of the membership, 20.3% were members of mixed members of mixed groups, 2.5% were members of SHGs which exclusively/predominantly had members from disadvantaged communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Social category</th>
<th>% of SHGs</th>
<th>% of members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Schedule Tribes</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Scheduled caste</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Backward caste</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Open Category</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Minorities</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table below shows social category wise the amount of loans received. If we look at the loans received only 31.08 percent of SCs received loans upto Rs.15000 and it is only 5.41 percent of SCs received loan amount more then Rs.105000 and 22.22 percent of OCs received loans more than Rs.105000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Amount in Rs</th>
<th>Social Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;15000</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>31.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15001-30000</td>
<td>41.19</td>
<td>32.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30001-45000</td>
<td>23.53</td>
<td>17.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>45001-60000</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>60001-75000</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>6.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>75001-90000</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>90001-105000</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>&gt;105000</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>9.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Findings of the study:
The three select villages profile were collected for the purpose of the study. Village Borgaon of Nizamabad district is one of the backward regions of AP, The Dalit population is 1,500 out of the total of 4, 500. Total number of SHGs in the village is 60 out of which 25 are Dalit groups and the rest are non-Dalit groups. All the non-Dalit groups got matching grants where as only 50% of the Dalit groups were able to receive them. Among those who reported improvement in economic position members belonging to Backward Castes and Scheduled Castes formed slightly lower percentages than the members did in other castes. Dalit women are discriminated in self help groups, they are discriminated during taking loans and they have very less opportunity in benefiting through SHGs. The dalit members face caste based discrimination in the groups. Another concern is that very few dalit women are in the decision making positions.

**Case Study - I**

*It’s the Bankers who are discriminating the Dalit groups from receiving funds!*

Monica is one of the best performing Dalit SHG in Borgaon village of Nizamabad district. The Monica group was started in 1998, till now they could save about Rs. 1, 00, 000/- and received the government matching grant and repaid it successfully. However the local Banker (cooperative banking society) is still denying to provide loan. Because they are Dalits and the banker is not convinced of the capacity to repay the loan. On behalf of the group when the leaders Ms. Padma and Ms. Ilamma approached the bank several times since the year 2000. Still the Dalit groups are waiting for loans from the bankers. The non-Dalit groups were provided bank loans though their savings were less than the Dalit group savings.

*Source Field Study.*
The village Miduthuru, of Anantapur district comprises majority of Dalit populations (146 houses out of 296) 90% Dalits depend on agriculture for their daily bread also 90% of them are illiterate. Total number of SHGs in this village is 19 and out of which 15 are Dalit groups.

Case Study -II

**Dalit leadership demotivated for want of Capacity building**

Though the SHG leadership is in the hands of Dalits vowing to their population in the village, the leadership feels ineffectual due to lack of formal education to maintain the books of accounts and insufficient capacity building process to lead SHGs.

Due to lack awareness about commercial activity most of the loan amounts were spent either for unproductive areas or for consumption purposes leading to irregular repayments and ultimately losing interest in taking part in MF activities.

Ms. Lakshmi Devi leader of the A Adilakshmi group has taken Rs.10,000/- to meet her medical expenses (hysterectomy) now finding it difficult to repay. Still she needs one more loan to meet the expenses of her daughter’s marriage. But the group is denying to give her loan as she did not totally repay the loan amount.

*Source Field Study.*

The village Alamur is in the east Godavari district of A.P. comprises 3,150 Dalit populations out of 9,600. The total number of groups is 95 and the Dalit groups are 26.Majority of Dalit women in this area depend on wage labour

Case Study -III

**Untouchability denies the Income Generation opportunities to Dalits**

The Govt. of AP has advised all the schools under its preview where mid day meal program is being implemented to engage the SHGs for preparation of food so as to support their income generating activities.

When this opportunity was provided to one of the Dalit SHG, the villagers did not allow them to cook. The villager’s belief is that the food will be polluted if it is being cooked by Dalit women and never allowed the contract to be given to them.

About 53156 groups all over the state were allotted with the work of mid-day meal, out of which only 200 to 300 Dalit groups got opportunity, but at last none of the groups were allowed to cook food

*Source Field Study.*

SHGs have been successful in changing the economic position of the few members; their annual income improved after their joining the groups. With the help of credit facilities extended by the SHGs very few members engaged themselves in some IGAs succeeded in generating additional incomes apart from the income from their main occupation and thereby move up the ladder of income levels. Thus, SHG membership has resulted in the
upward mobility of some members in terms of income levels. The annual income of SHG members depended upon the land ownership. Obviously, the members with land holdings are in the higher ranges of annual income than the Dalits members who are without landholding. As most of the members are involved in agriculture allied and dairying as income generating activities, certainly the landholdings do help the members to get greater incomes from these activities as they can put the land to optimum use and design the income generating activities in the most productive ways.

The non-Dalit SHG members used the surplus earnings i.e. after repayment of loan, for asset building, like jewelry, furniture, electronic goods, vehicles and purchase of land. With the result, the asset holders increased after the SHG membership. Again, the asset building also depended upon the caste and income ranges. The members with no assets depended to the low ranges of income. Secondly, the preference for the type of assets depended also upon the ranges of income. Members in the higher ranges of income preferred assets like jewelry while member in the lower ranges of income preferred vehicles and electronic goods.

The educational background also influenced the type of Income Generating Activity (IGA) that the members of SHG have chosen. While most of the literate has taken up agriculture and allied activity, the illiterates have taken up dairy as IGA. Illiterates preferred NTFP while literate preferred petty business. Thus, the types of IGA chosen by the members are influenced by their educational standards.

The SHG members produce agricultural and dairy products and market them directly or through middlemen. But the choice of the channel of marketing depended upon the educational standards of the members. While most of the non-Dalit literates preferred direct marketing, most of the Dalit preferred middlemen and others as marketing channel. The literate earns more income through direct channels of marketing than that what the illiterates do through the middlemen and others.

The SHG members use the income earned out of IGA for different purposes-household expenditure, repayment of SHG loans and outside loans and for reinvestment. But, the purpose for which they spend their income depended upon the caste of the members. The non-dalits utilized most of their income for repaying SHG loans, and other loans and for reinvestment while Dalits used for household expenditures and SHG loan repayment and less for reinvestment.

The educational standards of SHG members influence the savings. It is pertinent to note that the non-dalits are more active than the dalit as far as the participation in the group meetings and the decision-making. The assets acquired by the members of SHG also depended upon the occupation. The members with seasonal occupation and petty business would invest that money in assets like consumer durable, while wage earning members could not invest as much as others. The preference towards type of assets also differed. The members with seasonal occupation went for cycles, electronic goods and furniture, while members with petty business went for jewellery, electronic goods and labour saving devices. Saving is the most avowed objective of SHG formation. However
this is also depending on caste factor. The members belonging to O.C. are in the higher range of savings than those belonging to Dalits. In terms of investment, income and savings it is observed that the dominant caste women have been successful in utilizing the opportunities than Dalits.

The study reveals that caste being the reality and more than 90% of the Indian villages practice untouchability till today, the people need to be sensitized for removing the inhuman practice before we attempt to make any interventions for Dalits empowerment.

There should be a morale booster both for the Dalit SHGs and members for future planning and implementation. The study also found that illiteracy is the major stumbling block in the empowerment process needs to be prioritized. Efforts should be made to identify the variables like the type of IGA, range of loans, level of investment, which influence the levels of income. After identification, those factors proved to be positive have to be given greater thrust in the planning and implementation of the SHG activities.

Market is the major constraint for dalits as it is highly caste biased. Government should provide marketing facilities for the products produced by Dalit groups. Dalits should be encouraged and trained to exploit direct channels of marketing rather than depended upon middlemen and others for marketing their products. This will ensure greater income to the members at large.

The whole process of the poverty alleviation programmes should be re-oriented to maximize the benefits to the poorest of the poor i.e. Dalits.
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Title: The Economic Impact of the Abolition of the Multi-Fiber Agreement on Select Textile and Apparel Producing Countries

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Submission: Abstract
The Economic Impact of the Abolition of the Multi-Fiber Agreement on Select Textile and Apparel Producing Countries

By

Donna W. Reamy
Associate Professor
Virginia Commonwealth University

Abstract

Textile and apparel manufacturing has contributed to economic development among less-developed and developed countries over the past thirty years. During the year 2004, 97 percent of all apparel sold in the United States was produced in a foreign country with apparel exports growing by 139 percent over the past 14 years.

The Asian region has grown as a supply base during the period to account for 47 percent, or US$121 billion, of the world’s clothing exports. The second-largest apparel-exporting region is Europe, which accounted for US$92 billion, or 37 percent of exports, as of 2004. Next in line is North America with US$14 billion, or 6 percent; followed by South and Central America with US$13 billion, or 5 percent; Africa with US$10 billion, or 4 percent; and all others, accounting for US$4 billion, or 1 percent. (Saheed, A.H. H.)

From 1974 through 2004 The Multi Fiber Agreement on Textile and Clothing governed trade. The purpose of the agreement was to create fair trade among developing countries by allowing countries to adjust to imports. Import quotas were placed on certain categories of product to restrict and control trade. As of January 1, 2005 quotas were lifted and there was a surge in exports from China and a decrease in exports from other countries. This calls for an examination of the effect of quota removal.

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the most recent economic development of the following countries: China, Mexico, India, Turkey and Vietnam from 1995
to 2005. Data will be researched through various sources including, but not limited to the following: Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration, Office of Textile and Apparel, The Apparel and Footwear Association, and the CIA Country Profiles. The areas of comparison include total population, current hourly wage, total exports in apparel and textiles, country infrastructure, growth of factories, and imports to the U. S. In addition to these resources a review of literature on the effects of quota removal will also take place.

The information will be compiled into various forms of charts for comparisons. An analysis of the current state of the apparel and textile industry in the select countries will be beneficial to understanding the economic implications of quotas in the importing and exporting of product with emphasis on textiles and apparel. I predict that the research will show that while the textile and apparel manufacturing continues to grow in China, there is an extreme economic decrease in the other countries that will be difficult to overcome the next few years.

Title: A PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF A
STUDENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR COLLEGES

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Introduction

The City University of New York has long recognized that a major concern for all its colleges has been the high rate of student attrition. Rates of retention of students at many of the senior colleges, including John Jay College, have been the focus of much energy. The energy that has been expended has, for the most part, been two dimensional in character. There have been a variety of academic and financial initiatives, but rarely is the problem of retention appraised from a multi-factorial perspective.

Students do indeed drop out of college because of poor academic preparation, and for lack of adequate funds. But many students also drop out because of a myriad of personal problems, often including substance abuse. ...“Recent national surveys of college student alcohol use have confirmed ... that approximately two in five students at 4-year institutions engaged in heavy episodic drinking....By their own report, frequent episodic drinkers were several times more likely to... miss a class, fall behind in their schoolwork, engage in unplanned...{,} unprotected sexual activities, get hurt or injured” (Wechsler et al 2000, p. 140), and a variety of other serious problems in living. Indeed, “over 1400 college students within the ages of 18-24, died 1998 in alcohol related incidents... {,} and over 2 million of the 8 million college students in the United States drove under the influence of alcohol” (Hingson et al. 2002, p.136), during that year.

Conservative estimates by researchers in the alcoholism
field suggest that 1 in 10 drinkers have an alcohol abuse problem. More than half of all adults drink alcohol. John Jay College of Criminal Justice, of the City University of New York has a current enrollment of over 11,000 students. Using the gross rate of problem drinking just mentioned, John Jay could have an estimated 550 students with possible alcohol abuse problems. Add to that students with other drug abuse problems, and students who are the adult children of alcoholics and other substance abusers, and the picture begins to take on disturbing possibilities.

John Jay College has a competent and dedicated counseling department. While the professional staff counsel students on personal problems and make some referrals, they are also responsible for a teaching load, which limits their availability and consequently limits the kind of programs which are instituted through their department. "Overall, the number of counselors employed is not adequate to provide the programs and services needed by the students who make up John Jay population" (John Jay College, 2003, p. 9.5). There is currently no established formal outreach program for chemically or otherwise addicted students at the college. Such cases are handled on an ad hoc, "if they turn up" kind of basis.

A formal Student Assistance Program formulated by and operated by students, with professional supervision, is one answer to the obvious need for this kind of program.
This paper will act as a blueprint for the creation of a Student Assistance Program. The proposal will outline the need, the target population, the current resources available, the resources necessary for creation of the program, the steps in construction of the program, the resources necessary in maintaining the program, and projected outcomes of the program.
STUDENT ASSISTANCE: AN OVERVIEW

There is substantial literature that describes the form and function of employee assistance programs (EAPs). Such programs have been effectively utilized to identify and retain employees at risk or afflicted with alcohol and substance abuse problems, and other personal problems in living, which affect their ability to perform in the work place.

The history and tradition of this relatively new form of personnel problem solving approach has spawned the creation of student assistance programs (SAPs). Most of the literature written about SAPs is focused on programs that were created to assist students in elementary and secondary schools. Virtually no literature has been written about SAPs geared or intended to help college level students.

Nevertheless, the literature reviewed from both EAPs and SAPs enables the author to outline broad principles that will be applicable to the present SAP proposal.

The role of any student assistance program should be that of preventing, identifying and treating personal problems that adversely affect academic performance. The goals contained in
this broad ideal may be realized through a variety of means and program structures which fall under the SAP umbrella.

For the purpose of this paper, SAPs are defined as school-based programs that operate within an academic organization for the purposes of identifying "troubled students," motivating them to resolve their troubles, and providing access to counseling or treatment for those students who need these services. The term "troubled students" refers to those individuals whose personal problems, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, marital/familial difficulties, and emotional distress (NIAA, 1984; Newsam, 1992), preoccupy them to the extent that in either their own estimation, or in the opinion of faculty, their academic work appears disrupted.

The idea of a "troubled student" is borrowed from the tradition in EAPs of referring to the troubled employee. The concept embodies the premise that the employee's (and similarly the student's) personal troubles are not static entities; rather they have a natural history (Sonnenstuhl, 1986). Either through self reflection, or through conversations with others, the student becomes vaguely aware that something is wrong. In subsequent interaction, they either resolve their uneasiness or discover that their problems are more troublesome than they had imagined. In the process of searching for solutions they come to see themselves as troubled. Some will eventually seek help from the services
Within this context, the SAP is able to provide outreach to students who for one reason or another are not well motivated to seek help. The basis for outreach centers on the concept called constructive confrontation. Troubled students are identified based on criteria of academic and other related performance. Students are confronted with evidence of their unsatisfactory performance and are counseled in ways to improve their grades, and urged to utilize the services of the SAP if they have personal problems, at the same time, emphasis is placed on the consequences of continued poor performance.

This approach is considered a "broad-brush" philosophy to student assistance because it tends to attract both those students who readily admit that they are troubled and are knowledgeable about the source of the problem, and those students for whom their difficulties are still unexposed, maybe even still out of the individual’s awareness.

The broad-brush philosophy requires that students whose performance is indicative of possible problems be referred to the SAP regardless of whether there is any indication of alcohol or substance abuse. "What has been found is that a large percentage of troubled students do have alcohol and other drug-related concerns but may not identify them as a source of trouble."p.8 (Newsam, 1992).

The particular advantage to the broad-brush SAP structure
is that it allows student’s access to the SAP without the fear of being branded as having alcohol or drug problems. The diminution of stigma allows the SAP to reach a broader number of students who are at risk than could be reached through a program that specifically identifies alcohol and drug abuse as its main focus. (Newsam. 1992).

**NEED FOR SAP AT JOHN JAY COLLEGE**

The retention of students through to graduation is one primary indication of whether a college is or is not meeting well the needs of its students. High retention rates suggest that the institution is providing a quality educational service, and so this is the goal of college administrators.

There is an additional goal achieved by high retention rates that has great significance within the current financial situation of the City University of New York. Higher retention rates translate into more FTE (full time enrollment) hours, which means that once quota has been reached, each college gets to keep all of the tuition generated above quota. The financial incentive to retain enrolled students is therefore very great.

The problem of retaining students at John Jay College of Criminal Justice is considerable. The Director of Freshman Orientation and Remedial Programs at the college has reported that only one out of seven first-time freshmen are able to
graduate with degrees. Even taking into account poor academic preparation and limited financial resources, the administration is unable to explain why the figure is so high (Sinatra, 1994).

The author would suggest that the problem can be viewed in the best tradition of social work, as a multifactorial problem. While programs have and are being developed to help identify students who need remedial academic assistance and support, and financial aid services, not much has been done to identify students who are experiencing problems in living, which would impact upon their academic performance, and their ability to maintain enrollment.

**TARGET POPULATION**

The Student Assistance Program’s intention is to identify and to intervene with high-risk students. Not all high-risk students are easily identifiable. The SAP structure allows for this reality and is so organized to utilize techniques and procedures that will identify the greatest number of these students. The following are among the high-risk populations that a SAP would target:

**Alcohol and Other Drug Users** - Use of psychoactive substances can be seen as running on a continuum of non-problematic at one end to very problematic at the other. Often individuals who approach serious abuse problems have for some
time fluctuated for a period within a lesser range of problems to no problems. The SAP plays a preventative role when detection is early and an interventive, remedial, and supportive role when the student is more seriously affected.

**Adult Children of Alcoholics and Substance Abusers** - A number of professional articles have described problems experienced by Adult Children of Alcoholics (ACOA's). They are reported to be more likely to experience alcohol and substance abuse problems, inadequate coping skills, interpersonal problems, and low self-esteem (Sher, 1991; West & Prinz, 1987; Black, Bucky, & Wilder-Padilla, 1986; and Woititz, 1985.), all of which impact greatly on academic performance.

**Spouse/Family Member of Substance Abusers** - The significant other of an alcoholic or substance abuser is at risk for many of the problems associated with the disease of addiction (Cermak, T. 1986). Stress of coping with emotional and financial consequences of the addicted family member can take its toll without the affected individual realizing it until much damage has been done. A SAP is able to intervene, and support the individual, and to supply appropriate referrals for the family.

**Other At-Risk Groups** - A number of factors have been highly associated as having high-risk potential for alcohol/substance abuse. People who have had suffered serious physical childhood traumas (physical, sexual abuse), chronic pain, teenage pregnancy, mental illness, violence, poverty,
and school failure are at risk (Newsam, 1992). The SAP functions as a force for prevention for those students not already involved with substance abuse.

**RESOURCES: PRESENT AND PROJECTED**

The problems of the at-risk students just discussed have certainly not been ignored at John Jay. The Student Life and Counseling department of the college undertakes to address these issues in a variety of ways. It provides outreach through a peer counseling program, and a professional staff of counselors. Much of the counseling is academic in orientation. The SLC Department helps the student to understand the college requirements and to better utilize the resources within the institution to meet her/his particular needs.

While the author is sure that some faculty at John Jay do make referrals to the counseling unit, the author's experience as a faculty member for 15 years attests to having received no formal program of instruction as to how to address the decline in student performance from the concerns previously outlined, nor to whom referrals were to be appropriately made.

A grant funded program called CHEERS geared towards substance abuse prevention had been developed several years ago at the college. The focus of this program was raise the
consciousness and awareness levels to the dangers and risks associated with alcohol and substance use and abuse among students. The program was macro-oriented and not set up to identify individuals in trouble, much, less intervene or make referrals. The program ended with the demise of the grant.

John Jay hosts the Institute of Alcohol Studies (which was all but defunct for a time, but experienced some rejuvenation). The Institute has been instrumental in reenergizing the Substance Abuse Studies program, which has and still attracts students who are interested in the field as a career. These students present a potential and as yet untapped resource in the creation of an SAP.

**STEPS IN CONSTRUCTING AN SAP**

**Assessing the Environment**

Once the need for an SAP is established, to whom does one make the case? Most people assume that academic institutions are essentially bureaucracies - like Con Edison or the US Army. So introducing an innovation is just a matter of introducing it into the hierarchy, funding it, assigning someone to oversee it and let it run its course. This is a formula for failure because a college has characteristics quite unlike those of a bureaucracy (Baldridge, 1984).
A college is a client-serving and people processing organization, as opposed to an institution that processes things. The difference calls for a structure with a number of unique characteristics. First is that they usually have large staffs of highly trained professionals. Since people cannot be divided into segmental tasks in the same way that products can, professionals with a high level of expertise are needed to deal holistically with client's needs.

The goals within a people-processing organization tend to be highly ambiguous (Baldridge, 1984), and any list of legitimate activities for a university would be very long. Because goals are unclear, almost anything that serves a client may be seen as legitimate, or conversely may be contested. When considering the process of change, this factor is important to better assess areas of possible conflict, and areas in which skillful politicking can bend ambiguity towards desired outcomes.

Finally it is important to remember that universities are extremely vulnerable to outside pressures. Since the students are relatively powerless, society generally demands accountability from such organizations (Baldridge, 1984). Consequently outsiders tend to demand the right to influence internal decisions.

According to Baldridge (1984, pp. 56-57) the decision making process can have some of the following characteristics:

1. Decision is by committee. Since expertise, not hierarchical office is the
organizing principle, then committees of experts decide many of the critical issues.

2. Fluid participation. Many of the decision makers are amateurs, engaged in pursuing their professions, not in making decision. As a consequence, they wander in and out of the decision process, and power belongs to those who stay long enough to exercise it.

3. There is an issue carousel. Issues have a way of always coming around again. Decisions are not made forever, because pressure from outside groups, from clients, and from professionals pushes the same issues full circle. Decisions are not made as much as they are pinned down temporarily.

4. There is a garbage can process. The longer it takes to make a decision, the more issues get piled into the original subject. People, hoping to accomplish several things at one time, burden simple decisions with countless subsidiary issues.

5. Conflict is common. Professional groups, clients, and outsiders support divergent interest in setting the ambiguous goals of professional organizations. As a consequence, conflict over goals is common as decision makers cope with the pressures from diverse interest groups.

These factors are important in the evaluation of the organizational terrain at John Jay. While a considerable amount of power rests with the college president and his administration, various competing groups have garnered their preserves and are able to exercise considerable influence in the overall policy setting mechanisms that operate in the college. Thus the decision process in academic organizations looks like a political system because of competing groups and the high degree of conflict.

Assessing the Decision Makers:
Among those at John Jay who are essential in generating the momentum for an SAP to get off the ground is the following:

- President of the College - While the endorsement of this office would go a long way, if not absolutely guarantee the creation of the SAP, opposition from this quarter would virtually stop it dead in its tracks.

- Vice-President for Academic Affairs - The current office holder has expressed interest before in developing a program at the college that could assess and refer students with substance abuse problems.

- Chairperson & Core Faculty of the Counseling Department - There are a number of faculty who will be very sympathetic. The current Chair of the department may be skeptical and feel that such a program is encroaching on the preserve of the department. It is vital to establish an early consultative rapport with this individual and enlist his/her aid. Of particular importance is to assess whether it is more important to present the SAP as a program that will increase or decrease the number of student clients the department serves. In other words will the SAP be experienced as just creating more work, or will it be seen as a valuable source of referrals.

- Chair of the Faculty Senate - This individual has great influence with active and concerned faculty. Faculty also comprises 50% of the College Council, the ultimate governing body of the college, so it would be advantageous to have the
Chair of the Faculty Senate help and encouragement.

- Executive Committee of Student Government - It is vital to have student groups support the creation of an SAP. It is important not only in terms of the political process (40% of the College Counsel is composed of students), but in terms of promoting the effectiveness of the program. Students will not come to a program that is not endorsed by those in student leadership positions. Good word of mouth depends on the network of student organizations.

**Discussion of the Problem and Gathering Information:**

This discussion covers the prevalence of the problem, and how it affects the academic performance of the student, and relates it to the goal of obtaining increased rates of student retention.

If the proper foundation has been laid for these discussions (for example, widely circulated white paper, student articles in the college press, presentations on campus by various interested organizations, etc) with the various constituencies, a collaborative dialogue will ensue. The hopeful outcome of this dialogue is developing a feeling within each of the discussants of having a vested interest in the favorable creation of the project.

It is the job of the author of this proposal to make the initial presentation to as many authorized personnel as
possible. The goal is to convene a conference of authorized parties. While consideration should be given to those persons who will help make the program a success, those who might jeopardize the program cannot be ignored. Avoiding a key person for fear of a negative reaction will usually compound the problem. In addition to being apprehensive about the program, a person denied an opportunity to provide input will usually add to any existing negative feelings. Frequently the program will have to "be sold" to such people by a respected person within their own constituency.

**Inventory of College/Community Services:**

The inventory of services that exist both in the college and within the community at large is essential and should include all possible sources that could serve as the assessment and referral resource. The skill of the person, department, or agency eventually chosen as the resource must be consistent with the objectives and scope of the SAP program itself. To determine the type of program that will be implemented, it is necessary to know what types of personal-problem assessment services are available. In addition, it is necessary to know where all of the major care-giving agencies are located, what specialized populations they are designed to serve, and how well they serve those target populations.

**Minimum Program Standards:**
The Student Assistance Program is essentially a healthcare program and therefore should aim to establish minimum standards, in terms of procedures and documentation that all healthcare services should meet. Some of those minimum standards are:

- A written program plan outlining the SAP's objectives and the methods used to achieve them.
- Clear definition of the roles, responsibilities, and qualifications of the person in charge of the SAP and of other key personnel.
- Explanation of the manner in which the program utilizes the college and other community care providers.
- Procedures to assure referral to alternative diagnostic or treatment services unavailable within the program and provisions for insuring continuity of care during this referral process.
- Evaluation of the psychosocial needs of each client prior to the development and implementation of an individual treatment plan. Areas to be covered include a determination of current emotional state, cultural background, vocational history, family relations, academic history and standing, socioeconomic status, and drinking and drugging history, including any medications prescribed by a physician.
- Provision of an individualized therapeutic plan based on the psychosocial evaluation and, where appropriate, the medical evaluation. This individual rehabilitation plan should be reviewed and updated on a
regular basis.
- Organized record system for the collection of information appropriate to the treatment components serving the student. The nature and scope of the information collected should be in compliance with state, local, federal and university requirements. Each case record should include a treatment plan outlining the goals and objectives for the individual. Case records should contain information that demonstrates the basis on which the student treatment plan was developed and how it was implemented. Records should be provided for a continued assessment of the individual's progress toward the goals and objectives, and this assessment should be used to update the plan. Upon termination of the relationship with the client, the individual case record should include a discharge summary outlining a final evaluation regarding the progress of the student toward the goals and objectives.

Evidence of aftercare planning should be kept in the client's file. Development of an aftercare plan with the student, the SAP, and the care-giver is imperative. The aftercare plan should include an assessment of the needs of the student-client; development of solution strategies for dealing with these needs, and provisions for methods and frequency of follow-up.

Frequently, relapse is precipitated by secondary problems that were not properly addressed at the time the discharge summary and aftercare plan were developed.
Recovery takes place in the community after the student has left the formal treatment program. To enhance the prospects of total recovery, the secondary problems that could impede recovery must be dealt with. The purpose of aftercare is to maintain and increase the gains made while in therapy.

It is important to have adequately trained staff and support personnel. The training plan should be available for review, and there should be evidence that the facility and all personnel meet all applicable governmental regulations.

- Provisions for confidentiality. All information contained in the student's record, including any information forwarded to legally authorized data collection agencies, is strictly confidential. The SAP should have specific written methods and procedures for releasing, obtaining, and safe-guarding information that are consistent with university, city, state, and federal regulations.

Confidentiality is a particularly important element to the success of the SAP. The stigma often associated with substance abuse creates a formidable obstacle to be overcome in attracting clients to the program. Assured confidentiality, along with the broad brush model approach, works greatly to counter that barrier. Strong provisions protecting students' rights are needed. Written policies and procedures designed to enhance the dignity of all clients and to protect their rights as human beings should include: written procedures to inform
all clients of their legal and human rights, informed consent procedures, and protection of the student's right to privacy at all times.

Formation of Joint Implementation Committee:

This committee will usually be formed from those individuals who participated in authorizing discussions. Optimum size is usually nine members, with three from faculty, three from administration, and three from the student body. The SAP professional serves as consultant to the committee.

The primary function of the committee is to develop and recommend definite written policies and procedures. It is often advantageous to have a sample written policy as a starting point. This sample policy should first be reviewed individually by the members of the committee. Then each paragraph should be reviewed by the committee and discussed. If changes or a complete revision are required, it should be done during this review.

It is probably advisable for the SAP consultant to work individually with each constituency on the committee to resolve any major differences that may exist prior to the time the committee is brought together. The less confrontation and conflict at committee meetings the better. A composite draft of the input of various key groups should be presented to the committee. After the committee has reviewed this composite, any changes should be incorporated and the committee's
recommended draft presented to the appropriate administration people for approval or final amendment.

After the policy draft has been approved by the committee, an overall implementation plan should be developed. It will probably take at least a year or longer before the program functions effectively. It is advisable for the committee to remain intact for that period to help work out unexpected problems and provide insight to the program's administrator to improve effectiveness.

Selection of SAP Professional and Physical Plant:

The selection of a professional to administer and train staff should be done early in the entire process. This professional ideally should have an MSW, with EAP experience, and some familiarity with the workings of higher educational systems, and organizations.

This professional would serve as the consultant to the committee in the early stages of the SAP program development, and would upon program implementation, become the assessment and referral resource for the program, and be highly visible and available to the college community in an effort to promote the voluntary use of SAP services by students.

The SAP plant should consist of private offices that are not conspicuous by location. Accessibility should be easy yet not subject to unnecessary scrutiny. The setting
should be pleasant and inviting, and arranged in a manner that facilitates openness between the assessment and referral resource and the student using the service.

**Key Orientation of Students and Faculty:**

Orientations should be tailored to the constituency being informed. The elements of an effective orientation session usually vary, but the main objective is to convince students and faculty at all levels that the college is serious about helping students resolve their personal problems; that every opportunity consistent with good experience will be provided to students; that definite limits exist; that neither unsatisfactory academic performance nor witch-hunts will be tolerated; that the overall objective is to both help people and increase retention; and that the program can work only with the help of key individuals.

**Notification to the Student:**

Separate program notices should be provided to the student and the student's family. The notification to the student may be included in the orientation package the student gets upon registration at the college. The purpose of the letter is to summarize the development of the new SAP, its purpose, how it can be used, and by whom. It makes clear that, (1) The college recognizes that anyone can have a personal
problem which adversely affects school performance or personal well-being; (2) assistance with such problems is available on a confidential basis whether or not academic performance has been affected; (3) a student's academic standing will in no way be jeopardized by utilizing the program; (4) and unacceptable academic performance will not be tolerated. A brief paraphrase of the SAP policy should be attached to the letter.

By themselves such policies are not likely to motivate students with serious problems to use the program, particularly those of the stigmatic variety such as alcohol or drug abuse. While a few students with such problems may use the SAP as a direct result of the letter, the major function of such correspondence is to create an environment around the person having such problems that will encourage peers, staff, faculty and others to encourage the student with problems to seek assistance voluntarily.

**Notification to the Family:**

The letter to the student's family may be somewhat different in form, but it should cover the same ground as the letter to the student. It should also emphasize that all families are being notified so no one feels that their family member has been targeted for special attention. This letter is addressed not to the student, such as "Mr. John Smith"; but rather it is addressed to "The Smith Family" The object is to make sure that both the student and the significant other(s)
receive information. If, for example, the student has a problem and receives both letters, neither may reach the family member who could be the one who would contact the program for assistance. Both letters should specifically state the name and telephone numbers of SAP assessment and referral contacts.

**Program Publicity and Continuing Education:**

Publicity regarding students’ use of the program and the results achieved should be widely disseminated. Both families and students alike should be kept appraised. The college’s various news organs are a good forum for this purpose. During the first year students families should be sent brochures with specific information about problems such as alcohol and drugs, finances, family problems, etc. The object of this effort is to create a trust between the program and the families so they will generate referrals before academic performance has been adversely affected.

Successful EAPs have a continuous education and orientation program. The SAP program should emulate that process. Formal orientation sessions, such as the ones described earlier to key students and faculty should be made available periodically. Adequate utilization of the SAP will seldom be the major objective of anyone other that those directly associated with the program itself. Consequently, if continued orientation is not provided to key student groups and faculty, they will eventually forget how its use can be
The program will need to have a salaried administrator with an MSW and EAP experience. The program will also need a salaried administrative assistant, offices for consultation, administration, group meetings and record safekeeping, telephone communication equipment, office equipment, and a small budget for expenses.

The structure of the proposed SAP can meet the current fiscal restraints within the City University and the college by utilizing student interns in the delivery of many of the services. The SAP can serve as a field placement for MSW interns, and be staffed by other student interns/peer counselors, perhaps in CASAC programs for academic credit.

SAP staff interns will be trained in case-finding, intake, assessment and referral procedures. They will utilize the college services, community services and in-house (primarily substance abuse counseling) services in the design of treatment plans, and the delivery of service. Staff will also be trained in record keeping, case maintenance, termination of services and follow-up procedures.

The treatment model that will be utilized for substance abuse counseling will be eclectic, emphasizing abstinence for
those who have been assessed as unable to control use, and perhaps controlled use for those who are assessed as having situational abuse problems. The over arching philosophy is that no one model fits the needs of all students and so enough flexibility in treatment planning needs to be built in so that we are not trying to fit a square peg into a round hole.

Whenever possible the group process will be utilized. It has been proven to be very effective with client populations that have much in common such as students. Groups also maximize cost effectiveness in the delivery of services by utilizing staff to its greatest potential.

Referrals to the counseling department will be utilized for all other student problems, and to outside agencies when more appropriate to the student's needs. Close, ongoing liaison with the referred service provider will be maintained by the referring staff to insure continuity of care and to help in treatment plan adjustments and termination.

Aftercare procedures will be strictly adhered to by staff on a regular specified basis. Thirty day, ninety day and six month follow-up contacts with the client-student will be made. These contacts are an important relapse prevention strategy that facilitates the student’s reentry into the program before relapse occurs.

CONCLUSION
It is anticipated that the implementation of a student assistance program at John Jay College will have significant benefit in several areas.

First, the author predicts that the rate of retention of students will be positively affected. Not only will those students who are experiencing substance abuse problems themselves be identified, and helped, but the many, often invisible students who have significant others who are alcohol and or substance abusers, and are adversely affected by that circumstance, can be encouraged to receive the appropriate help.

Second, by training the college staff and faculty to identify student performance issues as referrals, early interventions are accomplished, further assisting the goal of higher student retention rates.

Third, the SAP will provide an excellent training ground for MSW interns interested in personnel assistance programming, as well as providing a training ground for student interns interested in a career in substance abuse treatment.

Last but not least, an SAP is a statement to the student body and the faculty as well, that the college cares about its students, which promotes the feeling of cohesiveness, that in turn fosters an aura and sense of togetherness that benefits the entire college community, and makes it a place that people want to be in.
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Gender Issues and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic: The Kuwaiti Women Experience

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Gender Issues and the HIV/AIDS Epidemic: The Kuwaiti Women Experience

According to the United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, as of the end of year 2003, 42 individuals were estimated to be living with AIDS. AIDS caused the death of an estimated three million people in 2003, and infects five million every year. Women comprise about half of all people living with HIV/AIDS.

In the Middle East, limited research has been conducted on HIV/AIDS. In Kuwait in particular, the number of Kuwaities with HIV/AIDS is ignored. Little information concerning morbidity and mortality rates of the disease is available, and the perception is, as in most Arab countries, that AIDS is an imported infection that comes mainly from foreigners. A statement issued by the Arabian Gulf University asserts, however, that the Middle East is no longer immune to HIV/AIDS, and health officials admit that they no longer can rely on closing drawbridges. The latest World Health Organization Report estimates that 70 percent of the cases in the Arab world are sexually transmitted through heterosexual contact.

HIV/AIDS is a biological condition but is also a social, political, and a cultural problem. Explanations for the rapid increase and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in women are a complex mix of biological, sociocultural, and economic related factors. The authors examine these recognized factors and use them as a conceptual framework in exploring Kuwaiti women's awareness, knowledge, and, to a certain extent, experience with HIV/AIDS. Results enlighten levels of understanding of HIV/AIDS among Kuwaiti women, and help in dismissing generalized perceptions and misconceptions of Kuwaiti women as detached from HIV/AIDS issues. Based on the results, designs of scientifically informed policies and development of programmatic gender sensitive strategies for education and prevention are offered.

Scientists have concluded that the virus that sparked the AIDS epidemic first surfaced in people sometime around 1930, probably in Central Africa. The oldest viral sample discovered to date came from Congo in 1959 (AEGIS-Newsday, February 2000).

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) has been the most dramatic event of the second half of the twentieth century (Global Health Council, 2000). As of December 2003, according to the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, the following trends of the worldwide epidemic of HIV/AIDS are evident:

- On a global scale, by 1992, 611,589 AIDS cases had been reported to the World Health Organization, coming from a total of 173 countries (WHO, 1993).
- Today, 42 million people are estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS (CDC Division of HIV/AIDS Prevention, Basic Statistics, December 2003). These figures are believed to be an underestimate due to the ten year incubation of the HIV virus before full-blown AIDS develops, and to problems of accurate reporting of cases (The socioeconomic factors surrounding HIV & AIDS, S. Huntley, Environmental Biology http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm).
- An estimated five million people acquired HIV in 2003, including 4.2 million adults and 700,000 children under the age of 15.
- During 2003, AIDS caused the deaths of an estimated three million people (CDC Division of HIV/AIDS Prevention, Basic Statistics, December 2003).
- The HIV epidemic is still in its early phase and there could be 68 million HIV related deaths between 2000 and 2020, unless prevention and treatment programs to combat the disease are drastically expanded (UNAIDS, 2003). Such a level of mortality would represent a threefold increase on the 21 million deaths attributed to AIDS in the 20 years before 2000.

The latest World Health Organization Report shows that there is one death from AIDS related diseases every minute in the Asian Pacific region, with more than half a million people who died of AIDS related diseases in 2003. India has the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in Asia, with an estimated 3.8 to 4.6 million people affected (Youandaids.org- Asia- Copyright UNDP, 2004). The spread of HIV in China, the Far East, and Eastern Europe has prompted UNAIDS to warn that the HIV epidemic is still in an early phase. Reported examples were the 70% increase of cases of HIV in China in the first six months of 2001, and the rapid increase of HIV cases in Indonesia, the world's fourth most
AIDS continues to claim a devastating toll in Africa where some countries have an HIV infection rate of 38.5 percent. One reason for this high rate is its migrant labor system. Many of the region's peoples have homes in their ancestral homeland but spend most of the year living near their place of work. Many of these workers are men who frequent prostitutes or have girlfriends with high rates of HIV infection. It is estimated that, in Africa alone, at least 12 million children have been orphaned through HIV related diseases (2000), a number projected to double by the year 2010. In poverty stricken Zambia, dependent on its copper mines for 90% of its income, mining companies "train four people for each skilled job in the knowledge that three will die" (of AIDS). As in Mozambique, when a man dies in Zambia, the man's brother looks after the children and will, by tradition, also take the children's mother as a second wife (The Economist. Copyright 1997-2004, Family Care Foundation).

UNAIDS has been warning that theories about HIV leveling off in countries with high prevalence rates were and are being disproved. To object to these leveling off projections, the report on the Global HIV/AIDS epidemic highlights Botswana, with the highest HIV infection rate in the world with almost 39 percent of all adults now HIV positive, up from less than 36 percent during the two prior years; and Zimbabwe, where HIV prevalence increased from a quarter of the adult population on 2000 to a third by late 2001. UNAIDS also projects that 50 percent of South African new mothers could die because of HIV, and that mortality among the 15-34 years old will be 17 times higher because of AIDS. Parts of Africa that previously had low rates of HIV infection are now seeing the accelerating spread of the disease, with explosions in the epidemic noted in Cameroon and predicted for Ethiopia (NIAID Division of AIDS Science, May 2002). While educational programs warn people of the dangers of HIV, and condoms are readily available, tradition, religion, ignorance and superstition prevail, with many placing their faith in traditional witch doctors or taking fatalistic approaches. Others believe that sex with a virgin is a cure, resulting in babies being raped and infected (The Economist. Copyright 1997-2004, Family Care Foundation).

International comparisons are difficult, however, due to reporting system variations between countries. Limited resources and levels of awareness and knowledge also have a profound effect on the ability to monitor cases (November 1994, The socioeconomic factors surrounding HIV & AIDS. S. Huntley, Environmental Biology http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm).
**Middle East**

Only 208 AIDS cases had been reported by 1989 throughout the Arab world, including countries such as the Sudan, Djibouti, and Somalia. Yet, the cumulative total has been growing to unexpected figures. Several Arab countries for some time refused to report their AIDS cases to international authorities and under reporting or misreporting is still widespread. Egyptian authorities publicly claim that every Egyptian AIDS case was contracted through contaminated blood transfusions received abroad, although the same authorities admit privately they know otherwise. The North African countries of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria have seen the disease appear from the south, and among the many young men who frequently travel back and forth to Europe. However, UNESCO fears that the HIV virus is now not only being imported into Arab countries, but also spreading from within. About 400,000 people in the Middle East now have HIV or AIDS and it is assumed that about a fifth of these contracted the virus in 2000 (Copyright © 2001 MiddleEastHealthMag.com).

The oil rich Gulf states are trying to protect themselves against the HIV/AIDS epidemic proportions in parts of Asia, countries from where most of the region's foreign people come. However, health officials admit that they can no longer rely on closing drawbridges to fight the disease (Copyright © 1992 - Los Angeles Times-Regional Outlook Arabs Waking Up to AIDS; http://www.aegis.com/news/lt/1992/LT920310.html), and the disease is settling in the Middle East where it remains a disease of fear and shame. Strict religious and societal taboos against extramarital sex and homosexuality are probably partly responsible (AMMAN, http://www.glas.org/ahbab/news/archive97.html) in a region where explicit and outspoken AIDS education campaigns are virtually nonexistent, and where tradition hampers open discussion of sexuality (Copyright © 1994 - Information, Inc., MD http://www.aegis.com/news/ads/1994/AD941248.html).

The WHO called on Arab governments and non-governmental organizations to step in the fight against AIDS by educating the public about the disease and breaking the barrier of silence enshrouding its transmission (AMMAN, http://www.glas.org/ahbab/news/archive97.html). In response, in Sudan, whose AIDS reported cases are the highest of any Arab country, a billboard warning of the dangers of AIDS confronts travelers driving into Khartoum; in Egypt, the widespread radio, television, and brochure campaign that started recently is thought to be unprecedented (Copyright © 1992 - Los Angeles Times
Kuwait

Accurate numbers of Kuwaities with HIV/AIDS are ignored, since screening is not compulsory for nationals (Kuwait detected 900 HIV cases after 1984; http://www.metimes.com/2K1/issue2001-24/reg/kuwait_detects_900.htm). Foreigners, who make up about two thirds of the 2.2 million Kuwait population, but constitute more than half the 640,000 work force in the private sector and all the 300,000 domestic helpers, are obliged to test for HIV/AIDS as a precondition to work in the Gulf Arab states. Under Kuwaiti and Gulf Cooperation Council rules, foreign workers arriving in the region from Asia must undergo medical tests in their home country and repeat them on arrival. Kuwait deports foreigners who are HIV positive (Copyright © AFP or Agence France-Presse 2000, Kuwait; http://www.aegis.com/news/afp/2000/AF000835.html).

Under Kuwaiti law, nationals found infected must stay in the Emirate's Infectious Diseases facilities for treatment. (Copyright © AFP or Agence France-Presse 2000, Kuwait, http://www.aegis.com/NEWS/AFP/2000/AF000927.html). Year two thousand statistics show that, since 1984, 787 cases of HIV have been reported, 50 cases of AIDS have been diagnosed and, more than 20 Kuwaities have died of AIDS (Copyright © 2000 Bethesda, MD. http://www.aegis.com/news/ads/2000/AD002138.html).

According to the World Health Organization the Arab world in general, and Kuwait in particular, has had two factors on its side in the relatively low level of AIDS. First, the disease was not introduced into the region until the mid 1980s. For the most part, AIDS seems to have originated in the Persian Gulf region from imported contaminated blood from areas where AIDS was prevalent before blood screening became routine in 1986. Secondly, and further discussed in this paper, the socio cultural and religious patterns that have worked against the spread (Mohammed Wahdan, World Health Organization's AIDS Program) (Copyright © 1992 - Los Angeles Times-Regional Outlook Arabs Waking Up to AIDS http://www.aegis.com/news/lt/1992/LT920310.html).

Economic Cost

The economic cost of a disease is generally estimated in two ways: direct cost (ie, health care) and indirect cost (ie, loss of labor and productivity, and potential income) (Dossier, 1992). Most of those infected by HIV have been in the most productive
years of their life, causing a secondary economic impact beyond the cost of caring for them, and creating a cohort of orphans. In 1980, the global cost of treatments for AIDS was between 2.6 and 3.5 billion US dollars. Only 40% of AIDS cases were in the industrialized world, yet, it accounted for 84% of all expenditures. In developing countries, the lifetime cost for treatment and care estimates at 230 to 250 US dollars, as in Uganda, compared with 102,000 US dollars in the developed world. In the Middle East, treatment for AIDS depends on where you are. Only the oil-rich Persian Gulf states offer costly drugs, and most of the countries of the region treat only AIDS related complications (AMMAN, http://www.glas.org/ahbab/news/archive97.html).

The total number of deaths and expected deaths from HIV already exceeds the toll in all the major wars of the twentieth century (MMWR, 2001). Its impact is particularly tragic because 95% of the infections occur in developing countries, least equipped to absorb the impact of the health and economic consequences of this epidemic (UNAIDS, 2002). Global disparity is evident and has widened with the introduction of effective means of preventing the mother to child transmission in most of the wealthier countries (Copyright © NAM Publications 1999-2003. Aidmap May 2003). It was in 1996 when the era of highly active antiretroviral therapy began and, over time, HIV/AIDS death sentences began to be commuted to life with a long term chronic disease (MedlinePlus- Copyright 2004 by United Press International, via COMTEX). A decade ago, a diagnosis of HIV meant a life expectancy of about two years. Now, highly effective drugs are keeping people alive far longer

**Perceptions**

Knowledge of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has evolved from the initial misguided belief that the virus was only an affliction of high risk groups to the current recognition that all people are vulnerable. Beyond the staggering numbers, there are aspects of this epidemic that have transformed it from a health problem to a social issue that affects all aspects of human life (Mahithir, 1997; Kremer, 2003; Zorrila, 1999; NACO, 2001).

The behaviors associated with HIV transmission are often not socially approved behaviors, outside the legal and ethical framework of communities (Youandaids.org- The Epidemic: Overview UNDP, 2004). Acute stigmatization has lead to a growth in attitudes that have resulted in AIDS primarily being associated with three main groups, homosexual and bisexual males and
illegal drug users. The belief that AIDS spread from Africa also "... has great appeal to those who associate the continent with sexual incontinence and primitive behavior," effectively upholding racist values still prevalent in 'advanced politically correct' societies. Schafer (1991) describes this as a 'plague mentality' which "...encapsulates a series of attitudes and values: victim blaming, xenophobia, irrationality, and desocialisation." These distorted images, in big part the result of media sensationalism, can be easily "incorporated into the divine model of retribution for sin" (Schafer, 1991). This view lays the blame upon the individuals that Bassford (1991) identifies as 'those who engage in potentially infective activities' (November 1994, The socioeconomic factors surrounding HIV & AIDS. S. Huntley, Environmental Biology http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm). These attitudes also enforce the view that HIV/AIDS is a disease associated with minority groups and risk behaviors (ie, homosexuality, promiscuity, drug abuse, prostitution), and lead to the belief by the bulk of the population that they are not personally vulnerable (Pitts, 1993).

Negative attitudes about HIV/AIDS create a climate in which people become more afraid of the stigma and discrimination associated with the disease than of the disease itself. When fear and discrimination prevail, people may choose to ignore the possibility that they may be infected even if they know they have taken risks. People may also decide not to take measures to protect themselves in fear that, in doing so, they could be associating themselves with the disease (UNAIDS Initiative-UNAIDS World AIDS Campaign 2002-2003 http://www.unaids.org/wac/2002/index_en.html).

Homosexual Issues

Seventy four percent of the AIDS programs throughout the world accept that they do not operate any prevention or support programs targeted at gay men. The major obstacles to HIV prevention work with homosexual men include: lack of support from founders, chiefly from donor agencies in the developed world; difficulty in reaching a population that is invisible to heterosexual public health officials; social taboos and unacceptableness of homosexuality; and lack of recognition of the role which sex between men plays in the spread of HIV.

Common features of the attitudes toward homosexual activity in developing regions are the public silence and religious disapproval. In many countries, visible manifestations of homosexuality are criminalized and violently persecuted. The only
country in the developing world to afford any rights to lesbians or gay men is South Africa (Aidsmap, 2003). Societies such as Brazil are likely to hold different strata of understandings and discourses about homosexual activities also influenced by class and education (Copyright © 1997 - Inter Press Service - GULF-HEALTH: Partnerships Across Borders Against HIV/AIDS; http://www.aegis.com/news/ips/1997/IP971001.html).

A 1995 survey conducted by the Panos Institute found widespread homosexual activity in developing countries often fitting into complex patterns of social custom and taboo. Along with discomfort about discussing taboo issues, many communities are dealing with high levels of ignorance, denial, fear, and intolerance about the disease itself. This combination of factors leads to rejection and even aggression, and the resulting homophobia has made AIDS newsworthy (Ardill, 1985) and yet, the vast majority of cases, particularly in Africa, appeared connected to promiscuous heterosexual activity (Sheriden, 1992, p.290). As a result, people with HIV have been disowned by their families, and fired from their jobs (November 1994, The socioeconomic factors surrounding HIV & AIDS. S. Huntley, Environmental Biology http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm).

In the Middle East, homosexuality is truly 'the love that dare not speak its name'. The issue of gay rights has not been raised and most gay people live in fear of being discovered for, in a number of states such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, homosexual acts are a capital offence. Well known academicians claim that homosexuality does not exist in Kuwait since: "Ours is a Muslim society and homosexuality is against Islam" ('The Guardian', March 1997; http://www.glas.org/ahbab/news/archive97.html).

Illegal Drugs Connection

HIV/AIDS continues to spread among drug users. Since the mid 1980s, increase among injectable drug users has been seen in China, India, Malaysia, Burma, Pakistan, Thailand, Viet Nam, and most recently in Indonesia and Nepal (Youandaids.org- Asia- Copyright UNDP 2004). One of the most powerful drug-related factors governing the spread of HIV in developing countries is the globalization of the heroin and cocaine trade, and the unintentional impact of policies to combat that trade. The major source of heroin in the world is the Golden Triangle region of South East Asia where until the 1970s opium was gathered for shipment to Europe to be refined into heroin. This practice ensured that opium was the drug most readily available in South East Asia and minimized the practice of injecting drug use.
However, in the late 1970s, heroin factories in Europe began to close down due to law enforcement and it became safer to refine the drug at the site of production. Cheap injectable heroin soon became easily available and injecting drug use began to spread along heroin supply routes into Burma, Vietnam, northern India, Thailand, and southern provinces of China, as users developed tolerance to the smoked form of the drug. Heroin also began to spread to African countries, especially Nigeria, as drug trafficking onto Europe and North America increasingly used West Africa as a relay point.

In the Russian Federation, Eastern Europe, and South America, injecting drug use has also led to a fast growing HIV epidemic. In Russia, it is estimated that one million people are now injecting opiates. As in South America, intensive policing of cocaine supplies has led to shortages and, subsequently, to price increases. When prices rise, more people are tempted to inject the drug to get maximum value for money. A shortage of disposable syringes and needle exchange adds to the risk (Copyright © NAM Publications 1999-2003; Aidmap, May 2003).

**Middle East/ Muslims**

The starting point of any analysis must be the thorough understanding of the structure of the society in which it takes place. The perception in many Arab countries is that AIDS is an imported disease that comes mainly from foreigners. However, the World Health Organization now estimates that 70% of new cases in the Arab world are sexually transmitted, more than half of them through heterosexual contact (Copyright © 1992 - Los Angeles Times-Regional Outlook, Arabs Waking Up to AIDS; http://www.aegis.com/news/lt/1992/LT920310.html).

In a new initiative aimed at preventing the disease from becoming a major health problem in the region, the Bahrain based Arabian Gulf University has been holding a special program funded by the Gulf Cooperation Council, which groups Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman, and a statement issued by this University's authorities asserts that the Middle East is no longer immune to the disease. Simultaneously, along with awareness campaigns, the Gulf authorities are expelling each month dozens of foreigners infected with HIV, placing them on a blacklist to make sure that they do not return to the region (Copyright © 1997 - Inter Press Service - Gulf Health: Partnerships Across Borders Against HIV/AIDS http://www.aegis.com/news/ips/1997/IP971001.html).

Religious institutions have traditionally played a role in caring
for those who are weak and in need of support. Religion can play
a major role in fighting the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS, and
can encourage openness and positive living among those who are
infected and affected (Speech by the minister of health at the
interfaith HIV/AIDS, March 2002,
denial and taboos surrounding HIV/AIDS result in people
questioning and challenging the legitimacy and purpose of any
Muslim organization dealing with HIV/AIDS; not only because of
the judgmental attitudes and misguided beliefs that AIDS is a
curse from Allah, but because of the difficulties in convincing
the Muslim community that AIDS also affects them.

Islam, like other religious traditions, advocates abstinence from
any sexual activity before marriage. The reality is, however,
that many Muslims have sex before marriage and engage in
extramarital affairs. The belief that the Islamic way of life
protects Muslims is therefore unrealistic and leads to a false
sense of security in the Muslim community. Some Muslims also
believe that AIDS is a homosexual disease or a disease that
affects only black people, while others assure that they have not
seen or touched a fellow Muslim living with HIV/AIDS. Due to the
secrecy surrounding HIV/AIDS, Muslims are unwilling to reveal
their status, and families are afraid to reveal how relatives
died (The socioeconomic factors surrounding HIV & AIDS. S.
Huntley, Environmental Biology, 1994
http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm).

How do you fight AIDS in a region where homosexuality is not
supposed to exist and where you are not supposed to talk about
sex? Even more difficult, how do you advise people who engage in
sex outside marriage to use condoms when the sheiks of one of the
most revered Islamic institutions in the world (Cairo's Al Azhar
University) declares that the principles of the Koran are enough
to protect people from AIDS (Copyright © 1992 - Los Angeles
Times-Regional Outlook Arabs Waking Up to AIDS.

Zion (1991) states that "...the enforcement of gender boundaries
is part of the conspiracy by which patriarchy extends and defends
itself". Muslim women and children, particularly girls, are the
most vulnerable in contracting HIV because of their
marginalization, also a result of cultural and religious
http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm).

Women Issues
Gender refers to differences in behavior, in cultural expectations, and in the social roles of men and women within particular social structures. A gender approach to health and illness includes not only the biological aspects of sex, but also the social, psychological, cultural, and economic contexts of being female. It is concerned with understanding differentials in the impact of disease on women and men within the social, economic, and cultural context (Rathgeber, 1993). Reasons for the rapid increase of HIV among women are, therefore, a complex mix of biological, economic, and social factors (Copyright © NAM Publications 1999-2003. Aidmap, 2003).

More than 70 percent of the HIV infections worldwide are estimated to occur through sexual relations between men and women (UNAIDS, 2000). According to the latest UNAIDS Global Epidemic Report, at the end of 2003, out of the estimated 42 million individuals living with HIV half were women. Every day, around 5500 women in the world are newly infected and more than 3000 die of complications due to AIDS. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 58 percent of those living with HIV were women (2003), and women ages 15 to 24 were 2.5 times more likely to be infected than young men (2004 UNAIDS; Initiative http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/media/press-releases02/pr_gcwa_02feb04_en_pdf.pdf ).

This female vulnerability is primarily due to inadequate knowledge about HIV/AIDS, insufficient access to prevention services, inability to negotiate safe sex, and lack of female controlled prevention methods (2004 UNAIDS Initiative; http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/media/press-releases02/pr_gcwa_02feb04_en_pdf.pdf ). HIV is a medical condition, but is also a political problem due to oppressive gender stereotypes, limited sexual roles, and misogynic practices. Overall remarks about the attitudes toward women affected by HIV are that they are either “passive and good victims of HIV transmission from men... or actively evil transmitters of disease to men”. The ABC approach, (Abstain, Be faithful, and Condomise) assumes that all people have freedom of choice. However, women's economic and social freedoms are constrained, leading to powerlessness to engage in any preventive behaviors (Gupta and Weiss, 1993; Worth, 1989; Zierler and Kreiger, 1997). In some of the regions worst affected by AIDS, more than half of young women age15 to 19 have either never heard about AIDS or have at least one major misconception about how HIV is transmitted (Feb.2004, UNAIDS Initiative; http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/media/press-releases02/pr_gcwa_02feb04_en_pdf.pdf).

Biologically, the greater efficiency of male to female viral
transmission partially explains the increased vulnerability of women to risk for heterosexual HIV infection (Anderson and May, 1988; Freidland and Kline, 1987). At the physiological level, women are more likely to acquire HIV from sex with men than vice versa. Estimates of the efficiency of transmission vary, but it has been suggested that vaginal intercourse with an HIV infected person is between two to 20 times more risky for a woman than for a man. Retrospective epidemiological studies have also reported shorter survival periods for women and suggest gender differences of delay in diagnosis (Lemp, 1992; Melnick, 1994; Morlat, 1992), inferior access to and poor utilization of, health services (Sabo, 1994; Lea, 1994; Kremer, 2003; Chaisson, 1995). Adding to these vulnerabilities is the fact that many women begin intercourse young and often younger than their male partners. When the female genital tract is immature, trauma during intercourse is more likely (Copyright © NAM Publications 1999-2003. Aidmap, 2003) (Feb.2004, UNAIDS Initiative; http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/media/press-releases02/pr_gcwa_02feb04_en_pdf.pdf).

Women who have been infibulated also have a heightened vulnerability as intercourse will inevitably cause bleeding. Since the practice of infibulations is often covert and illegal or carried out within a poorly resourced health care system, the operation itself can create a risk of blood transmission. The United Nations Family and Population Agency estimates that two million women undergo this operation each year. In addition, the use of agents that dry or tighten the vagina is common among women in some countries and this practice causes inflammation, bleeding, and abrasions that also increase the risk of HIV infection (NIAID Division of Aids Science- May 2002).

The practice of anal intercourse by women is rarely afforded attention even when surveys suggest that as many as 25% of women have had anal sex as means of contraception, during their menstrual periods because of blood taboos, or for pleasure. This means that more women are having anal sex than men (Copyright © NAM Publications 1999-2003. Aidmap, May 2003). Another overlooked physiological factor is post menopausal women. No longer fearful of unwanted pregnancy, they are less concerned about having unprotected sexual intercourse (http://www.agedcare.org.au/conferences/aberdour.doc. The aging face of HIV/AIDS, Summary Document, N. Aberdour).

Economic dependence and social pressures also limit women's responses (Jejeebhoy and Cook, 1997). Dossier (1992) states that the overriding reason for the rapid spread of HIV has been the high correlation between poverty and vulnerability to the virus.
The poorest of the world's poor tend to be women who are also the most disadvantaged by social and cultural notions regarding acceptable behavior. Ninety percent of the HIV positive women live in developing countries (Mahithir, 1997).

An example of the link between poverty and inequalities as a fundamental factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS is inheritance rights. In many countries, property is usually owned by men while women only have rights through marriage. Women whose male partners die are often left homeless, as the property rights are passed on to her husband's relatives. This practice radically reduces economic security and can lead to women enduring abusive relationships or resorting to sex for economic survival (2004 UNAIDS Initiative; http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/media/press-releases02/pr_gcwa_02feb04_en_pdf.pdf).

Women responses are not limited to financial but to cultural and social reasons, such as when culture patterns of subservience to men are the basis for the relationship (McCaskill, 1988). Women may be coerced into unprotected sex or run the risk of being infected in societies where it is accepted for men to have more than one partner. In fact, most sexually transmitted HIV infections in females occur either inside marriage or in relationships women believe to be monogamous. The typical woman who gets infected with HIV has only one partner - her husband or steady boyfriend.

Unsafe sex is also linked to emotional dependence on men, since women may find intimacy in a relationship to be more important than protection against HIV (Center for AIDS Prevention Studies, University of California, San Francisco, 1998). Beliefs that a woman should be sexually passive and acquiesce to her partner's desires and needs lead women to be dependent on their male partners, and prevents them from asserting themselves in sexual relationships. Fear of partner retribution is also a barrier to discussing fidelity and refusing sex (Vivian et al., 2003).

Violence also increases the danger of HIV infection among women. Coercive sex is a common feature of women's lives as in Cameroon, the Caribbean, Peru, and South Africa for example, where between 20 and 48% of young women age 10 to 25 have reported that their first sexual encounter was forced. In some of the worst affected countries in Africa, HIV prevalence among girls is four to seven times greater than among boys, a disparity linked to widespread abuse and coercion (UNAIDS Fact Sheet, 2000). Fear of violence not only prevents women from accessing HIV/AIDS information, it prevents them from getting tested, disclosing their HIV status, and receiving treatment and
counseling even when they know they have been infected. Women infected with HIV often face physical and emotional violence, can be abandoned by their families, and be ostracized by their communities (2004 UNAIDS Initiative; http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/media/press-releases02/pr_gcwa_02feb04_en_pdf.pdf).

Power is also a barrier in maintaining safer sex practices with a primary partner. It is a belief among men, especially in Africa, that women have no rights when it comes to dictating sexual behavior. There is even the suggestion that women who do not agree to have sex with their male partners are being abusive (Targeted AIDS Intervention (TAI)) (Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking 2002 - 2003 Daily News, 2003 Independent Newspapers Pty Ltd. http://wip.hivan.org.za/arttemp.asp?id=3559&netid=1127&search=Startingearlywiththeboys). For women to protect themselves, they must not only rely on their own skills, attitudes, and behaviors regarding condom use, but also on their ability to convince their partner to use a condom (Center for AIDS Prevention Studies University of California, San Francisco, 1998). At the launch of the Global Coalition on Women and AIDS it was affirmed that, too often, HIV prevention is failing women and girls. "Because of their lack of social and economic power, many women and girls are unable to negotiate relationships based on abstinence, faithfulness, and use of condoms" (Piot, Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS UNAIDS.)

Several other factors exist in the susceptibility to the virus such as stress and poor nutrition (Seigal, 1988). Treatments are also limited, and authorities cannot afford to provide the comprehensive health care facilities needed to ensure disease prevention, detection, education, and care (Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking 2002 - 2003. Daily News, 2003, Independent Newspapers Pty Ltd; http://wip.hivan.org.za/arttemp.asp?id=3559&netid=1127&search=Startingearlywiththeboys).

Social construction theory views women as reproducers (Corea, 1985; Overall, 1991), thus the risks from HIV/AIDS have wider implications for humanity. The WHO predicts that wherever female infection rates are high, child mortality could be as much as 30% greater. Early reports state that the risk of HIV infection passing from mother to child is between 20 to 35 percent, varying with the length of the parental infection and progression (Richardson, 1990).

In summary, gender gaps are embedded in the social structure, in contextual situations, in sexual partner's relationship, and in
society as a global system of social relations. Women's vulnerability differs from culture to culture and within cultures (UNAIDS, 2000). While biological factors contribute to the behavioral differences between men and women in every society, men's conduct is determined, at least in part, by expectations about how men should behave, expectations often shared by women as much as men. Disproportionately poor, women may have little choice other than to barter sex for survival. Women, more vulnerable to violence in patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal societies (Bhatti, 1990), subordinate their economic and social position subservience to their husbands (Mahajan, 1990). Gender inequities are perpetuated by social norms that enable powerlessness and are continued by inheritance, property, and divorce laws that favor men, who also continue to govern the economic, social, and sexual realms within the household (Jejeebhoy, 1998).

Methodology

Health knowledge, attitudes and perceptions are rooted in values, traditions, beliefs, and practices. The theoretical framework on Comprehensive Health Seeking and Coping Paradigm (CHSCP) (Nyamathi, 1998) adopted from Lazarus and Folkman's Stress and Coping Paradigm, and Schlofeldt's Health Seeking Model (1984) served as overriding frameworks to identify relevant variables and guide this assessment. Variables explored include sociological factors such as stigma, social support from friends and family, risk behaviors, cognitive and psychological factors, and biological factors.

An exploratory study was designed, and the universe were Kuwaiti women above 18 years of age. A snowball sampling techniques was utilized and 360 women were interviewed. The authors used the method of interviewing to collect data that would provide examples to illustrate Kuwaiti women's diverse levels of awareness, perceptions, and of knowledge about HIV/AIDS. The data collection instrument was developed by the researchers and contained 18 qualitative open ended questions in an interview schedule. Quantitative demographic variables on the governate of living, age, marital status, and level of education were also included in the tool. These demographic variables were explored to assess their effect on the women's level of knowledge, perceptions, and awareness about HIV/AIDS.

Twenty social work students from Kuwait University were trained by one of the researchers to interview the sample and gather the data. It took four months for the data to be collected.
Incomplete interviews were excluded. Ten interviews were discarded because of missing data. Three hundred and fifty interviews were retained for the analysis.

Findings

Demographics

Forty seven percent of the sample consisted of women between the ages of 18 to 25; 19% between 26 to 30; 11% between 31 to 35; seven percent between 36 to 40; six percent between 41 to 45. The group of 46 to 50 years of age comprised six percent of the sample, and the remainder four percent were 51 years old and above. Most of the Kuwaiti women in the sample came from urbanized areas with two thirds of the sample coming from areas near Kuwait City, the capital of the country. This distribution according to governate reflects the actual distribution of the Kuwaiti population where most people live in the urbanized suburban areas of Kuwait city. The distribution of categories of marital status reflected: married women (63%); single (32%); divorced (3%); and (1%) separated. One percent of the women were widow.

The majority of the women held a bachelor degree (42%); thirty five percent held a high school degree; and women with a college degree (two years after high school) comprised 10% of the sample. One percent had a master or doctoral degree. Those with eight years of schooling comprised seven percent of the sample, and those with only elementary education or no education comprised the remaining five percent.

Qualitative

To the first of the open ended question, "Have you heard about HIV/AIDS?", the total sample replied in the affirmative. The second question, "Do you think Kuwaiti women have knowledge about HIV/AIDS?", also received an affirmative answer from the majority (79%). About 18% believe that Kuwaiti women have very little knowledge about the disease, and only three percent believe that the Kuwaiti women have no knowledge about the disease. To the third question, addressing knowledge about how HIV/AIDS is transmitted, most of the sample stated that the disease is transmitted through sexual contact and through blood transfusion. One third of the sample believe that the disease could be transmitted through saliva, and two percent expect for the disease to be transmitted by kissing. In addition, two percent believe that the disease could be acquired by going to a beauty salon. Some women (10%) reported that by using personal items, equipment, and tools of a person with HIV/AIDS one can also acquire the disease. Two women believe that the disease could be
transmitted through breathing. One woman reported that the disease could be acquired in swimming pools, and another one stated that the disease could be transmitted from sweat or by touching an infected person.

The fourth question, who do you think could get infected with AIDS, received responses very similar to those offered to the third question. But, in addition, 28% mentioned that 'bad actions' would give HIV/AIDS. Bad actions were defined as committing adultery and/or having sexual relationships outside marriage, including both married and non-married people. This is consistent with the Islam religion and Muslims belief that people must not have sexual relationship out of marriage.

To the fifth question, do you know how to protect yourself from getting infected with HIV?, more than half of the sample (80%) said yes and 20% said no. Those who said yes provided the same responses given to question number three, emphasizing sexual relationships and blood transfusions as the main source of transmission. One woman stated that staying away from public toilets would prevent people from getting infected with HIV/AIDS, and nine women affirmed that 'keeping clean' would prevent people from getting infected.

To the question about what makes you uncomfortable if or when you talk about AIDS, the responses fell into two categories: things that make them feel comfortable and things that make them feel uncomfortable. The responses are summarized in the following table.
## Levels of Comfort in Talking About HIV/AIDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What makes you feel uncomfortable when you talk about AIDS</th>
<th>What makes you feel comfortable when you talk about AIDS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Not knowing how to prevent myself from getting HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>• Having HIV/AIDS knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The limited public awareness</td>
<td>• The government’s interest in the health care of the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• That there is no cure for the disease</td>
<td>• The government is teaching people the relationship between religious values and being infected with HIV disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Fear of the future of HIV/AIDS victims</td>
<td>• Being in an Islamic country</td>
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<tr>
<td>• The increasing number of children infected with HIV/AIDS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• The increasing number of infected people in the Gulf area (GCC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The fear of blood transfusions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The increasing number of youth being infected</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• That most of the people can be considered victims (meaning they were not responsible or guilty of getting infected)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The seventh question dealt with cognizance of someone infected
with HIV/AIDS, and also explored if the women would talk to people suffering from the disease. The majority of the women responded 'no' to this question; only two women responded in the affirmative. Those who responded 'yes' said that they know people who are infected but do not talk to those with HIV/AIDS.

The eighth question posed to the women inquired if they had talked to their physicians about HIV/AIDS or if any physician had spoken to them about the disease. Only four women said that their doctors had talked to them about the disease. Those doctors were female doctors who were responsible for their pregnancies and deliveries. Out of those four women who have spoken with their physician about the subject, two mentioned it happened when they wanted to donate blood.

To the ninth question, do you think AIDS is a problem in Kuwait, and if so why, most of the women agree that AIDS is a problem in Kuwait (46%); 37% think that AIDS is not a problem in Kuwait; 11% are not sure if AIDS is a problem. Only .05% are not sure whether AIDS is a problem or not in Kuwait. Not being religious, traveling a lot, ‘shortage’ of health awareness, immigrant workers, bad influences of peer groups, drugs, illegitimate sexual relationships, and ignorance were reasons offered for viewing AIDS as a problem in Kuwait. Those who expressed that AIDS was not a problem in Kuwait justified their responses in terms of Kuwait being a conservative country where such a disease would not happen. Those who are not sure if AIDS is a problem mentioned that the government might be hiding the real numbers about people infected with the disease. To the question, if you think that AIDS is a problem in Kuwait, what are the causes, women reiterated the responses offered to the previous question (9).

To inquiries about where does the disease come from, the majority said that the disease came for the western world (26%). Sixteen percent stated that the disease came from Africa, and 20% stated that the disease came from southern eastern countries (such as Thailand). The group that stated that the disease came from monkeys was equal in percentage to those who said that the disease came from ‘doing bad things’ (illegitimate sex and using drugs) (14%). Those who stated that they did not know where the disease came from comprised 10% of the sample. Thirteen women stated that the disease came from having sex with animals, and two women stated that the disease came from an insect (in Africa).

The twelfth question, do you believe that there is a relationship between AIDS and religion and what sort of relationship, received
an affirmative response by the majority (87%). Only .06% denied a relationship between AIDS and religion. Eleven women (.03%) did not know if there was a relationship between AIDS and religion, and the same number (.03%) thought that, to a certain point, there was a relationship but not a strong one. Those who thought that there was a relationship between religion and AIDS believe that the stronger the religious faith, the less possibility of getting infected with HIV. Those women who stated that there was no relationship mentioned that people could be infected through blood transfusion and pregnancy, and from their sexual partner. This later group also stated that the 'channels' of becoming infected with the virus have no relationship with religion or religiosity.

What do you believe the government is doing in addressing the AIDS epidemic? To this question, most of the sample replied that government activities such as having public broadcasting programs that talk about the disease, places available for a medical checkup for HIV/AIDS, an international day of HIV/AIDS, a committee to fight HIV/AIDS, and a school curriculum that includes knowledge about HIV/AIDS were in place to address the problem. Only 16% stated that the government 'was not doing much' about HIV/AIDS. This last group of women added that there were little efforts directed toward empowering women with awareness and knowledge about the disease. They also expressed that newly married people should be forced to be tested for HIV/AIDS. Fourteen percent did not know if the government was doing something about AIDS, and .04% said the government was 'doing very little'.

To the question about health care facilities available for those infected with HIV/AIDS, more than half the sample responded positively (59%), asserting that good health care was available in Kuwait. Only one percent responded in the negative, and a small number (13) expressed that there were bad health care and health care facilities for HIV/AIDS patients in Kuwait. The rest (27%) alleged not knowing about the availability of health care services for HIV/AIDS patients in Kuwait.

When questioned about aspects of the Kuwaiti tradition and culture that affect the levels of knowledge and awareness about HIV/AIDS, the response of one woman can be used to summarize the answers to this question.

Islam religion and the Arabic customs and traditions protect people from getting infected with the AIDS virus. Islam religion and Arabic customs and traditions discourage women from being with strange men. Islam likes women to be separated
from men. This process protects both men and women from getting infected with AIDS. Islam religion and Arabic tradition encourage women to marry at a younger age.

Some women complained about Arabic and Kuwaiti traditions that inhibit people from talking about AIDS, especially in front of children. They explained that 'social stigmas' about sex prohibit people from talking freely about the disease and about people with AIDS. They are concerned that 'shyness' and 'feeling ashamed' also influence addressing the subject. This last group also mentioned that the schools' curriculum lack information about HIV/AIDS. Some women (14%) stated that they did not know about a relationship between Kuwaiti culture and tradition to knowledge and awareness about HIV/AIDS.

If they would ask a future husband to be tested for the AIDS virus was a question posed to the non-married women. The majority answered 'yes', 26% said 'no'. Those who said 'yes' think that 'testing future husbands for the virus would protect them from getting infected. They also stated that this procedure would remove doubts about their future husbands' health. Only a small minority of the sample (0.04% or eleven women) said that they 'did not know' if they would ask a future husbands to be tested. Women who answered 'no' to the question about customs and traditions prohibiting them from asking their future husbands to get tested for AIDS, think that future husbands 'might run away' and 'change their minds'. As some stated: "Kuwaiti men do no like assertive women."

A similar question addressed to the married women was if they would ask their present husbands to be tested for the AIDS virus. Explanations offered were the same as those from the non-married women (question number 16).

To the last question, "If you were suspicious of your husband's relationships with other women, would you ask him to be tested for the AIDS virus and why?", more than half of the sample said yes (57%); fifty women said no (14%). One woman said that she did not know. Those women who said yes think that this measure would protect them from becoming infected. Those who said 'no' thought that there was no law to enforce the husbands to take the test, that such a thing would cause problems between the wife and husband, that it might lead to divorce, that they trusted their husbands, and that the test would not prove if he had affairs.

**Discussion**

The Kuwait society is a conservative, religious society. Kuwaiti
women's knowledge, perceptions, and awareness about HIV/AIDS was not as limited as expected by the researchers. However, Kuwaiti women still feel threatened by culture and tradition when addressing the issue, and cannot ask their partners to be tested for HIV. Most women still fear punishment and divorce.

Kuwaiti women responded differently about HIV/AIDS nature, causes, and effects. The area of residence (near the capital/inner city or outer city) and the level of education played a significant role in women's knowledge and awareness about the disease. Those who live closer to the capital have more knowledge and awareness of the disease than those who live in further areas (outside governates). This factor relates with the level of education, since those who live closer to the capital were more educated than those who live in outside governates. Age was another influencing factor. Women who were younger were more knowledgeable and aware about HIV/AIDS than older women. Marital status showed no effect on levels of knowledge and awareness. Generally speaking, Kuwaiti women's knowledge and awareness about HIV/AIDS disease is limited.

The majority of Kuwaiti women blamed the government and the Ministry of Communications for their ignorance and limitations about the disease. They thought that the media was mostly controlled by the government, thus, it was the responsibility of the government to educate people about the disease. They thought the media (TV, radio, newspapers, cinema, etc.) could play a bigger role in educating people about the disease, women in specific.

Media values and principles, part of and reflection of, people's values and principles, emphasize the tradition and culture of the society, such a tradition and culture that see sex as a taboo. Talking freely about sex is considered shame. Women do not talk about HIV/AIDS since it is related to sex. Kuwaiti society is considered a conservative, religious, and traditional society, and women feel uncomfortable talking about issues related to sex especially in front of men. For example, although women have a big urge to ask their future husband to test for HIV/AIDS as a protection for their health, they feel hesitant because of the taboos. They will be looked at by society as liberals and radicals and that is a threat to their future, especially their marriage.

The International Guidelines on HIV/AIDS and Human Rights, issued in 1998 by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, expressly point out that "there is no public health rationale for
restricting liberty of movement or choice of residence on the ground of HIV status. Policy and practice must take into account the potential contribution, both monetary and non-monetary, that each individual immigrant can make, since not all immigrants will place a burden on health and society" (International Federation of Social Workers, 2003). Countries that prohibit people living with HIV/AIDS from long term residency due to concerns about economic cost, should not single out HIV/AIDS as opposed to comparable conditions.

UNDP (1990) stresses the need for minimization of HIV/AIDS adverse socioeconomic consequences, but also for the reallocation of resources to aid in developing holistic, sustainable programs focusing on preventive measures. Empowerment of the people to protect themselves will combat the effects and spread of HIV/AIDS but, ideology on sexuality is based on majority values, and this approach has to be free from imposed moralistic and judgmental values. Much confusion is apparent in the literature as to place blame on minority groups or on high risk behaviors yet, contemporary forms of oppression, socioeconomic deprivation, and injustice have a marked effect on these groups. In Britain, for example, government health campaigns targeting high risk groups aided to the stigmatization and false belief that only minority groups and those who engage in socially deviant behavior are at risk, enforce prejudice and labeling (1994, S. Huntley, Environmental Biology; http://website.lineone.net/~groovemite/extra/aids.htm). Education is imperative for giving guidance on protection and alternatives, but also for liberating from oppressive, discriminating, moralistic, and homophobic attitudes in lay beliefs. HIV/AIDS is a global, societal problem to which everyone can be equally at risk. Unfortunately, once stigmatization becomes common belief, these attitudes are difficult to change. Prevention strategies must target both women and men, and address gender norms particularly in sexual decision making (Center for AIDS Prevention Studies University of California, San Francisco, 1998).

Prevention / Education Experiences

The socio cultural context shapes the ways communities respond to an epidemic, while the epidemic itself influences local practices and perceptions (Gupta and Weiss, 1993; Worth, 1989; Zierler and Kreiger, 1997). The task of saving lives is directly dependent upon the ability to educate effectively and to help promote prevention (Judaism and HIV/AIDS United Synagogue of Conservative
Judaism, http://www.ujcbroward.com/content_display.html?print=1&ArticleID=15373&page=/content_display.html). Understanding the social context of HIV/AIDS risk behavior remains critical to the development of preventive strategies and interventions (Amaro, 1995; Carmona Vargas et. al., 1999; Miller, 1999; Skurnick et al., 1998). HIV/AIDS has caused more human, economic, and social destruction than any other disease in human history. The problems that feed the HIV/AIDS epidemic, including poverty, gender inequities, sexual violence, and exploitation have historically been best overcome by expanding access to education. An effective long term approach to HIV/AIDS prevention should focus on keeping children and young people in school, which provides the best mechanism for providing the skills they need to protect themselves. But the education systems must also provide knowledge that can reach outside the traditional confines of schooling. At the UN General Assembly Special Session on Children, South Asia leaders joined those from every other region of the world in endorsing the commitment that by 2005, at least 90 percent of young people would have access to the information and education they need to protect themselves. However, and according to the World Bank, more than 95% of the 15 to19 years old in Bangladesh, for example, still do not know a single method of HIV/AIDS prevention.

Australia was the first country to adopt a national HIV/AIDS strategy and is recognized as a leading nation in the overall management and prevention of HIV transmission. Due to the relatively small numbers of HIV positive people in Australia, the development and application of a strategic approach to this problem now entails a managed response rather than a reactive one (http://www.agedcare.org.au/conferences/aberdour.doc, Nigel Aberdour). Sharing personal experiences and educational activities in Africa has helped in uncovering the myths and beliefs surrounding early sex. These myths include a belief that a build up of sperm could lead to madness, that ‘wet dreams’ signaled the time when a boy should indulge in his first sexual encounter, and that HIV/AIDS is solely a woman's disease (Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking 2002 - 2003 L. Clarke, Daily News, Independent Newspapers (Pty) Ltd; http://wip.hivan.org.za/arttemp.asp?id=3559&netid=1127&search=Startingearlywiththeboys). The South African government HIV awareness campaigns reports increased rates of safer sex. A survey conducted by an organization with boys aged 9 to 16 at 20 schools in KwaZulu-Natal shows that the age of initiation of sexual activity is moving from 14 and 15 years to older groups, a change in behavior linked to specific prevention education interventions in school settings.
Attributed to education is how the HIV/AIDS prevalence among pregnant women in South Africa leveled off at 25 percent, with statisticians noting a slight fall in new cases of HIV detected. Zambia has also managed to reduce HIV prevalence among women in both urban and rural areas through education, and Poland, unlike much of eastern Europe, has succeeded in curtailing the HIV epidemic among injecting drug users and in preventing it from spreading to the sexually active population. Uganda has been Africa’s greatest success story, where at the end of 2001, adult HIV prevalence had fallen from 8.3 percent in 1999 to five percent (Copyright © NAM Publications 1999-2003. Aidmap. UNAIDS, May 2003).

A critical element in HIV/AIDS prevention, however, is political leadership. In every part of the world, leadership at the highest levels of government has emerged as one of the most important factors in successful HIV/AIDS prevention (The Daily Star Internet Edition, Volume 3, Number 1212, 2003). The Five Year Strategic Plan for South Africa (2000), a collaboration of all key stakeholders including the faith-based sector, is a broad national strategic plan designed to guide the country's response to HIV/AIDS in four priority areas: (1) prevention; (2) treatment, care, and support; (3) research, monitoring, and surveillance; and (4) human rights.

In the Middle East, there is an absence of programs that take into account religious and cultural sensitivities, as well as of activities to educate and empower women to be able to negotiate their sexuality within the dominant culture. By educating existing women's groups, for example, the women could avoid drawing attention to themselves and being labeled (Abdul Kayum Ahmed and Fatima Noordien, Sexual Health Exchange 2001-3 © Royal Tropical Institute http://www.kit.nl/frameset.asp/?ils/exchange_content/html/2001-3-positive_muslims.asp&frnr=1&) when engaging in HIV/AIDS education. Since much of the stigmatization of people living with AIDS and their families has come from religious quarters, religious involvement is crucial in sending the message that HIV/AIDS is not a punishment (Judaism and HIV/AIDS United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. http://www.ujcbroward.com/content_display.html?print=1&ArticleID=15373&page=/content_display.html). There are many examples of how the faith sector is responding or can respond to this challenge. Regarding education, they can identify resources and models for prevention education; strengthen HIV/AIDS prevention through family enrichment; enhance HIV/AIDS prevention through youth
programs in building a solid foundation concerning sexuality, responsible adulthood and marriage; and breaking taboos about sex. Working with governments, they can advocate for: campaigns against taboos and discrimination; appropriate levels of cost-effective health care, especially home based care; means to protect the interests of women and children; and establishment of an annual National Day of Prayer and Healing for all persons affected by the epidemic (Minister of Health at the interfaith HIV/AIDS workshop, 2002. http://www.caa.gov.za/doh/docs/sp/2002/sp0305.html).
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MSW Student Attitudes Regarding the Role of Spirituality in End-of-Life Care
Social Work
Paper Session
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Abstract

The role of spirituality in end-of-life care is taking on greater importance for social work professionals in healthcare settings. Several studies have shown that often look to social workers to help them with their spiritual concerns, particularly at end-of-life (Breibart, Gibson, Poppito & Berg, 2004, Powell, Shahabi & Thoresen, 2003; Reese, 2001). Even with the inclusion of spirituality in the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) curriculum guidelines, little attention has been paid to clients’ spirituality in social work education. In end-of-life care, it is important to understand a person’s biological, psychological, social, as well as spiritual needs; in other words, treating the person holistically. The purpose of this study was to explore MSW students’ perceptions on the role of spirituality in social work, with special attention to work with older adults in addition to having these students assess their MSW education in spiritual diversity in order reinforce the need for further education on spiritual diversity in graduate programs. Using the Role of Religion and Spirituality in Practice (RRSP) measure (Sheridan, 2000), this study examined 53 MSW social work students’ perceptions of the use of spirituality in direct practice with older adults. Results showed that these students expressed considerable variability in their scores on the RRSP indicating some confusion about how to differentiate between their personal values and professional training in the area of spirituality and social work. In addition, ethnicity differences were found in RRSP scores between African Americans, Latinos, and Asians (p< .05). Considerable ambiguity was also shown in responses to actual vignette situations regarding clients who presented spiritual matters in practice. These findings suggest that although students reflect a generally positive attitude toward spirituality, there is clearly a need for increased education on spirituality as a vital dimension of the older adult at end-of-life.
I'm just a student; does my opinion really count anyway: An analysis of communications training programs for medical students

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Introduction

When I initially embarked on this research assignment, my research interests were focused on medical school communications training: the theoretical versus the practical application. More specifically, it was my plan to compare and contrast literature from the last 10 years about communications training to the actual training the students received at a medical school at a large university located in central Texas. This interest was driven by the wealth of information on the importance of communication skills for training practitioners. According to an article by Hulsman et al. “without doubt, skillful communication is among the core competences of (future) medical practitioners.

Nowadays, the importance of training medical students in communication skills is widely recognized in medical schools” (Hulsman et al., 2004). John Spencer and Jonathan Silverman also assert “the need for formal communication skills teaching and learning in health care education is well established. A substantial body of evidence has also accumulated about the problems of communication between health care professionals and patients and the benefits of good communication” (Spencer & Silverman, 2001).

While this belief is widespread among communication scholars, it also has transferability. In an article found in Medical Education, emphasis is also being place on this need. “Patient partnership, with its emphasis on shared decision making and responsibilities, now has a central place on the NHS agenda. In order to achieve this there is increasing pressure to change the nature of the doctor-patient relationships, partly by improving communication skills” (Williams et al., 2001). Also found in another article in the Journal of Palliative Medicine “the American Association of Medical Colleges has written a state-of-the-art paper describing the skills that all students should be able to
perform before completing medical schools; the Accreditation Council of Graduate Medical Education lists communication skills as a general competency for all residents; the American Board of Internal Medicine stresses communication in its description of humane physicians and the more recent American Academy of Hospice and Palliative Medicine's palliative care fellowships standards describes communication as a 'critical skill' (Arnold, 2003). The plethora of information proves that the need for the improvement of communication skills within the medical arena exists. Therefore, a study taking an analytical look at the differences along the practical versus theoretical continuum is one with definite validity. However, for this project I am choosing to take a different rout. My new emphasis will be placed on giving voice to the medical students themselves. This evolution of interest formed after hearing several students' expressions concerning their training. I will grant that there has been a wealth of research geared towards the need for communications training, how to implement these studies and even a few studies on how students view their communications assessments. However, there is a huge gap in research and literature on student's perceptions on the actual training process itself. Therefore, the focus of this paper will seek to do just that.

To begin, I deem it necessary to first explain what led me to pursue this study. I believe that I have illustrated that it has been proven that it is indeed important to improve communication skills, because 'poor communication is often associated with poor clinical performance' (Roberts et al, 2003). And while this may be an oversimplification of the actual need, this statement does seem to get to the root of this ideology. The days of just possessing medical knowledge have come and gone, and instead have been replaces with learning how to be effective physicians. An in order to be
effective physicians, you have to be able to not only heal your patients, but also to communicate with them. Medical educators are aware of this, thus convincing medical schools that they need to address communication skills training is no longer the primary problem. The real problem that many health institutions face is in the actual creation and implementation of these training programs.

With these things in mind, I approached this study with a few research questions. The first was whether the students believed that their training was a vital experience? The second question was how they believed they could implement the acquired skills into practice? The third question was how they would revise the training program? And the last was whether they believed that all of their needs were met in this training?

**Methodology**

To answer my research questions, I implemented several different methods. The first was to attend the patient-centered medical interviewing workshop held in early October and take field notes. From this workshop seven pages of single spaced field notes were taken. The second method utilized was to attend the communication skills evaluation and video debriefing session held in November as a consultant and record field notes. From this session three hours of preparation of tapes, and five pages of single spaced field notes were recorded. And the last method employed was to conduct two in-depth interviews with two medical students, in which eight pages of single spaced field notes were recorded. Tape recordings of these sessions were not conducted in order to make the participants feel more comfortable about the protection of their anonymity. All of these sessions were conducted with second year medical students from the large university located in central Texas.
The patient-centered medical interviewing workshop was conducted after the students completed a series of self-study modules. These modules and the workshop curriculum were adopted from Dr. Forrest Lang at the East Tennessee Family Medical Center. According to Dr. Lang, “attempts to assess communication skills have proven challenging on a number of fronts. To address these concerns, we developed a new communications assessment instrument, Common Ground, built on the template of the Toronto and Kalamazoo Consensus Statements’ (Lang et al, 2004).

Attendants at a conference held at Kalamazoo, Michigan wrote the Kalamazoo Consensus Statement. These participants agreed on a list of guidelines and standards for communication skills training. These include:

“Allowing the patient to complete his or her opening statement; elicit the patient's full set of concerns; establish/maintain a personal connection; use open-ended and closed-ended questions appropriately; structure, clarify, and summarize information; actively listen using nonverbal and verbal techniques; explore contextual factors; explore beliefs, concerns, and expectations about health and illness; acknowledge and respond to the patient's ideas, feelings, and values; use language the patient can understand; check for understanding; encourage questions; encourage the patient to participate in decisions to the extent he or she desires; check the patient's willingness and ability to follow the plan; identify and enlist resources and support; ask whether the patient has other issues or concerns; summarize and affirm agreement with the plan of action; and (finally) discuss follow-up” (Makoul, 2001).
The creators further stress that this list is by no means exhaustive, the intent was to make it easier for people working in this area to identify not only the key tasks, but the relevant knowledge, skills, and attitudes as well’ (Makoul, 2001).

During the workshop, I attended the briefing of the experts, which consisted of several practicing physicians, clinical psychologists, and communications professionals. These experts were given instructions on the sessions they were to facilitate. After this briefing, the experts attended the brief introduction assembly with the medical students were the students were able to ask questions and meet the panel of experts. The class was then divided into small groups of six and they were assigned to an expert for the afternoon. I attended one of these sessions. In this session, I was enabled to not only observe the interactions between the interviewers and the patients, but I also had the opportunity to play the role of a patient. The interviewers, student-doctors, were given brief notes about the patients, which included the patient’s names, relationship, past medical history, social history, chief compliant per char, vital signs, and instructions for the interviewer (Lang et al, 2004). The patients were given brief notes about their character with certain lines they were to implement during the interaction. After each interview the students were able to comment on their performance and get feedback from the other students and the expert in this room.

The communication skills evaluation and video debriefing session, took several communications and psychology graduate students being paired with four students. The graduate students were asked to watch and rate the students using the Common Ground assessment form. From the tapes, the graduate students were also asked to find one teachable moment to share with the medical students. During my session we not only
discussed the tapes, but we also discussed several issues concerning the setup of the training and their ideas.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with two medical students who participated in the training program. These students were selected from the small group I attended during the patient centered medical interviewing workshop. These interviews were held in 20-30 minute increments and were mutually exclusive of each other. The students were asked several questions about their views on the training experience. More specifically, how did they think the acquired skills would affect their future practice? Were they implementing any of these new skills into their preceptorships? Were all of their needed met? And finally what would they change about the training curriculum?

Results

From these discussions, several themes emerged. The first was the need for more communications training. The second was the practical nature of implementing more training into their curriculum. The third was the actual analysis of their training. And the last and most important theme was the consideration of the student in the planning stages.

The first theme of needing more communications training was addressed during the patient-centered interviewing workshop. Two students expressed concern about their lack of training. According to one student:

‘I felt like I was making things up. I just wasn’t sure what to say at some points’ (L).

Another student, when confronted with an emotional issue stated:

‘I don’t know how to deal with emotional issues. Once you get outside of my comfort zone and we chart into unfamiliar territory, I don’t know what to do. All I want to do is steer it back to the biomedical stuff’ (D).
These statements bring to light an important concept. While the students all were exposed to the self-study modules about communication, when it came to the actual implementation of these skills, they were at a lost. In other words, they were given knowledge of a skill, with no knowledge of how to practically apply the learned skill.

Another student during the communication skills evaluation and video debriefing session also addressed this issue:

‘It is hard to take something on a computer and apply it. You have so many things going on at once that makes it hard to focus on being good at this. When you try to make sure that you hit all of the things that you have learned, you lose focus and it just becomes unnatural’ (E).

When asked whether she believed that she needed more training. She declared:

‘Yes, we do need more training, but it needed to be more hands-on’ (E).

This statement brings us to the second theme of the practical nature of implementing more training into their curriculum. During this same communication skills evaluation and video debriefing session, one student stated:

‘I don't know, but I feel like it would be more helpful if they broke all of these elements down into smaller sessions. For instance, if we did interviews where the primary focus was on rapport, and then another on agenda setting and so forth, then all of this would become more natural’ (B).

After her assertion, another student offered:

‘I agree that this would make it more natural and we do need more training. But how much more time would that take. The self-study modules already take at least four hours of our time, another four-hour session dedicated to the workshop, an
hour to tape our interviews, and then another hour for the consultations. With everything else they expect us to learn and master, I just don't see the time to break it down enough to make us expert communicators’ (I).

These comments brought out their dichotomy of though: the student's expressed need for more training versus the reality of time constraints.

The third theme concerning the perceptions of the training were briefly discussed during the communication skills evaluation and video debriefing session, however the most compelling comments were found during the in-depth interviews. Their comments were broken down into separate categories. The first category was the self-study modules. The second was the patient-centered medical interviewing workshop. The third was the videotaped encounter with a standardized patient. And the fourth was the communication skills evaluation and video debriefing session.

Taking the first category, the self study modules, one student stated:

‘I think that the modules would have been a lot more effective if they were condensed into a 30 min. lecture. I believe that we would have taken it a lot more seriously. I also think the PowerPoint presentations were really not professional. They need to be more polished and the all around presentation needs to be more professional’ (D).

This student felt it they had to commit so much time to this study, and then the presentation of the material could have been packaged well. Another student stated:

‘The self-study modules were really time consuming. In fact most of the information was like ‘duh, I knew that!’ But I believe that in the long run they were helpful’ (E).
This student did not share the same sentiments about the presentation of the material, but she did believe that some of the information presented was non-unique. However, she still deemed the activity helpful in her development. Based on these discussions, I believe that the students agree that the self-study modules contained vital information, however the time commitment required was definitely noteworthy.

The second category involved the patient-centered medical interviewing workshop. One student stated:

‘I really liked the experts, they provided a new perspective. The things that I would not normally consider were brought to my attention’ (K).

Another student affirmed:

‘I think the workshop went really well. By giving us a non-medical school perspective, I think I learned more about how to effectively communicate’ (D).

While both of these students expressed very positive attitudes regarding the workshop. Another student expressed some concern:

‘While I think the workshop was a good idea, it was really hard to act like you are in a real setting when you are staring at one of your buddies. I just couldn’t separate the two’ (I).

The general consensus of this activity was very favorable. The students believed that this part was helpful in their studies and none expressed any concern about time consumption. In fact, when the students gathered back in the lecture hall after the small group sessions during the workshop, several students articulated the need for more practices like that one.
Comments surrounding the videotaped encounter with a standardized patient were not so complimentary. One student stated:

‘I had a real problem with the patient not really being standardized. Where did they find this person? It would have been more helpful if we all had the same patient. Some of us had a more difficult patient, while others were blessed with talkative and cooperative patients’ (L).

While this student articulated concern on the non-standardization of the patient, another student expressed concern about the actual set-up of the room:

‘I believe that the video stuff was good. But the bird's eye view was not the best choice. You couldn't see the visuals. You know the facial expressions and so forth’ (D).

Another student added:

‘I don't like watching myself on video. I think it was probably helpful, but I still didn't like it’ (K).

There were definitely some reservations and concerns posed about the effectiveness of the videotaping. However, the general consensus was that this was an effective and helpful exercise.

The last category was about the actual debriefing session. One student stated:

‘I really like this aspect of the exercise. Seeing myself and knowing that there is somebody outside of the medical school who is going to see it and give me advice helps, Now I will not say that it didn't make me nervous, but I knew that the feedback would help me in the long run’ (B).

Another student stated:
‘Yes, I was extremely nervous about doing this exercise. But hearing that I am not a complete failure as far as communication skills are concerned, is a huge relief’ (I).

While both of these statements were positive, one student was not as positive in his assessment:

‘I think that the least helpful part was going through each student and discussing one thing. I just don't like wasting time’ (K).

Based on these statements, I believe that for the most part the exercise was deemed effective and helpful. But this was not unanimously expressed.

The fourth emergent theme was the consideration of the student in the planning stages. One student stated:

‘No input from the students was solicited. I believe that when planning any type of training, especially one that will impose on our free time, we should at least be considered. I think we were an afterthought in that sense’ (D).

Another student stated:

‘I think that we should have been at least consulted on how we wanted this set-up. I mean, I guess it turned out okay. But I do believe there were things that could have been done better, and if we were able to voice our opinions, they would have been’ (K).

None of the students vehemently rejected the notion of not being considered. However, both students interviewed expressed some feelings of wanting to be included in the process.
When asked how they would revise the program, several suggestions were offered. I will highlight only a few of these. One student suggested:

“Adding more time would not be a bad thing, as long as it is evenly spaced. I don't know, maybe we could revisit these skills later. For instance, a refresher during our third year would probably be very helpful. We could also include a practicing physician in the consultation stage; this discussion would add a more practical element to the process. I also believe that follow-ups would be great. Maybe we could make a list of the things we want to improve on and give it to the staff, and at the beginning of our fourth year, they mail it to us. It would be great to see how far we have come and how much more we need to improve on” (D).

Another student recommended:

“I believe that we could take it bit by bit. If we only focus on one skill today, test that skill, and then move on to another, the entire process would become more natural” (E).

Another recommendation was:

“Taking a more critical approach during the debriefing exercise would be helpful. I would like to see a more in-depth analysis of my tape. Just taking one thing and talking about it, and briefly saying that everything else was pretty good were not helpful. I want more than just that one teachable moment” (I).

And yet another suggestion was:

“I think it would have been better to have this last year (first year), when we were talking about history taking and etc. Bad habits can be picked up when you wait until the second year. And once those habits are learned, they are hard to break. I
also think that we should slim down the workshop time. Four hours is a bit intense. Maybe this could be solved by breaking it down a little’ (K).

When asked whether or not they felt that their needs were met in this training. The responses were varied. One student stated:

‘My needs were probably not met, maybe it was because of the group thing. I don't believe that I made this great leap in my skills because I spent 10 hours of my time on what I did well. What about what I didn't do so well? I think that it feels good to hear what we are doing great, but it doesn't really help in the end. I think that there also needs to be some more instruction of these skills by the actual instructors. For instance, when it is appropriate to touch and etc. If you want us to use this skill, show us how to do it. I also think my needs would have been better addressed if the graduate students were allowed to tell us more, not just one thing’ (D).

Another student stated:

‘What we had was probably pretty good. I mean people are who they are, they don't change that drastically. It did give us a fresh perspective and probably helped me to evolve a little. I guess it gave me a new lens, so yes, I guess my needs were met’ (K).

**Discussion**

Based on the discussions and interviews I will propose several arguments based on my research questions. My first is that yes, the students believed that their training was a vital experience. Not only do they all agree that they learned something, but they
also realized in the process that they were not completely in the dark in regards to communication.

My second argument would be that the students will indeed utilize their newly acquired skills in several ways. The first is in their current preceptorship. While some skills implementation will come more naturally than others, they will use at least some of these skills. The second utilization will be in their future practices. These workshops and training methods will create and foster new habits that will be beneficial to their practice.

My third argument is that definite revisions need to be done in this training programs. While the East Tennessee Family Medicine Interview Study Group methods may have been effective at some point, adaptive methods and programs should be created to address the students being taught. More specifically, since patients are not standardized and doctors themselves are not standardized, then communication training programs should not be standardized either.

My final argument addressed whether the students needs were met? I would argue yes and no. To some extent yes, they all agreed that they learned something new. And that yes, they do all see something that they could extend over their current and future practices. But I also believe that all needs were not met. I do not believe that any of the students made giant leaps towards better communicators. They have a lot to learn and if this is the extent of their communications training, then the problems addressed earlier will still exist.

To address this perpetuation of the current cycle, I offer several suggestions. My first suggestion is to cease studies about the need for communication skills training for medical students. I believe that continuing to research this need is a waste of resources
and energy. It is clear that there is a need, and convincing medical schools of this need is no longer necessary. The National Institute of Health and other health organizations already condone this practice and thus encourage medical schools to provide some sort of training for their students.

My second suggestion is to seek new methods of assessment. According to Kurtz, there are four underlying assumptions that must be addressed when planning a training program.

“The first of these is (that) communication is a basic clinical skill. The second assumption is (that) communication is a series of learned skills or, as some would have it, a set of procedures for improving outcomes of care. A corollary to the second assumption is (that) communication is a learned skill rather than a personality trait. A third assumption is (that) experience alone can be a poor teacher. A final set of assumptions has to do with what it takes to learn communication skills so as to change behavior. First, knowledge by itself does not translate directly into performance. Second, communication skills teaching or learning is different (Kurtz, 2002).

To simplify, Kurtz is saying that you cannot expect aspiring doctors to come into the clinic with advanced knowledge of communication skills. In other words, we are not born effective communicators; we learn communication skills along the way. Kurtz also adds that medical educators cannot just bestow the knowledge on their students and expect them to suddenly improve overnight, but it is a process that is gradual and takes practice and time.
To add to Kurtz's arguments, Dr. Robert Arnold adds that there are some key concepts that must be addressed by creators in the planning stages of these training programs. These include:

"an understanding of why a word does not just ‘stand for’ a meaning; a theory of language as a system of resources for making meaning; a greater awareness of the interpersonal function of language; a way of talking about the systematic relationship between different meanings and different words; a way of calibrating meanings in language with meanings made through other symbolic systems such as nonverbal communication, graphs, pictures and how these modes support, contradict, and combine synergistically; and a broad view of how people’s language uses reflects, reinforces, and in some ways constructs, their broach worldview, their social position, and their identity” (Arnold, 2003).

In other words, he believes that medical educators have to have an in-depth understanding of communication themselves in order to teach it. This philosophy is no different than the teaching of any other skill. For example, would you like to learn how to fight fires by somebody who has never seen a fire, doesn't understand the mechanics of the equipment, and doesn't even understand the seriousness of the task? The same is true for communications training. If you have a communications instructor who isn't as effective communicator, then exactly what knowledge have you gained?

Through the above explanations we have addressed the problems with the actual creation of communications programs. Yet, another problem has to be dealt with. This is with the improvement of existing programs. However, when it comes to the improvement of these existing programs, there is a lack of empirical evidence to demonstrate the need
Robinson 18

for change in the curriculum. Scholars Humphris & Kaney attempt to reason why this lack of evidence exists by establishing four postulates.

‘First, many courses do not introduce the teaching of communication skills until midway into the medical curriculum, to coincide with the traditional starting point of the clinical component of training. The second point is that there are few appropriate measures designed specifically to assess skills over time. The third point is that major resources are required to institute such a system for detecting change. The final point is that the teaching of communication skills may not involve the same approaches as those employed in the assessment system’ (Humphris & Kaney, 2001).

I believe that Humphris & Kaney make a few good points. The first is in the time-period of training. The longer you wait to address communication skills, the harder it is to break habits and other learned behaviors. In other words, once you become comfortable in the way you do things, it is hard to learn how to do them correctly. Rees et al address the second point in the statement:

‘when contemplating communication skills assessment, three different but related issues must be taken into consideration. The first issue concerns whether the assessment is formative or summative. The second issue concerns the aspects of communication skills that should be assessed. The third issue about communication skills assessment concerns the assessor’ (Rees et al, 2002).

If you don't know how to test skills, how can you determine their effect? I also agree with Humphris & Kaney's point about the requirements of detecting change. There are not only time constraints; there are also financial constraints limiting how much research can be
done in determining the effectiveness of a program. However, there are cost-effective ways in existence of testing growth.

Their final point about communication skills being taught in conflict with assessment system being used has definite validity. If you don’t teach a skill, but then later test for it, then it is unfair to the student and vice versa. New methods of assessment must be developed that coincide with the skills being taught.

Now, I do not allege that we should eliminate the Common Ground program developed by Dr. Forrest Lang. However, it is my belief that we should extend this research. In a field that grows almost on a daily basis, it is a disservice to not keep building on our already established knowledge. There is an old adage “the more you know, the more you grow.” Therefore, there needs to be more research geared towards this development.

Roberts et al further contend that the creation and implementation problems “may be related to the constraints imposed by the clinical environment such as lack of privacy and time. They may also impact on its content-history taking, risk communication, explanation, etc- because of, for example, linguistic and semantic difficulties, a knowledge gap or a mismatch between the values and assumptions of the patient and doctor” (Robert et al, 2003). These are all important factors to address. However, a weighing mechanism must be employed when determining which is more important, learning or time.

My third suggestion is to conduct more studies on ways to assess our assessment methods. Meaning, find ways to address the proposals raised by Humphris & Kaney. More specifically, let's stop waiting until the second, third, or fourth year to address
communication. Communication should be taught from day one. It doesn't need to be formalized and separated. Instead it can be implemented into the normal curricula. Next, more appropriate measures should be designed to test these skills. Just using a checklist does not address the total picture, I think that by only using these methods we limit the knowledge that we can impart on medical students. According to Lorraine Noble, “courses are evaluated on the basis of subjective reports of their relevance and usefulness. Evaluations of the observable impact on skills are comparatively rare” (Noble, 2002). If courses aren't being evaluated properly, you run into another problem. Just having a few people say that a program was relevant and the skills taught were useful, does not determine whether the program was effective. I will grant that effectiveness is sometimes hard to measure, however steps taken to see whether the skills being taught are being implemented is necessary and imperative.

My fourth suggestion is to include the students more in the planning stages. According to Lorraine Noble, in her article, *Communication skills training: pragmatism versus proof,* “addressing various aspects of the central questions in communication skills education research: What do we tech them? How do we assess them? Which methods work best? And, because this is about communication skills after all, how do they feel about it?" (Noble, 2002). Noble's viewpoint presents the notion of the student being an afterthought in the planning of communications curricula. I will not be so bold as to suggest that this ideology is the mindset of all medical school staff, however, I will uphold that the concept of not fully considering the student's needs is indeed prevalent and problematic. One of the first skills any communicator learns is audience analysis. In other words, after you decide the message, a good communicator determines how to best
tailor his message for the audience. If you jump immediately from deciding what the
message is to how do we assess their understanding, you miss a few vital steps in the
process, which can be detrimental to your goals.

Now, I do not claim that by employing this inclusion all problems will be
automatically solved. However, I believe that the students should at least be asked what
they want. Even if all of their suggestions are not used, they will feel more included in
the process if even some of their suggestions are utilized. It has been proven that once a
person feels that they have a vested interest in something, they appreciate it more.

To conclude this paper, I will offer my final suggestion. This is to conduct more
studies about medical student's perceptions. One of the limitations of this study was that it
was conducted at a large university located in central Texas, therefore not all of the data
is generalizable. However, the premise is the same. We need to extend our view beyond
just scholars, educators, and theorists. Some of the best suggestions come from the actual
students; therefore their voices deserve to be heard. Let's not take for granted the wisdom
that they can impart.

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Japanese University Students’ English Study Methods:
Learning to Learn More Than Course Content

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Japanese University Students’ English Study Methods: 
Learning to Learn More Than Course Content

by

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Abstract

This paper presents results from the second set of findings from a larger ongoing longitudinal mixed-methods case study on Japanese university students’ English study methods prior to and after university matriculation. For this study, major themes from the first set of findings were followed up and further explored. While the first set of findings from the students’ freshman year indicated that they were generally willing to abandon their high school English study methods due to their impracticality and because of the vast array of new experiences they were encountering at the university level, overall, the findings from the questionnaires and interviews conducted for the present study during the students’ sophomore year indicated that not only are the teaching of study methods nearly completely absent in the language learning curriculum, but both students and teachers apparently lack a full understanding of what study methods are and how they can be applied to learning English. Other trends and results of interest, including students’ future-oriented beliefs concerning English language learning and usage, are discussed.
Introduction

As outlined previously in the first set of findings from a larger ongoing study on Japanese university students’ English study methods (Rubrecht, 2005) and elsewhere (Rubrecht, 2003), those who teach at the university level in Japan should not take it for granted that students who have passed their university entrance examinations are automatically prepared to engage and do well in study in university courses that, as often as not, expect students to engage in learning and activities far different from anything the school system had asked them to do before. This is especially true for English language majors. High school English language learning in Japan tends to involve rote memorization, learning grammar and vocabulary (LoCastro, 1996; Nishiyama, 2000; Samimy & Adams, 1991), and *yakudoku*, or “translation reading” (Gorsuch, 1997) that does little to foster communicative competence in students. Complaints detailed by Wray (1999) from a panel of educators and company presidents sponsored by the English Language Education Council centered on the shortcomings of the university entrance examinations and the system that propagates it. Specifically, they lamented how the examinations fail to emphasize communicative skills in students and how their promotion of skills outside listening and speaking force high school teachers to teach English as if it were a “dead language.”

University English language learning goes beyond this “studying for a test” approach. Whereas students were previously rewarded with passing marks should they have studied a sufficient amount of *juken eigo* (受験英語), or “examination English,” for their entrance examinations, the acquisition of only linguistic knowledge is below the scope of most university-level English courses where demonstrations of linguistic competency (i.e., performance in the language) are expected. University curricula often incorporate – and by extension expects from students – all the skills of language (e.g., reading, writing, speaking, and listening), often with native English instructors at the helm. It seems somewhat naïve for university instructors to believe that students, fresh from high school, will (a) be ready for this new learning environment, (b) know how to approach the new set of tasks they will be asked to complete, (c) be free from confusion about how to go about studying for their language classes, and (d) discontinue to use their “tried and true” study methods that may have helped them enter university but that may be insufficient on the next wring of the educational ladder. New challenges demand new perspectives and the building of new schema.

This paper discusses the second 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 university students’ English study methods during their second year at university. By further examining this set of students and the several key themes uncovered from the first set of findings the previous year, the present study’s aims were to (a) examine students’ comparisons between how they studied English subjects in high school and in their first year at university with how they studied during their second year at university, (b) determine if students were making alterations to their study methods, and (c) further reveal students’ perspectives regarding the major themes uncovered from the first set of findings as well as emergent themes from the present study. The present study utilized both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection.

**Research Background**

A great deal of the impetus for conducting the present study, as well as much of the literature that continued to direct and guide it, is outlined in the paper detailing the longitudinal study’s first set of findings (Rubrecht, 2005). For the sake of brevity and because the present study naturally follows from the information presented in the previous one, readers are strongly encouraged to read that previous study prior to reading the present paper¹. Additionally, reading the first paper and understanding the themes and conclusions generated from it will set the proper tone for understanding the impetus for the directions chosen for the present study.

To briefly reiterate the background to English language education in Japan as expressed in the previous study, the Japanese university language learning environment is almost an about face from the language learning environment found in the nation’s high schools. Whereas the teaching and learning of English at the high school level is structured less for educational purposes than it is to help students do well on their university entrance examinations, all as a means to allow them entry into the right schools (i.e., the most elite and prestigious schools possible) and enjoy success later in Japanese society (Beauchamp, 1998), language learning at the university level, by necessity, abandons the “teaching to the test” mentality because there are no life-altering examinations akin to the university entrance examinations for the students to take, and learning becomes more important than testing (cf., Johnson, 1996).

From a curriculum standpoint, this change in the education system means that few students below the university level are exposed to the gamut of language skill areas (e.g., the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking). Flooded by wash back from the

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¹ As of this writing, the URL for the conference proceedings where the first paper was published can be found at <http://www.hicsocial.org/proceedings_ss.htm>.
university entrance examinations that impacts the methodology and pedagogical practices students experience in the high school English classroom in Japan (Anderson, 1975; Beauchamp, 1998; Blumenfeld, 1992; Duke, 1986; Kay, 1995; Kobayashi, Redekop, & Porter, 1992; Leonard, 1998; LoCastro, 1996; Shimahara, 1979), many students get their first exposure to such skill-building activities as English listening and speaking only upon arrival at university. This fact, coupled with the assertion that entrance examination preparation influences not only what but also how students study (see Rausch, 1996), means that having been forced to study a certain way for a certain purpose for so long (e.g., using memorization to “learn” English vocabulary) leaves students with learning styles that may not be of their choosing, that may conflict with their preferred or natural learning styles, and that may give students the (erroneous) impression that there are few and limited ways to approach foreign language learning. Though students do not enter university with a “clean slate” in terms of how they study (Long & Russell, 1999), it is not unreasonable to question just how applicable those previous study methods are at the university level when it comes to learning English. In other words, are students’ previous study methods, which were used for different language-learning purposes, more baggage than benefit at the university level?

As outlined in the previous study (Rubrecht, 2005), the literature on English language learning in the Japanese education system seems to suggest the following two points:

1. Learning style at the high school level is necessarily channeled into specific study methods in response to the style and format of the university entrance examinations. However, at university, this channeling becomes unnecessary as such rigorous examinations no longer exist.
2. At university, English is not so much a subject for testing purposes as it is a subject to be incorporated by the students for other (future) purposes.

With these two points in mind, this ongoing research on Japanese university students’ English study methods has as its ultimate aim to reveal information about these students’ study methods by examining and assessing students’ approaches and attitudes to English learning, including an examination of study methods used and inquiries into students’ perceptions of said study methods.

**Methodology**

Specifically, the present study meant to reveal:

1. students’ impressions and comparisons of how they studied for their four skills
classes (i.e., their writing, reading, speaking, and listening classes) in their second year at university with similar classes they took in high school and during their first year at university
2. students’ thoughts and beliefs about the SAC (Self Access Center) and university life in general
3. students’ goals for learning English (be they proximal or distal) and whether or not students believe learning English study methods would aid them in attaining those goals

These aims were decided upon by examining the previous research’s results as well as by results revealed as the present study progressed.

Study Site and Participants
All data collected involved the same group of students as the previous study’s group: the 2004-2005 freshmen class (all of whom were sophomores during the present study) from a single private Japanese university located in central Japan. Similar to the previous study, analyzed data came only from students who (a) were native Japanese with Japanese as their first language, (b) had not lived abroad since entering elementary school, (c) had not stayed abroad for longer than 30 consecutive days (such as in an exchange program), (d) were second year students after having completed their freshman year at the same university, (e) had studied English in high school, and (f) were currently majoring in English at the university.

Instrumentation
The data collection procedures for the present study involved a mixed methods approach. To most effectively gain information regarding students’ perspectives concerning their study methods, a three-step approach was used. First, a questionnaire was administered at the end of the first (i.e., spring) semester. Next, interviews with select students (several of the same students who were interviewed in the previous study) were conducted. Finally, a second questionnaire was administered at the end of the second (i.e., fall) semester. Such an approach using quantitative as well as qualitative methods, it was reasoned, would provide both a global as well as a more precise picture of students’ beliefs and perceptions of their approaches to their English studies. It was hoped that the quantitative portions would verify the meanings of the qualitatively-explored themes (Onwuegbuzie, 2000) while the conducting of qualitatively-driven interviews would “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).
Instrument Construction and Administration

Following questionnaire construction theory, the two questionnaires (called Questionnaire 4 and Questionnaire 5, respectively, as they followed from the previous study’s three questionnaires) presented unnumbered questions that were short, unambiguous, and printed on the minimum number of pages (Dörnyei, 2001). Written in Japanese by the researcher and proofread by a native Japanese speaker, the questionnaires were meant to be the simplest way of extracting information from this group of students who, it was suspected, had little motivation or incentive to fill out questionnaires (Rubrecht, 2005).

Questionnaire 4 was composed largely of closed questions asking students to choose a position (e.g., generally speaking, were their study methods this year the same or different from the study methods they used as freshmen for their reading classes) and open-ended questions (e.g., explain how those study methods were the same or different). Whenever possible, students were given space so that they may add their thoughts and comments to a question, such as their impressions about the SAC, other English classes like their TOEIC classes, and so on. The purpose of Questionnaire 4 was to (a) have students make comparisons between their freshmen/sophomore study habits in their four skills classes, (b) have students make comparisons between their high school/sophomore study habits in their four skills classes, and (c) allow for the probing of the themes generated from the previous study, that is, further explore the expressed importance of listening, the SAC, and the sense of responsibility and freedom the students seemed to have found now that they had reached the university level.

Questionnaire 5, constructed largely as a follow-up to the themes and topics of interest generated from Questionnaire 4 and the interviews, meant to assess (a) students’ goals in their four skills classes (e.g., ascertain if students were learning the English skills to improve at English or simply to pass their courses), (b) if students had been taught special study methods for their current or past four skills classes, and (c) students’ opinions about study methods, such as if they believe that learning study methods would improve their English abilities and/or their course grades. Questions also inquired about students’ interest in taking university courses that intended to present students information about and practice with study methods.

Questionnaire 4 was administered during the eleventh and twelfth weeks of the first semester of the students’ sophomore year. Questionnaire 5 was administered during the twelfth and thirteenth weeks of the second semester. Sophomore English majors were informed by email that the questionnaires were located in the SAC and that the questionnaires should be filled out and returned as soon as possible. Students were given two full weeks to return the
questionnaires, after which any late questionnaires were not included for consideration in the data analysis phase.

The interviews were conducted at the beginning of the students’ second semester (early September). These interviews were used as a means to further explore and/or verify:

1. the results of Questionnaire 4
2. students’ study methods thus far at university
3. whether or not students considered their study methods at this point in their university experience as effective
4. students’ views on their comparisons between how they studied English in high school/their freshman year with how they studied as sophomore, and
5. students’ perceptions concerning topics of interest uncovered from the previous research

Being semi-structured in nature, the interview questions allowed the interviews to change directions and evolve depending upon how the participants responded to them, which permitted probing of potentially interesting response themes (Merriam, 1998). All interviews were conducted in Japanese for the express purpose of freer participant expression, although English was used occasionally.

All interviews were held in my university office and were audio-recorded for transcription and data analysis purposes. The average length of the interviews with the interview participants was 40 minutes. Each interview consisted of the following:

1. an explanation phase so the interviewees would know what to expect in regard to the kinds of questions asked and that they should answer honestly and freely
2. a question phase delving into their study methods and other topics of interest, such as those identified from Questionnaire 4, and
3. a “cool down” phase inviting the students to add information not addressed in the interviews

The interview participants were again asked if they would be willing to participate in future interviews for this longitudinal study, to which all agreed. Additionally, all students involved with this research were provided with informed consent and anonymity at every stage of the research.

**Research Results**

As with the previous study, the results of this study must also be viewed with caution.
This is stated for several reasons. First, there was again a low respondent rate with the research participants. For the previous research, there were 226 freshmen English majors enrolled at the university. The first three questionnaires had the rather disappointing response rates of 130 students (57.5%), 101 students (44.7%), and 72 students (31.9%), respectively, for usable questionnaires (i.e., questionnaires filled out by students who met all participation criteria). This steady decline in student numbers indicated a steady decline in student participation.

For the present study, the administration of both Questionnaire 4 and Questionnaire 5 produced 96 (44.4%) usable questionnaires each from a total pool of 216 sophomore students. 63 students (29.2% of the sophomores) completed both questionnaires. Figures were not calculated for how many students answered the first set of research questionnaires with those who also completed the second set of research questionnaires.

Second, several students again did not completely fill out the questionnaires as instructed. The problem of incomplete questionnaires in the present study was not encountered as often as it was during the previous study. No questionnaires were discarded in the present study if sections remained incomplete. As with previous questionnaires, where appropriate, the total number of students who answered a question (i.e., less than the total number of 96 students) is placed in parentheses in the tables below.

**Questionnaire 4**

Some caveats are needed prior to data analysis. First, some difficulty was encountered in categorizing students’ responses because in some cases it was necessary to interpret students’ meanings and group similar responses. Second, in not a few cases, students volunteered multiple answers, all of which had to be accounted for when calculating totals and percentages. Third, in many instances, students provided an answer to a closed question yet declined to give follow-up information for the subsequent open-ended question, making the totals and percentages of students’ reasons for their actions suspect and only strengthened the reason to also conduct interviews. Fourth, it was noted that some students failed to provide answers to closed questions because, as they explained in the corresponding open-ended answer, they did not take university-style “listening” or “reading” classes in high school, thus making comparisons between high school and university learning impossible for them. In other cases students did not provide a closed-question answer but provided the corresponding open-ended answer, which was interpreted in the best manner possible. Only the most common responses

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2 10 of the original 226 students had either changed departments, were on temporary leave from the university, or had dropped out of school.
have been listed and were considered for the purposes of data analysis.

Table 1 through Table 4 detail results from Part 1. In this section, students were asked a variety of questions about their study methods, past and present, for their four skills classes. They were also requested to provide explanations for their answers.

Table 1 details responses concerning the skills and study methods behind writing:

Table 1. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 1: English Writing Study Methods, Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How did students study for this class this semester? (n = 94)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• do homework: 40 students (42.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• edit mistakes in homework and solve textbook problems: 13 students (13.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• review textbook: 11 students (11.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• learn vocabulary: 10 students (10.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• learn grammar: 8 students (8.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was this method the same or different from the method used freshmen year? (n = 94)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• same: 35 students (37.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• different: 58 students (61.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• both: 1 student (1.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response: 2 students (2.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered the same?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• same contents as last year: 6 students (6.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• study methods are the same: 4 students (4.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered different?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• more essays/more homework: 17 students (18.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• more difficult: 10 students (10.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was this method the same or different from the method used in high school? (n = 93)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• same: 5 students (5.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• different: 82 students (88.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response: 3 students (3.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response because no such class in high school: 6 students (6.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered the same?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no open-ended responses given</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered different?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no “writing” class/never did writing in high school: 35 students (37.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• high school was only grammar: 15 students (16.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• high school only about English-Japanese translations: 5 students (5.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these results, it was discovered that most responses revolved around students using their textbooks. For instance, the responses of “edit mistakes in homework and solve textbook problems,” “review textbook,” and a further response of “review material” (stated by 5 students, or 5.3%) in total equaled 29 responses, or 30.9% of all responses. This indicates that the textbook is probably the main source of information in their writing class this semester.

As evident from Table 1, nearly half of the students indicated that they study for their writing class by doing homework assignments. From students’ responses, it appeared that studying this way was likely very different from how they studied during their freshman year.

3 Although it was expected that students would list their main classes like “Communication III” as their speaking class, students were encouraged to list any spring 2005 semester class that taught them the four skills (e.g., “Business English” as a writing class, “Translation and Interpretation” as a speaking class, etc.).
When the response of “reports are main” stated by 1 student is included, 18 students in total expressed how homework, which is mainly essays or written reports, is how their studies are different. While it appears that more writing is involved at the sophomore level, it also appears that the difficulty level has increased. 14 answers in total (14.9%) show that this year the difficulty level of writing increased: the 10 responses of “more difficult” as listed in Table 1 above with 3 responses of “think more/use my own opinions” and the 1 response of “higher level.” In short, it appears that students generally found their first semester of writing during second year to be more challenging in terms of level of content as well as amount of writing.

When asked if this method was the same or different from how they studied writing in high school, an overwhelming majority stated that it was different, mainly because they never engaged in writing at the high school level. As has been discussed elsewhere (see Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2002; Rubrecht, 2005), having never been exposed to nor required to engage in writing previously, the students likely have little or no idea what it means to write in English. At this university where students are not allowed to “bide their time” until graduation, which is the case with most Japanese universities, these students may be busier than their university counterparts elsewhere and hence apparently make their main goal to simply finish their assignments. Improvements to their finished assignments appear generally to be of little concern.

Table 2 outlines students’ responses to the questions about their reading classes and study methods:
Table 2. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 1: English Reading Study Methods, Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How did students study for this class this semester? (n = 89)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• read books: 37 students (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• use the textbook (do problems/review): 15 students (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• do homework: 12 students (12.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• read Graded Readers: 11 students (11.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Was this method the same or different from the method used freshmen year? (n = 93)
• same: 38 students (40.9%)
• different: 55 students (59.1%)
• no response: 3 students (3.2%)

Why considered the same?
• still read books: 6 students (6.5%)
• still read Graded Readers: 3 students (3.2%)

Why considered different?
• different contents: 8 students (8.6%)
• we do summaries now: 7 students (7.5%)
• we read more: 5 students (5.4%)
• writing class is connected to reading class: 5 students (5.4%)

Was this method the same or different from the method used in high school? (n = 93)
• same: 20 students (21.5%)
• different: 70 students (75.3%)
• both: 1 student (1.1%)
• no response: 3 students (3.2%)

Why considered the same?
• it is all about reading and answering questions: 8 students (8.6%)

Why considered different?
• high school was translation/university is not translation: 16 students (17.2%)
• it is just different: 11 students (11.8%)
• read English books a lot: 7 students (7.5%)
• no “reading” class in high school: 5 students (5.4%)
• high school is memorization while university is understanding: 5 students (5.4%)

Why did you use this/these method(s) this semester? (n = 24)
• to get ability: 9 students (37.5%)
• to get credits: 6 students (25%)
• to follow classes: 5 students (20.8%)
• it is all I know: 4 students (16.7%)
• want to do speed reading: 4 students (16.7%)

From these results, spring semester sophomores seemed to engage in a heavy amount of reading. When asked how they studied this semester, 37 students responded that they read books, and 11 students stated that they read Graded Readers. As it is possible that some students did not make a distinction between reading in general and reading Graded Readers, combining these students brings a total of 48 students (53.9%), which is more than half of the students who answered Questionnaire 4.

That students read a lot as a method of study is similar to how students professed to studying the previous year in some respects, although some students commented how their reading classes are now connected to the content found in their writing classes. Students overwhelmingly responded that their reading classes now are different from how they studied reading in high school (70 students, or 75.3%), mainly because high school engaged students in translation whereas university does not (16 students, or 17.2%). This was taken to mean that even if students were presented passages or entire stories for reading in high school, students
actually only did “reading” on a sentence-by-sentence basis as they translated from English to Japanese. In most cases, the reading of books for comprehension purposes was probably not the emphasis, especially because, as stated by 5 students (5.4%), there were no “reading” classes in high school where students were taught to read for comprehensive purposes.

Overall, the reading classes this first semester did not appear all that different from their freshman year. Although students claimed that first and second year reading classes were different, they said that mainly what they read is different, that they practice summarizing what they read, and that they read more. What came as somewhat of a surprise was that some students who thought their sophomore reading classes were different from their high school reading classes stated that high school equals memorization while university equals understanding (5 students, or 5.4%). Also, when asked why they used their professed methods of study, most students said to get ability, credits, or to follow the classes. These two topics became themes explored in the later student interviews (see below).

Table 3 details how the students responded to the listening questions:

Table 3. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 1: English Listening Study Methods, Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How did students study for this class this semester? (n = 88)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• listen to tapes in the SAC: 15 students (17.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• listen to tapes: 14 students (15.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• nothing special: 9 students (10.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• do homework: 7 students (8.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• listen to tapes repeatedly: 5 students (5.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• read handouts: 5 students (5.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was this method the same or different from the method used freshmen year? (n = 95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• same: 83 students (87.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• different: 12 students (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response: 1 student (1.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered the same?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• contents or associated methods the same: 20 students (21.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• last year was also fill-in-the-blank drills: 6 students (6.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• listening to tapes: 3 students (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• listening: 3 students (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered different?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no distinctive responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was this method the same or different from the method used in high school? (n = 93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• same: 19 students (20.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• different: 56 students (60.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response: 3 students (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response because no such class in high school: 18 students (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered the same?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no change: 4 students (4.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered different?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no “listening” class in high school: 42 students (45.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• not much listening done in high school: 8 students (8.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why did you use this/these method(s) this semester? (n = 72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• for tests: 8 students (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• to be able to catch what is said: 7 students (9.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• for ability: 6 students (6.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• to get used to listening: 6 students (6.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Listening became a theme of interest in the previous study, so the results concerning
listening from Questionnaire 4 were carefully scrutinized. It was thought that because of the professed emphasis on listening students stated in the previous study that they would be making extra efforts in their listening activities their sophomore year. The students who answered the question about how they studied for listening reported that, overall, they listened to tapes in some manner (34 students, or 38.6%). It appears that listening to tapes differed little as a study method from their freshman year (so reported by 83 students, or 87.4%). When asked why this method was the same, they stated that the contents (of the listening classes) were the same, where the pattern is generally only fill-in-the-blanks, and studying and in-class work is about listening to tapes.

As expected, and as previously evinced, listening during the sophomore year was apparently quite different from high school. 56 students (60.2%) responded that it was different from high school, but an additional 18 students (19.4%) stated that they could not make a comparison because they had no such course in their high school (which, by default, means that listening is different and that students must therefore likely explore and experiment with study methods at university). Furthermore, of the 56 students who responded that it was different from high school, 42 (45.2%) stated that there was no “listening” class in high school when asked why there was a difference. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that most of these students came to university with no previous listening study methods to draw upon, selected listening to tapes as the means to study in their freshman year, and continued to use this simple method. Whether or not simply listening to tapes is actually effective as a study method was a topic discussed in the interviews. As to why students used the methods of listening they did, as can be seen in Table 3, they used those methods either for tests, to catch what is said, for ability, or to get used to listening.

Questionnaire results detailing students’ perceptions concerning how they study speaking are presented in Table 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 1: English Speaking Study Methods, Spring 2005 Semester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How did students study for this class this semester? (n = 83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• nothing special/not much of anything: 32 students (38.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• study the textbook: 8 students (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• practice presentations: 5 students (6.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was this method the same or different from the method used freshmen year? (n = 93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• same: 39 students (41.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• different: 50 students (53.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• both: 1 student (1.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response: 4 students (4.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no response because “no such class last year”: 2 students (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered the same?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• nothing special or not much change: 5 students (5.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• work hard to speak with friends: 2 students (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why considered different?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• class presentations: 18 students (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
move from foundational (practical) English to business English: 10 students (10.8%)

Was this method the same or different from the method used in high school? (n = 89)
- same: 16 students (18.0%)
- different: 62 students (69.7%)
- both: 1 student (1.1%)
- no response: 8 students (9.0%)
- no response because no such class in high school: 9 students (10.1%)

Why considered the same?
- no distinctive responses

Why considered different?
- no class like this in high school: 24 students (27.0%)
- no conversation in high school/only grammar: 9 students (10.1%)
- little or no speaking in high school: 3 students (3.4%)
- no presentations: 3 students (3.4%)
- more chances to speak now with native instructor: 3 students (3.4%)

Why did you use this/these method(s) this semester? (n = 56)
- for ability: 6 students (10.7%)
- to improve conversation: 3 students (5.4%)
- I don’t study: 3 students (5.4%)

From these results, it was surprising to discover that 32 students (38.6%) reported either doing nothing special as a means of studying or that they did not do much of anything to study for their speaking classes. Roughly equal numbers of students reported either the same or different study methods compared with their freshman year. Those who thought them the same gave relatively unspecific reasons. Those who thought them different reported it was because their need to do class presentations during the spring semester (18 students, or 19.4%) or because the class focus moved from a foundational or practical English speaking class their freshman year to one with a more business English focus their sophomore year (10 students, or 10.8%).

As expected, most students considered speaking class different from high school, either because of a myriad of perceptible differences (62 students, or 69.7%) or because students reported that they had no such class at the high school level (9 students, or 10.1%). When asked specifically why their sophomore classes were different from those they took in high school, most students responded that there were no such classes in high school (24 students, 27.0%) or that there was no conversation practice to be had in high school because the focus then was simply grammar (9 students, 10.1%).

Looking across the responses to Part 1 of Questionnaire 4, when students were asked to compare their current four skills classes to those in their freshmen year, a majority of students remarked that their writing, reading, and speaking were different, that is, that they approached those three class types in different (and possibly exploratory) ways during their sophomore year. As explained above, the only skill class that was listed as being the same as that found in their freshmen year was, in a majority of cases, listening (83 students, or 87.4%). This result was intensely interesting, as listening was the one skill identified in the previous study as being one
way students professed to change study methods between freshman year semesters (i.e., doing more listening). It hence appears that a majority of students the previous year latched onto listening to tapes as their main listening study method and have not let go.

Sophomore English majors at this university take a variety of courses, not all of which can be considered part of the four skills classes. Part 2 of Questionnaire 4 was designed to allow students to express how some of their other classes aided or influenced their study methods. Roughly three-fourths of the students answered this single question (74 students, or 77.1%), which was less than expected. Students’ responses are outlined in Table 5:

Table 5. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 2: Benefits for Study Methods Gained from Other Classes, Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How were other classes like TOEIC or “tutorial” classes helpful for your study methods? (n = 74)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>・ TOEIC helps: 11 students (14.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ learned writing: 8 students (10.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ nothing special: 8 students (10.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ TOEIC helps listening: 7 students (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The answers students provided were wide ranging. While the top response in Table 5 was that TOEIC classes helped, it should be pointed out that TOEIC as a class was mentioned as being beneficial in some manner 34 times (45.9%) by students. Unfortunately, while the question posed asked students (a) if there were any other classes that they found useful for their English studies and/or that aided them in their four skills classes and, if yes, (b) to explain how, the explanations given were relatively uninformative. For instance, the top response of “TOEIC helps” provided little real information. However, it was not surprising that TOEIC was mentioned so often. Not only are all freshmen and sophomore English majors at the university required to take TOEIC classes and TOEIC scores are highly valued by the university, but it is also the case that skills learned in TOEIC are more or less transferred to other classes (e.g., listening skills and listening strategies developed in TOEIC classes can be applied in the listening classes, etc.).

Part 3 of the questionnaire concerned the SAC and inquired about students’ opinions and uses of the SAC. SAC questions were asked because the SAC became a topic of interest uncovered in the previous study. Table 6 details the results from Part 3:

Table 6. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 3: About the SAC, Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you go to the SAC to study? (n = 91)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>・ Yes: 80 students (87.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ No: 11 students (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you find the SAC to be useful? (n = 92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ Yes: 83 students (90.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ No: 9 students (9.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you believe the SAC helps you to improve your English? (n = 92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>・ Yes: 72 students (78.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned in the previous study, students are required to attend the SAC during assigned weekly SAC times, thereby causing the students to identify the SAC as a study instrument. Evinced from Table 6, most students reported going to the SAC to study, that they find it useful, and that utilizing its facilities consequently helps them to improve their English. When asked to be specific about their SAC activities, most (53 students, or 57.3%) stated that they do their homework in the SAC, while the second most common response was that they engage in listening (31 students, or 33.7%).

The same as the previous study, there seems to be a strong relationship between listening and the SAC. The SAC is equipped with the latest in audio and video technology. In addition to listening, several students had mentioned that they watch movies in the SAC (8 students, or 8.7%), which naturally involves a listening component. Though the SAC may have its detractors (several students mentioned how hot the SAC can get and/or how they wish the air conditioning were turned on more often, especially in summer), it is clear that well into their second year, these students continued to find the SAC a beneficial place for learning and studying.

The next section of the questionnaire, Part 4, inquired about students’ perceptions of their life at university, including its strictness and the senses of freedom and responsibility they encounter in university life. Additionally, questions were asked about their foreign university instructors, as being exposed to English daily and being forced to engage in classes that are taught almost exclusively in English could potentially cause discernable challenges and be a catalyst for changes in the students. Table 7 outlines the first set of responses from Part 4 on strictness, freedom, and responsibility:

### Table 7. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 4: About University Life (Strictness, Freedom, and Responsibility), Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which do you think is stricter, high school or university? (n = 93)</td>
<td>high school: 16 students (17.2%)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>university: 76 students (81.7%)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>both: 1 student (1.1%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think high school is stricter? (n = 14)</td>
<td>high school was all grammar: 3 students (21.4%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high school study was just for the university entrance examinations: 3 students (21.4%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think university is stricter? (n = 68)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In line with expectations, a majority of students believed university to allow them more freedom and provided them a greater sense of responsibility, but it came as somewhat of a surprise that 76 students (81.7%), a clear majority, believed university to be stricter than high school. However, as pointed out previously (Rubrecht, 2005), the university these students attend cannot be considered a normal “four-year vacation” university. Students admitted to finding it strict because of the increased amount of homework, because classes are taught only in English, because the instructors are often foreigners, and because university course content is at a higher level and therefore more difficult when compared to what was learned in high school.

In general, few students bothered to answer the open-ended questions that asked them to explain in detail why they answered the questions in this section the way that they did. When asked why they thought university provided more freedom, the top two responses were that students have more free time at university and that students may choose whether or not to attend classes. When asked why university requires more responsibility, the top answer was because credits are needed to graduate, which makes it necessary for the students to not only attend classes and study but to also do well enough to pass classes and receive credits at this “strict” university.

Table 8 presents the second half of Part 4 of the questionnaire, where students were
asked various questions concerning the university’s foreign instructors:

### Table 8. Results from Questionnaire 4, Part 4: About University Life (Foreign Instructors), Spring 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you have native English instructors teach you in high school? (n = 92)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
  - Yes: 60 students (65.2%)  
  - No: 32 students (34.8%)  
| What are your general impressions of the native English instructors here at the university? (n = 83) |  
  - nice: 20 students (24.1%)  
  - good: 14 students (16.9%)  
  - friendly: 13 students (15.7%)  
  - easy to speak to: 12 students (14.5%)  
  - interesting: 8 students (9.6%)  
  - cheerful: 7 students (8.4%)  
  - enthusiastic: 4 students (4.8%)  
  - difficult to talk to: 3 students (3.6%)  
| What are your specific impressions of the native English instructors here at the university? (n = 66) |  
  - too strict: 5 students (7.6%)  
  - difficult to understand: 5 students (7.6%)  
  - speak too fast: 4 students (6.1%)  
| Do you think the native English instructors help you to improve your English? (n = 90) |  
  - Yes: 85 students (94.4%)  
  - No: 3 students (3.3%)  
  - both: 2 students (2.2%)  
| Why do you think they help you to improve your English? (n = 78) |  
  - it is native English: 16 students (20.5%)  
  - they are good for listening: 16 students (20.5%)  
  - they have native pronunciation: 10 students (12.8%)  
  - they are good for conversation: 5 students (6.4%)  
| Why do you think they do not help you to improve your English? (n = 0) |  
  - no concrete responses given  

As can be seen from these results, roughly two-thirds of the students had been taught by native instructors at the high school level, so most at least had previous exposure to native English. The students who filled out Questionnaire 4 had generally favorable impressions of their foreign instructors, describing them as “nice,” “good,” and “friendly,” though when asked to document their specific impressions, the top three responses were all negative, that is, “too strict,” “difficult to understand,” and “speak too fast.” What this suggests is that the students view the native instructors at this university in a positive light but that specific instructors damage this overall wholesome impression. Regardless, the students still believed that the native instructors were beneficial in terms of improving their English ability (85 students, or 94.4%, reported this to be the case). When asked why, the top four responses all had to do with listening in one respect or another.

### The Interviews

Although it was hoped that all six students who had volunteered to be interview participants in the previous study would continue to volunteer, only two of them were available
this year. Nevertheless, there were still benefits to be procured from follow-up interviews. The two interviewees were Masashi and Emiko (pseudonyms), a male and female student, respectively. As outlined in the methodology section above, the interviews were meant to simultaneously probe the general responses from the students from Questionnaire 4 as well as follow up on the responses provided by these two individual students. Major areas of interest targeted by the interview questions were:

1. interviewees’ impressions of their Questionnaire 4 answers and the general answers from all the students (e.g., “doing homework” for writing classes, “listening to tapes” for listening classes, etc.)
2. my impressions as the researcher of students’ questionnaire responses (i.e., it seemed students studied to either improve at English or to complete homework, etc.)
3. interviewees’ impressions of the main themes uncovered from the previous study (which no student participant had been told)

From the interview transcriptions, trends and topics of interest were sought and either followed up during the interviews themselves or reserved for questions to be placed on Questionnaire 5.

The interviews were composed of two main parts. The first section dealt with Part 1 of Questionnaire 4 (i.e., the four skills classes at the university) while the second section dealt with the major themes found from the previous research. The following presents descriptions of the impressions related by the two student interviewees.

**Writing**

Both students lamented the fact that their second year writing courses gave them an unreasonable amount of homework. As was seen from the information in Table 1, a large number of students remarked that they studied for their writing classes by doing the homework, a fact that was told to the two interviewees. Based on information from Questionnaire 4, they were also informed that:

1. 60% of the students said that they study for their writing classes differently from how they studied last year
2. 88% of the students said that they study for their writing classes differently from how they studied in high school, mainly because they never had a high school writing class interviewees’ impressions of the main themes uncovered from the

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4 Of the four students who did not continue their participation, two never responded to email interview requests and two were unavailable as they were studying abroad.
previous study (which no student participant had been told)
3. students studied differently from their freshman year because there were more essays to write in their second year (i.e., they had more homework) and the work was more difficult
4. students professed to choosing their method of study for writing largely either to improve their writing or just because they had to hand in their homework

Based on this information, it appeared that while many students did indeed complete their homework, many were concerned with simply completing the homework and meeting their deadlines rather than with improving their English ability. I asked the interviewees how “doing homework” could be considered a study method and their impressions on the difference between doing the writing assignments to improve one’s ability versus doing the assignments just to “get by.”

Both interviewees provided similar responses. Masashi, the first student to be interviewed, stated that there was more homework assigned each week this semester compared with the previous year’s homework amount, which increased the pressure of handing in the homework on time. Because students were not given any advanced warning about upcoming writing topics, students would generally work to quickly complete the homework rather than strive to improve their English writing skills, which, in his opinion, leads to students thinking less about paragraph and essay construction, which is what they are explicitly taught in the classes. This, by extension, leads to students not really learning how to write in English, which is one of the reasons they came to university in the first place. Although he professed he would rather improve his skills, he said that because of time constraints, he often had little choice but to skip important things or steps such as writing proper topic sentences.

Emiko echoed Masashi’s opinions by stating that there was considerably more homework this second year of study, but she went further by stating that the classes were inappropriate because the amount of homework was not a true reflection of the skills the teacher and the university profess to want to instill in the students. Because sufficient time for assignment completion is not provided, she said, gaining university credits for the classes rather than skill improvement becomes the goal. In her opinion, she thought that being assigned a lot of homework (as was the case) was good only for those students who have no motivation to learn. However, for the students who are attending the university to learn, this style of being “commanded” to do homework quickly is not good.

Reading
Similar to writing, both Masashi and Emiko stated that they were required to read much more – and write more book reports – during this second year. However, as far as reading was concerned, responses from Questionnaire 4 revealed that students generally (a) were interested in gaining reading ability and (b) thought high school was more about memorization while university is more about understanding, the latter having become apparent in students’ professed attitudes toward reading. In response to queries about the purpose behind gaining reading ability, both interviewees remarked that learning to read meant ability that would be used outside of and not for the purposes of the reading classes. For instance, Masashi said that students were concerned with gaining reading ability for future purposes like travelling abroad. Emiko stated that the students were interested in getting vocabulary ability so that they may access English websites, among other things. In the interviews, it was clear that both interviewees believed the students were focused on gaining English reading ability not for their current classes but for other future purposes, which was in stark contrast to their beliefs about the writing classes where students generally learned just to make it through their courses.

Listening
When asked why so many students professed to studying for their listening classes by responding with simply “listening to tapes,” both students remarked that students generally only listened to tapes just prior to examinations as a means of test preparation. Masashi himself admitted that only listening to tapes was his method of study for his listening classes, primarily because that is the only method he could think of. No one had ever taught him other ways of studying listening, and the same can likely be said for the other sophomore students. Emiko stated that she studied for her listening classes by doing additional things including multiple listenings, shadowing, and dictations from things like movies, but she shared Masashi’s beliefs that students only listen to tapes as a means of test preparation because they, in effect, only memorize what is spoken on the tapes. If the tests are constructed by taking directly what is on the tapes, then it comes as little surprise that this is how students would study.

Speaking
As far as how these two interviewees viewed the responses from students about speaking, both agreed that a majority of students wished to improve their speaking skills. When asked why it appeared to me in Questionnaire 4 that few students seemed concerned about speaking (compared to the other three skills), Masashi stated that most of the other courses include some amount of required speaking, that is, the other classes have speaking components.
Masashi directly attributed this for the reason why the students did not provide many concrete answers on this part of the questionnaire. He went on to remark that no matter how important speaking is, there can never really be any real “speaking” homework. The most Masashi said he could hope for is for one of his English instructors or an English-speaking foreigner to show up at his part-time job and use English that way. Otherwise, speaking is a rarity, even in class.

Emiko said very similar things and mimicked Masashi’s view that not only is speaking rare outside of class but that it is also rare in class. High teacher-student ratios mean little or no speaking time, and more than true speaking, she said that the speaking classes are so business-oriented that the classes turn out to be learning vocabulary rather than learning how to speak. During the course of the interview with her I told her my impression that the students appeared to be least concerned with speaking (when compared to the other skills) because of the general lack of responses from the students on the questionnaire. She responded by stating that my impression was at least partly correct. On the one hand, she said that there was definitely more speaking going on in their second year of study at university, but, in fact, there was still not much speaking happening in the classes. Many students had lost motivation to improve their speaking and had given up because what speaking does occur is “forced” because it is mainly students mimicking speakers in business situations. Like Masashi, she, too, found the lack of speaking outside of class to be a hindrance to the improvement of her speaking skills, which also helps explain students’ lack of input about learning speaking.

**Other Previous Study Results**

The second part of the interviews revolved around the impressions of these two interviewees concerning the conclusions generated from the first set of findings of this longitudinal study, namely, the importance of gaining listening skills, SAC use, and university life. As far as listening was concerned, both students agreed that this skill represented a very important element at this stage of their learning. Both also mentioned the exact same thing: if you cannot catch what someone says in English, then it is impossible to respond, thereby making listening an important component of English learning. However, Emiko went one step further by saying that, in her opinion, listening is almost the most important aspect of English language learning (“一番とは言えないけど、まあ、一番に近い”). Additionally, while Masashi thought that the SAC was indeed a useful place for students to study, as was evinced from the previous study, Emiko did not agree to the same extent. She thought that it should not matter where students study and that they should be able to study anywhere.

Concerning the new university environment results, the interviewees had differing
opinions on several topics. For instance, while Masashi thought university was stricter because everything about curriculum structure requires students to listen, speak, and even think in English (at one point in the interview he said that if he did not understand something he would have to study it and figure it out in English: “自分で分からないことを勉強する時も英語で理解して勉強しないといけない”), Emiko believed the opposite. For her, university life was more relaxing because high school had only been about intense grammar study and memorization, which she did not find particularly useful. Masashi thought there was about the same amount of freedom in both high school and university, but for Emiko, university presented more freedom because she could take the classes she wanted to and do what she liked in her free time. Interestingly, she believed that there was actually little difference in the amount of freedom high schoolers and first year university students experience, but that because university students have more free time, the students with motivation to learn will use that time to their advantage by reviewing and checking information that they did not understand in class. She admitted that though the difference between the motivated and unmotivated first year university students is probably minimal, by fourth year, the differences between these two types of students would be stark and clearly differentiate the students.

Both students had similar opinions concerning responsibility (i.e., university requires much more because of pair activities in the English classes, living alone, doing part-time jobs, and because it becomes each student’s responsibility to acquire enough credits to graduate) and about native teacher impressions (e.g., with the exception of a few teachers who are difficult to talk to or unfriendly, most are nice, and that because they are native English speakers they are indispensable to their foreign language learning education). Emiko had a few additional thoughts about the teachers, particularly that (a) too many native English instructors leave after only a year or two of employment at the university and (b) learning English from native Japanese teachers is not as productive because when the Japanese teachers respond in Japanese, students will inevitably consider the response in Japanese rather than in English.

Finally, some additional useful information was extracted concerning their perceptions of their study methods during this second year of study. Masashi believed that, overall, he had not changed his study methods much between academic years, even though he admitted that they were not particularly effective. Although apparently not very concerned, he stated that he continued to use those methods simply because they were the methods he was most used to. In his opinion, with so many classes asking him to do so much homework, he has too little free time to explore alternate study methods and continually relies on the methods he had used previously. Specifically, Masashi stated that during his first year at university he took
his high school study methods, adapted them, and continued to use them during his sophomore year.

Emiko, on the other hand, remarked that she had changed her study methods upon entering university because her high school study methods were boring. To be more accurate, she stated that she came to university with no real study methods in place and worked to find methods that were right for her. She stated that if she found a study method useless, she would quickly abandon it and experiment in order to find a better one.

In the end, both students remarked that the university does not attempt to structure classes so that they teach study methods. According to Masashi, the university as an institution probably thinks that because the students had successfully made it to the university level that the students already know how to study, making study methods classes unnecessary. Emiko was slightly more positive in that she mentioned one English instructor who introduced some study methods to her, but that she also worked herself to find productive study methods. In her view, there should be English study method classes designed for two sets of students: those with motivation to study and those without. Students with motivation to learn and improve at English should be taught study methods that would be useful for learning English not only at university but also beyond (i.e., more global language learning study methods). Students who lack motivation also deserved to have study method classes, but in her opinion, such classes should focus only on aiding students in their present university classes rather than looking beyond.

**Questionnaire 5**

As the last data-collection instrument of the present study, Questionnaire 5 meant to be more focused than its predecessor because, at this stage, it was deemed important to get students to specifically describe (a) how they were studying for their four skills classes, (b) why they decided to study via their professed methods, and, based directly on the information extracted from the student interviews, (c) their opinions on and interest in specific university courses designed to teach study methods. Similar to the previous questionnaires, students were encouraged to respond to open-ended questions. Part 1 asked questions about the four skills classes, Part 2 concentrated on questions related to their opinions on courses specifically designed to teach study methods at university, and Part 3 provided space for students to freely express their opinions about anything.

Table 9 outlines students’ responses to questions about their own goals concerning their writing classes and questions related to writing study methods:
Table 9. Results from Questionnaire 5, Part I: Writing, Fall 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which is more important this semester: improving writing skills or turning in homework? (n = 94)</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you taught writing study methods by anyone this semester? (n = 95)</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you taught writing study methods by anyone while you have attended university? (n = 94)</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>89.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think being taught writing study methods would help you understand writing? (n = 94)</td>
<td>84.0%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think being taught writing study methods would have any effect on your grades? (n = 94)</td>
<td>76.6%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from these results, two-thirds of the students believed that for the fall 2005 semester, improving their writing was considered more important than turning in homework, the latter being a major point of the classes their sophomore year. When asked why they answered this way, the 8 students who responded with “improvement” stated that they simply were aiming to improve their writing ability, 6 students responded that completing and turning in homework does not necessarily correlate to improving their English writing ability, and 4 students each stated that they either had low ability at present or that they expected to have more chances to write in the future, so improvement was the loftier goal. Of the one-third who believed homework to be the more important goal, 9 students remarked that improvement would come as a natural result of doing homework, 6 students said homework was important because they needed to pass the class and receive university credits, and 4 students mentioned that homework was important because the teacher would check and correct their writing mistakes, thereby helping them improve their writing skills.

From the answers to the open-ended questions on the topic, it appeared that some students expressed completely opposite views of the purpose behind doing homework. On the one hand, the students who believed improvement was the main goal tended to discount doing homework as beneficial, typically either because doing homework would not necessarily lead to improvement or because, as one student put it, “with the deadlines, turning in the homework tends to be more important than the contents of the writing (期限付きだと、内容よりも提出すること重視してしまうから)”. On the other hand, the students who viewed the homework as more important considered homework as part of the necessary process toward improvement. Thus, for different students, the weekly homework assignments were either viewed as a hindrance to their learning or as a key element to learning writing skills.
Table 10. Results from Questionnaire 5, Part I: Reading, Fall 2005 Semester

Many people want reading ability for different reasons. Why do you want such an ability? (n = 83)
• to use reading ability to express myself in some way: 12 students (14.5%)
• for a job: 10 students (12.0%)
• want to read quickly: 8 students (9.6%)
• to read English books: 8 students (9.6%)
• to improve TOEIC scores: 6 students (7.2%)
• for the future: 6 students (7.2%)

Were you taught reading study methods by anyone this semester? (n = 94)
• Yes: 12 students (12.8%)
• No: 82 students (87.2%)

Were you taught reading study methods by anyone while you have attended university? (n = 94)
• Yes: 7 students (7.4%)
• No: 87 students (92.6%)

Do you think being taught reading study methods would help you understand reading? (n = 91)
• Yes: 79 students (86.8%)
• No: 12 students (13.2%)

Do you think being taught reading study methods would have any effect on your grades? (n = 92)
• Yes: 80 students (87.0%)
• No: 12 students (13.0%)

As can be seen from Table 10, when asked via an open-ended question why they wished to gain reading ability, a majority of students remarked that they perceived reading to be associated in some way to other English skills. For instance, several students mentioned that if they gained reading ability in English, they could apply things like new vocabulary and sentence structure to their speaking, plus they would have more of an idea of what to talk about, conversation-topic-wise. This could be interpreted by stating that the students considered reading an important foundation for other English-language-learning endeavors and activities. It came as no surprise that students would consider reading to be connected to speaking, as this is exactly what Masashi had said in the interview, for he said that students were concerned with gaining reading ability so that they may use their reading skills at some future point in time. It should also be mentioned that although “read books” was written the most, other responses included “reading newspapers,” “reading English websites” and totalled 22 (26.5%) responses. Other responses also revealed a future orientation to their gaining of reading ability. For instance, several students remarked that reading ability would translate to job skills specifically or for some future endeavor. In the proximal future, this would mean improved TOEIC scores.

Table 11 lists the responses students gave for the section on listening:

Table 11. Results from Questionnaire 5, Part I: Listening, Fall 2005 Semester

Which listening method do you use most at university? (n = 90)
• listen to tapes: 35 students (38.9%)
• do listening in the SAC: 13 students (14.4%)
• listen to music: 11 students (12.2%)
• listen to CDs: 9 students (10.0%)
• listen repeatedly: 9 students (10.0%)

Why do you use that method the most? (n = 86)
• to get used to English: 18 students (20.9%)
• for tests: 14 students (16.3%)
• to get ability: 6 students (7.0%)
• it is easy: 6 students (7.0%)
Would you say that that method is effective for you? (n = 84)
- Yes: 78 students (92.9%)
- No: 6 students (7.1%)

Were you taught listening study methods by anyone this semester? (n = 95)
- Yes: 5 students (5.3%)
- No: 90 students (94.7%)

Were you taught listening study methods by anyone while you have attended university? (n = 95)
- Yes: 7 students (7.4%)
- No: 88 students (92.6%)

Do you think being taught listening study methods would help you understand listening? (n = 95)
- Yes: 82 students (86.3%)
- No: 13 students (13.7%)

Do you think being taught listening study methods would have any effect on your grades? (n = 93)
- Yes: 79 students (84.9%)
- No: 14 students (15.1%)

From the results, it can be seen that students still only answered with generic responses to the question of “Which listening method do you use most at university?” Some difficulty was encountered in response interpretation, as it was often unclear if “do listening in the SAC” meant “listen to tapes,” “listen to CDs,” or “listen to/watch movies,” but it was still obvious that students considered simply “listening” as a study method. Additionally, it was assumed that even if a student mentioned “listening” in some capacity that it often meant listening in the SAC. Most students said that they used their methods in order to get used to English (18 students, or 20.9%) and for tests (14 students, or 16.3%), which are in line with previous results. When asked whether their professed method was actually effective for them or not, a majority (78 students, or 92.9%) answered affirmatively, mainly because they believed that they had gotten used to English or because they were sufficiently prepared for their listening tests.

As before, students were not specific in their responses to questions on speaking. Students were asked their impressions of the speaking classes during the fall semester. Students responded mostly by stating that they thought the classes were fun (10 students, or 11.6%), but they also expressed some amount of dissatisfaction because Japanese was used too often in their classes (5 students, or 5.8%) or because they were unclear as to the purpose of their speaking classes (4 students, or 4.7%). When asked of their impressions of their university speaking classes, a range of responses were gained, the most common being that Japanese was used too often (8 students, or 11.3%), though several still thought the classes to be good (6 students, or 8.5%). Table 12 lists these and other results from the questionnaire:

Table 12. Results from Questionnaire 5, Part I: Speaking, Fall 2005 Semester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Were you taught speaking study methods by anyone this semester? (n = 91)</td>
<td>6 students (6.6%)</td>
<td>85 students (93.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you taught speaking study methods by anyone while you have attended university? (n = 94)</td>
<td>5 students (5.3%)</td>
<td>89 students (94.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think being taught speaking study methods would help you understand speaking? (n = 94)
・Yes: 74 students (78.7%)
・No: 20 students (21.3%)

Do you think being taught speaking study methods would have any effect on your grades? (n = 94)
・Yes: 71 students (75.5%)
・No: 23 students (24.5%)

From the overall results from Part I of this questionnaire, it became apparent that for all four skills classes, very few students received any instruction on study skills, either during the fall semester or during the four semesters they had spent thus far at university. Additionally, in every case, a majority of students believed that being taught specific language skill study methods would not only help them understand better the skills required of them in each of those skill classes, but being taught such study methods would also have an effect on their grades, arguably in a positive manner. Interestingly, when given the opportunity to explain if they had been taught study methods, those students who stated that they had often mentioned that they learned certain methods from friends and/or classmates. For instance, some students were advised by classmates to keep a diary in order to improve their writing skills while other students were advised by their peers to become international volunteers if they wished to improve their speaking ability. Thus, when it came to being taught study methods, as often as not, that teaching came from classmates outside of the classes themselves.

Part II of Questionnaire 5 inquired about student interest in study method classes at university, such as if students would be interested in taking such classes either as a required course or as an elective and what the purpose of such study methods classes should be (i.e., if they should be used to aid students to pass specific university classes or to help them learn English generally, mainly for future purposes). The results of students’ responses are found in Table 13:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would you be interested in enrolling in a required university class designed specifically to teach English study methods? (n = 95)</td>
<td>• Yes: 59 students (62.1%) • No: 36 students (37.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you be interested in enrolling in an elective university class designed specifically to teach English study methods? (n = 94)</td>
<td>• Yes: 72 students (76.6%) • No: 22 students (23.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If there were an English study methods class available at university, which would you be more interested in? (n = 93)</td>
<td>• a class that would help students study for and pass specific university English courses: 21 students (22.6%) • a class that may or may not be useful for passing specific university English courses but would be applicable to studying English after university or would teach ways to study generally useful English: 72 students (77.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, a majority of students expressed interest in taking study methods
classes at university (be it a required or an elective class). Surprisingly, even with all that the students had said regarding the amount of homework and study needed for tests at university, over three-fourths remarked that they wished to enroll in a study methods class that would be applicable to studying (and hence using) English after university, should such a class be offered.

Discussion, Implications, and Continued Research

From the information garnered from the data collected in the present study, several conclusions were generated, each to now be discussed.

Conclusion 1: Almost no emphasis on study method instruction was placed in the language learning curriculum, even though students and instructors alike believed in the benefit of study methods.

This conclusion was generated and confirmed via triangulation from several sources. First, as an instructor at the university, I am quite cognizant of the English language learning curriculum as a whole and therefore know that (a) there are no specific courses offered that teach language learning study methods, and (b) as a general rule, the four skills classes do not explicitly instruct students on such study methods. Unless individual teachers make alterations to the four skills classes’ semester plans that are coordinated and made in advance, students will not receive any in-class study methods instruction. While it is possible that instructors who teach listening might repeatedly inform students that the SAC is a good place to do listening, teachers have several reasons to keep study methods out of instruction. These reasons include (a) restricted time in the classroom, as all teachers teaching a specific course must keep to a semester plan and deviation from that plan means students are not taught what will be on course examinations, and (b) lack of teacher incentive to deviate from the semester plan and spend (unnecessary) time and energy creating study methods material that may ultimately prevent teachers from teaching the class materials and hence prevent students from properly preparing for their examinations. Both of these reasons keep the teaching and learning of study methods out of the classroom and out of the curriculum.

I say that the instructors also believe in the benefits of study method instruction because of the existence of specific “tutorial” classes that all language majors at this university must take. All freshmen are required to take an assigned tutorial course from the second semester of their freshman year. The purposes of the tutorial course are many. One purpose is to help freshmen make friends and adjust to university life. The university makes use of these
classes by using them as a “homeroom” of sorts in order to disseminate important information to students. Instructors use these classes to teach students how to prepare for and write their graduation essays. In the very first semester of the tutorial course (there are five such courses in total across the students’ first three years of study), teachers are encouraged to not only begin preparing their tutorial students to write their graduation essays but to also teach them some study skills and study methods. When the planning for the first tutorial course takes place at the beginning of every year, teachers always announce their desires to include study methods in their tutorial instruction and ways for students to improve their own approaches to their classes and to university life in general (i.e., instruct students to get plenty of sleep, eat healthy food, make good use of the SAC, ask questions to any teacher when in doubt, etc.).

Although the tutorial courses initially present some background information on study methods, one may reasonably state that what is presented to students is too little too soon. If study methods are taught in these courses, they are rather generic, they may or may not be applicable to their skills courses, and they come at a time when the students are still feeling their way around their English courses and the university. Additionally, the emphasis of these tutorial courses as a whole (from the instructors’ point of view) is not even to teach study methods. Each tutorial course to which students belong is classified under a “theme” such as business, translation/interpretation, or language teaching, around which the instructors must plan classes. Most tutorial courses, then, including those conducted during their freshman year, focus more on these themes rather than on study methods.

Second, Questionnaire 4 showed the students themselves remarking that they had scarcely been taught study methods for any of their four skills classes while at university. Looking at the results listed in Table 9 through Table 12, one can see that not only did few students profess to being taught study methods for their four skills courses during the fall 2005 semester, but also few professed to having been taught such study methods at all since they had entered university. With what has already been discussed concerning instructors, semester plans, and the overall curriculum that overlooks study methods, these responses are understandable.

Third, some students appeared to have been taught study methods, but, interestingly enough, that instruction did not come from their teachers. When asked follow-up open-ended questions on Questionnaire 5 about their four skills study methods, students often replied that they had employed a certain study method based on what a classmate had told them, that is, students were giving other students advice on how to study for a particular class or to improve a particular skill. As Questionnaire 5 indicated that many students would indeed be interested in courses devoted to study method instruction, it seems only natural for students to seek
assistance from wherever possible, including from classmates, especially if the university does not include study method instruction in the curriculum and effectively restricts instructors from spending class time teaching students possible study methods.

**Conclusion 2: There is an apparent discrepancy and lack of clarity in the understanding by both students and instructors of the meaning of course homework.**

In order to explain Conclusion 2, we must revisit Conclusion 1. Because of the many restrictions placed on them, instructors (and those involved in curriculum planning) place considerable emphasis on course examinations, mainly because university credits are not easily given. Because (a) class grades must be assigned to students – grades that are largely based on their performance on one or more activities on these examinations – and (b) each course as a whole is essentially designed as preparation for these examinations, both in-class instruction and assigned homework throughout each semester comes to be viewed by students and teachers alike as preparation for examinations. While not detrimental in and of itself, the danger revealed here is that students (and in some cases instructors as well) can begin to harbor false beliefs about the meaning of homework and the intent of courses as a whole.

For instance, as Questionnaire 4 revealed that many students believed there to be an increased amount of homework from the beginning of their second year of study at university and that doing homework constituted a study method, the interviews and later Questionnaire 5 included questions encouraging students to further elaborate on this topic. It was found that while some students considered homework less important as a means for improving their writing ability, others believed that doing the homework itself equalled a means of skill improvement. One may question how students who are enrolled in the same program and who learn the same material could have such opposing views of the homework. The reason lies in a discrepancy that stems from differing beliefs behind the purpose of homework: either as a means to improve or as improvement itself.

While students in neither camp can be considered fully right or fully wrong, regarding how the courses are structured, the students who believe the “doing homework equals improvement” equation have probably realized the pattern upon which the entire curriculum is based. Doing (and consequently understanding) the homework means a greater likelihood of doing well on the examinations, which in turn means passing the courses, receiving university credits, and eventually graduating. However, one should not quickly dismiss the students who believe there is (or should be) more to the purpose behind the assigning of homework. As evinced from the results of Questionnaire 4, the students involved in this research generally
complained of being too busy with the task of homework completion to use or apply or explore other methods of study besides “doing homework.” When interviewed, even Masashi mentioned that in his fervor to complete his homework on time he was forced to sacrifice skill-building aspects that would be testimony to his having learned skills behind what had been taught. Although most students would like to improve their abilities and see doing the homework as only one activity towards that end, a lack of time means that the study method of choice becomes finishing the homework (which should, by extension, help them on their examinations) and not figuring out the best approach to their homework. This conclusion can be applied to all of their courses, from the writing classes where much homework is regularly assigned to the reading classes where students claimed to want to be able to read quicker.

In all likelihood, this problem of confusing homework with an actual study method extends beyond the students and influences the teachers of these four-skills courses as well. To be more precise, the teachers may in fact be part of the cause of this confusion. Though some of the English language teachers at this university have earned their doctorates, not all have such advanced degrees, nor do they all have degrees related to the teaching of foreign languages. There hence exists the possibility that a lack of teacher training contributes to well-intentioned though misdirected uses of homework and in-class activities that ostensibly are designed to improve students’ English language skills but have the unintended effect of causing students to focus more on completing tasks rather than concentrating on the meaning behind the tasks. Furthermore, as the examinations tend to carry more weight for any given course and because all instructors must follow a coordinated semester plan and teach to a test that was designed by a single instructor, the potential for harmful backwash (Hughes, 1989) is ever present, and, in the case of the language courses at this university, fully extant.

Conclusion 3: Students appear confused as to the meaning, use, and import of being taught English language learning study methods.

This conclusion was generated from reflection on aspects of Conclusion 2. If students are willing to believe that doing simple (and, one may say, expected) activities such as “doing homework” or “listening to tapes” as study methods, then these students may not fully understand what study methods are. They may take it for granted that going through the motions of writing in writing class and listening in listening class equates to “studying.” Because the students’ professed study methods include activities with little thought behind them and without goals such as skill-building in front of them, for these students, the simple act of riding a bus to the university each day could count as an activity that promotes their English
language learning studies and could thus potentially be counted by them as being a study method.

This conclusion became much clearer after the administration of Questionnaire 5 and an analysis of students’ beliefs about study methods from Part 3. For instance, while some students wrote comments not specifically related to study methods, one student wrote:

- It would be boring to have a class just on study methods. They should just make handouts, and the methods that would most motivate the students could then be chosen. If an actual class were created, it would probably just drag on and be dull. (勉強方法のみのクラスでは、退屈しそうなので、プリント配布などで、やる気のある物だけやれるようにした方がいいと思います。クラスにすると、たぶん、だらけた授業になるのではないでしょうか。)

This student’s opinion was apparently that a study methods class would be ineffective because instructors would only list out possible study methods for the students to use. Obviously, a study methods class would involve much more than this: it would allow for students to learn about potential study methods (methods they likely had never used before nor even ever considered) and experiment with them in a relatively consequence-free atmosphere (meaning that the class could, for example, be taken on a pass/fail basis).

During the analysis phase of this research, the interviewee Emiko’s Questionnaire 5 was closely examined. Although I had talked with her in two interviews in total, her comments on this questionnaire came as a shock and revealed that although she had a better grasp of the concept of study methods than most students (i.e., one study method is not right for all), she, too, had misunderstandings of the concept behind the intention of a study methods class:

- Whether or not learning study methods would be related to students improving their language skills depends on the person. Depending on the person, there would be study methods that would work and those that wouldn’t, and it would be up to each individual if they wanted to use a method. Thus, for the university to say “we are offering a class on study methods” would be a difficult thing. Study methods are not something to be taught, but, rather, individuals need to experiment with different methods and get results that way. (勉強方法を学ぶことが生徒の語学力アップにつながるかは人によると思う。人によって合う勉強方法と合わない勉強方法があるし、やるかやらないかは個人のみがかわる領域だから、統一して“学習法講座を開きます”というのは難しいと思う。勉強方法って教えてもらうことじゃなくて自分でいろいろとやってみてみにつけていくことだと思います。)
While her comments were astute, they also point out her (and others’) misconception and problem related to study methods: these students do not know how to go about studying in the first place. Even Masashi, in his interview, stated that he used the study methods that he does because they are what he is most used to and because he does not know any others. The only study method students really know how to do relate to study for their university entrance examinations, which they passed almost two years prior. The entire purpose of the study methods classes at university would not be to tell students “study this way,” but would provide them a menu of study method options and practice with those options. Emiko was correct that in that study method choice and use is up to the individual, as one method may not work for everyone, but if students are not being presented study method options in their classes, they may never realize the vast array of potential methods available to them: methods they may have never thought about and methods they may never have tried.

Regardless, there were several students who apparently understood study methods were not being taught to them. Some of their comments on Part 3 of the questionnaire include:

- While I am at university, I would definitely like to be able to come to speak English. I want to know about more effective study methods. (大学で必ず英語をはなせるようにしたい。もっと効果的な勉強方法が知りたいです。)
- If there are good study methods, I would like to know some information about them. (良い勉強方法あるならその情報を知りたいと思う。)

It is therefore clear that some students did have an understanding that there are different study methods out there and that they would at least like to be presented with some potentially useful alternatives, but such students were clearly in the minority.

Conclusion 4: The students in the present study appear future oriented in that they would prefer to learn study methods for learning English after matriculation from university.

The only conclusion that can be considered positive or beneficial in nature, Conclusion 4 was evinced from numerous sources. First, in the interviews with the students in the present study, both students made mention of wanting to learn English for future purposes, particularly via reading. Masashi mentioned that students may plan to go abroad, and in order to get information while abroad, they need to get reading ability. He also stated that students would like to have communication with foreigners, as the skills students are most interested in gaining are communication skills. Because there are few foreigners in their environment while they are at university (besides their instructors), the skill of being able to communicate in
English must therefore be applied after matriculation from university. Similarly, Emiko stated that she and the other students generally enjoy reading and that they want to get to the point where they can read just about anything, be it websites or newspapers. Again, it comes back to extracting usable information from something written in English.

Questionnaire 5 also showed this future orientation. Table 13 showed that over three-fourths of the students expressed interest in learning study methods for reasons that are not necessarily related to their English classes at university. As future goals for language learning by Japanese students has been uncovered and explored elsewhere (Rubrecht, 2004a, 2004b), this conclusion further illustrates that, though they are placing a great deal of importance on the here and now, such as for grades or university credits, students see the application of skills after schooling has been completed as being important. It also explains why, for instance, more students had expressed a desire to gain improvement in their writing rather than just completing their homework.

Taking this future-oriented view into account, one can see that the biggest problem for the students would be the appropriateness of the in-class activities and the type and amount of homework assignments. Too much homework, one could speculate, detracts from the students’ goal of future applications of their English usage goals beyond university. However, the problem goes much deeper. Because, as has been explained, study method instruction is effectively blocked from classroom instruction, too much homework means too little time to explain study methods and otherwise improve educational standards, even if the curriculum is somewhat restrictive and prevents teachers from developing students’ skills rather than testing them.

Based on these conclusions, a profound implication can be seen. The “studying for a test” approach students engaged in prior to university matriculation, though thought to be a thing of the past, appears alive and well at university. Instead of one or two major examinations (for entrance to university), the students at this university are subjected to what are essentially major examinations during and at the conclusion of every semester. These examinations, particularly for their four skills classes, test not so much how well students have improved in their English skills but whether or not they have learned the limited content given them through their heavy homework workloads. With this in mind, it can be understood why a majority of students had remarked on Questionnaire 4 that they thought university to be stricter than high school.

Though it seems as if progress has come about for the students at university compared to when they were in high school because the university entrance examinations, as
explained, keep listening and speaking out of the high school curriculum, the fact that the students’ university learning is too narrowly focused on teaching English for classes rather than a real purpose proves to be the Achilles’ heel of higher language education here. Serious consideration by instructors and university administrations of this system that allows teachers to focus on proximal class “development” rather than on students’ distal goals for their language learning is strongly recommended. It is little wonder that most of the students who participated in this research professed to using simple study methods and to not exploring new ones: they had homework to do and tests to study for; there was no time for “improvement.” In effect, just as students’ study methods in high school were channelled in a particular way for the university entrance examinations (e.g., memorization), study methods employed at university are also channelled, only the methods are disguised as homework.

It is hoped that more research will be conducted into the language learning study methods of these and other students worldwide, particularly those at the university level. As was clearly evinced from this research, students generally possess a positive view of study methods and what they will use their gained language skills for in the future. What is apparently lacking are an understanding by both instructors and students alike as to what study methods are and why they should be taught/learned as a part of an effective language curriculum. Any professional university language instructor should know that the language and skills learned at university should be both appropriate and applicable to future linguistic activities once students have graduated while at the same time be suitable and effective while the students are still at university. This means that instructors should teach study methods on two levels. They must present study methods in line with the way a certain course is structured (i.e., so that students may do well on their examinations), yet this instruction should also allow students to actually learn and build skills in the process, skills to be applied elsewhere in the future. Instructors may certainly give students generic study method advice, but they should also find ways to show students how to expand on those study methods (a) if they are ready for them while still at university and (b) on their own once they have graduated. Further research in the coming years for this study could therefore focus more on the instructors: why they teach what they teach, why they believe what they believe (particularly about study methods), and what they think is in the best interest of the students both now and in the future. The instructors themselves may turn out to represent an even larger portion of the English language learning study method equation than has been seen thus far.
References


When Being Bilingual is Not Enough: Investigating the “Other Duties” Performed by Judicial Interpreters in Japan

by

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When Being Bilingual is Not Enough: Investigating the “Other Duties”
Performed by Judicial Interpreters in Japan

by

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Abstract

In their capacity as language intermediaries, judicial interpreters are often referred to as “bridges” or “language conduits.” However, researchers have begun to challenge these definitions, claiming that they ignore the complex nature of language usage and human interaction. Using the literature on court interpreting and personal discussions with professional judicial interpreters as a starting point, a pilot study was conducted to determine if judicial interpreters in Japan are actually performing “other duties” for court cases, that is, duties they have either not been trained to conduct or duties that fall outside interpreting in their official capacity as judicial interpreters. The article presents pertinent results from a pilot study on the subject, the findings of which suggest that such interpreters do indeed engage in extra activities that (a) occasionally lie well beyond their being language intermediaries and (b) hint at a lack of education and awareness of the need to carry out such duties prior to accepting judicial interpreter positions. The article ends by making a call for further research into the nature and magnitude of these duties in order to better establish their various legal, ethical, and logistical implications.
Introduction

Japan has long been described as a homogenous society with only a small percentage of foreign nationals in long-term or permanent residence. However, in response to numerous domestic and global economic influences beginning in the late 1980s, Japan has been faced with a sudden and unprecedented influx of foreign nationals into Japan (Sasamoto, 1997). Along with this wave of incoming humanity came an increase in court cases involving non-Japanese-speaking criminal defendants (The Supreme Court of Japan [SCJ], 2002) and foreign witnesses. In order to deal with this linguistic strain on the judicial system, the Japanese court system has sought to hire interpreters and translators in record numbers.

In the 2004 edition of an information pamphlet for the general public distributed by the Supreme Court of Japan (2004a), which details the position of a judicial interpreter\(^1\) and the process to become one, the judicial interpreter’s role is described as a bridge between the defendants and witnesses who do not speak Japanese and the judge, prosecutor, and lawyers\(^2\). The services of such an interpreter are therefore required when a participant involved in the legal process does not speak or understand the official language being used in court proceedings. Such services may be rendered at any stage of and at any location in the legal process: in the courtroom, during attorney-client interviews, at an administration hearing, or in any law enforcement setting (Benmanam, 1992).

However, researchers have begun to challenge the notion that the only service judicial interpreters provide is their “bridging” of the linguistic gap between people who speak different languages because such a simplistic definition assumes judicial interpreters to be little more than language conduits and ignores the complex nature of language usage and human interaction. The authors of this article, too, challenge this simplistic view of judicial interpreters. Based partly upon the literature and partly upon the findings of a pilot study conducted by one of the authors, indications suggest that judicial interpreters in Japan are involved in other duties above and beyond their expected interpreting duties. In other words, judicial interpreters do more than

\(^1\) In Japanese: hôtei tsuyakusha. For the purposes of this article, the term “judicial interpreter” will be used instead of the often-used English translation of “court interpreter,” unless otherwise stated, in order to better reflect the variety of judicial venues in which such interpreters work.

\(^2\) The original Japanese: “通訳人は、日本語に通じない被告人や証人と裁判官、検察官、弁護人の間の橋渡し役です…” (p. 6).
simply interpret in their official capacity. These “other duties” tend to be (a) of an unspecified nature not mentioned in job descriptions, (b) demanding in terms of their time, energy, and resources outside of legal proceedings, and (c) outside of interpreters’ expectations as they had neither been educated nor trained with how to deal with such duties.

Certainly, focused research is needed to establish the nature and magnitude of these “other duties,” including their legal, ethical, and logistical implications. With the impetus to spur others to conduct further research, this article will first ascertain and establish that the definition of judicial interpreter as cited above ignores the possibility that other duties apart from interpreting are expected of judicial interpreters in Japan. Second, background information on the Japanese court system and the function of interpreters within that system will be presented. Finally, via a description of the results of the aforementioned pilot study, this article will illustrate that (a) evidence exists supporting the notion that judicial interpreters do indeed perform unspecified duties in addition to those directly related to interpretation in legal proceedings and (b) currently, judicial interpreter training programs are not addressing this issue.

**Questioning What Judicial Interpreters Really Do**

As previously mentioned, the judicial interpreter has been described as a “bridge” between the defendants and witnesses on one side and the judge, prosecutor, and lawyers on the other. Since bridges aid in the transferring of things from one side to another, the logical deduction would be that this role of “bridge” refers to interpreters acting as a medium spanning the linguistic gap between those who do not speak the official language of the judicial system and the officials involved in the legal process. It is precisely for this reason that judicial interpreters are also often referred to as “language conduits.”

The appropriateness of this “language conduit” metaphor has recently come into question. As discussed by numerous authors (de Jongh, 1991; Eades, Hale, & Cooke, 1999; Hale, 1997, 2002; Kadoyama, 1995; Kaneyasu, 1999; Mizuno, 1995; Nadamitsu, 2001; Nagao, 1996; Tanaka, 1997; Tanaka, 1998; Taylor, 1996), this definition ignores the complex nature of language and its usage. The authors of the present article agree with these researchers and take the further step of questioning how the “conduit” definition could be sufficiently adequate to encompass the various additional duties judicial interpreters are engaged in beyond just interpreting. While some of these duties are likely to be seen as part and parcel of being a judicial interpreter and are not
stated because they are thought to be understood without having to be explicaded, it is conceivable that others are carried out because of interpreters’ dedication to doing the best job possible, because such duties are thrust upon them and they feel they cannot refuse, or because they are simply expected to do them if they want to be a judicial interpreter. Although the previously mentioned authors discuss both the linguistic and logistic difficulties of judicial interpreting, none have addressed the prospect that the interpreter is being expected or allowed to participate in non-interpreting duties.

Before delving more deeply into the issue of interpreters’ other duties, some background information on Japan’s judicial system will now be briefly presented as well as an outline of the literature regarding judicial interpreting in Japan, including information on why judicial interpreters are needed, an outline of the system’s administration process and working conditions, and a discussion of the associated studies that have been conducted.

**Japan’s Judicial System**

In Japan, the entire judicial system for civil, criminal, and administrative matters falls within the jurisdiction of a single court hierarchy. There are no separate federal, prefectural, or municipal systems. The Supreme Court has jurisdiction over deciding matters of law and sits either as a full court (daihōtei, 大法廷) or in divisions (shōhōtei, 小法廷). Japan’s Supreme Court, called saikō saibansho (最高裁判所), is the court of last resort and has the power to determine the constitutionality of laws, orders, regulations, or official acts (The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations [CLAIR], 1998). However, all cases heard are effectively appeals, as the court does not possess original jurisdiction.

High courts in Japan are essentially appellate courts but have original jurisdiction for crimes related to insurrection and may be granted first instance over other cases by special provisions within Japanese laws. District courts are the courts of first instance for both civil and criminal matters. They are also courts of appeal for actions taken by the summary courts, which handle minor cases involving small claims. Family courts constitute a special category of lower court dealing primarily with juvenile crime, divorce, and family property disputes (CLAIR, 1998; SCJ, 2004b).
The Japanese judicial system also possesses some interesting peculiarities. For example, Japan has no civil or criminal jury system. An optional jury system was available in Japan from 1926 to 1943 and was initially well received as a means of making the administration more democratic. However, it was not favored for several reasons, including its failing to measure up to expectations (Noda, 1977). A proposal put forward recently by the present Japanese Prime Minister of Japan, Junichirô Koizumi, for the introduction of a citizen judge system, which would involve a panel of three professional judges and six citizen judges, has been approved by the cabinet and is scheduled to be implemented before May, 2009. Using this system a decision would be made on a majority vote as long as one citizen and one professional judge were in the majority. It is surmised that the introduction of this system could significantly affect the working conditions and role of judicial interpreters.

Another peculiarity of the Japanese judicial system is the fact that a high percentage of defendants are tried after “confessing” to their crimes. According to figures published by The Supreme Court of Japan, General Affairs Department, Criminal Division (2003), for the period between 1994 and 2002, the average percentage of cases that went to trial with a guilty plea was 92.5%. Whether or not a defendant “confesses” determines the type of courtroom situation that will occur and, consequently, impacts the role of the judicial interpreter in the court proceedings.

With the combined factors of a “non-jury” trial and a “guilty” plea, in instances involving non-Japanese-speaking defendants, the role of the interpreter in the courtroom is almost cosmetic. This is in stark contrast to a “jury” utilizing judicial systems with predominantly “not guilty” pleas where the input of the interpreter is recognized as having a significant effect on the outcome of a case (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Colin & Morris, 1996; de Jongh, 1991; Eades et al., 1999; Edwards, 1995; González, Vásquez, & Mikkleson, 1991; Hale, 1997, 2002; Laster & Taylor, 1994). As will be discussed, these same factors can also affect the extent of the role of the interpreter in pre-trial proceedings.

The Need for Effective Judicial Interpreting in Japan

Records from the Supreme Court Data Book (SCJ, 2002) show a recent dramatic rise in the number of crimes being committed by foreigners. From 1968 to 1987, the recorded annual total for the number of crimes committed by foreigners rose only slightly: from 253 to 442. However, the records show that the numbers jumped from 683 in 1988 to 8,032 in 2001. A report
in the *Hanzai Nissho* (犯罪日照) for the year 2002 (SCJ, 2003) listed the total number of criminal cases involving foreigners to be 10,457. The number of cases where an interpreter or translator was used in this year totaled 9,090, or nearly 87%.

Similarly, according to the 2003 Mid-Year Criminal Cases Report, in 2002, of the reported 10,167 trials conducted involving foreigners resulting in a guilty verdict, only 8,939 (almost 88%) had an accompanying interpreter (SCJ, 2003). There is an obvious disparity between the number of cases where one would expect an interpreter to be present and the number of cases that actually utilized an interpreter’s services, thereby highlighting one potentially major inadequacy of the judicial system. Although statistics show that the percentage of interpreters employed in cases where there services were required rose from about 40% in 1990 to about 90% in 2001 (Nagao, 2001), there is little doubt that there is still a demand awaiting supply.

**The Judicial Interpreter: More Than a Bridge or Conduit**

As previously mentioned, the role of a judicial interpreter has been described as a bridge that spans a linguistic gap between the integral players involved in legal proceedings. As positive as this image may initially be, defining such interpreters as bridges has been deemed inadequate by many practicing interpreters and researchers because it underestimates the various complications involved with achieving linguistic equivalence between one language and another as well as the overall significance of the interpreter’s presence in the judicial process.

For example, Nadamitsu (2001) argues that the court’s view of the interpreter acting only as a transparent conduit for words undervalues the interpreter’s role while it simultaneously fails to address the communicative complexities involved in the interpreting process. She argues that interpreters play a more active and significant role than the court system officially recognizes. Although Nadamitsu is primarily concerned with the difficulties of linguistic transfer from one language to another and the subsequent need for cultural awareness in the interpreting process, she nevertheless highlights the ways in which an interpreter’s position involves more than just the transfer of words as isolated linguistic units. Interpreters must in fact interact with the people involved in the legal proceedings in such a complex manner that it is a gross understatement to label them as merely word transfer machines.
Eades et al. (1999) deftly explored the issue of tension between competing perspectives concerning the role of the courtroom interpreter, that is, as either a mechanical instrument operating as a linguistic conduit or transducer (the view commonly held by lawyers) or as a source of linguistic empowerment and thus of security and support (the view often held by an anxious defendant or witness). Hale’s (1997) study also illustrates how it is possible for an interpreter to drift from the singular role of language conduit. Her study shows that interpreters at times feel “annoyed” at the treatment afforded the witness and may at times interject in proceedings to ensure his or her answer to the court is understood correctly. In such instances, the interpreter is clearly no longer acting only as a language conduit but is rather taking on a much more active role in the judicial process.

Others have also challenged the “judicial interpreter only as a language conduit” (de Jongh, 1991; Eades et al., 1999; Hale, 1997, 2002; Kadoyama, 1995; Kaneyasu, 1999; Mizuno, 1995; Nadamitsu, 2001; Nagao, 1996; Tanaka, 1997; Tanaka, 1998; Taylor, 1996), as such a definition oversimplifies the very demanding task of transferring thought and meaning from one linguistic and cultural code to another. Their resistance to the notion suggests that judicial interpreters must act in some way beyond just transferring messages between languages. In terms of research, apart from Nadamitsu’s (2001) study, the articles listed above only present the authors’ own opinions based on their own experiences and/or other published sources. The pilot study conducted on interpreters’ other duties (see below) was one of the first to collect first-hand data from survey participants, all of whom were experienced judicial interpreters in Japan.

**The Position of Judicial Interpreter in Japan**

The administration office of the Supreme Court determines the general definition of the position of judicial interpreter as well as the guidelines for their working conditions. As a result of recent pressure requiring an increase in both the quantity and quality of court interpreters in Japan, the government has set out a number of guidelines from which Mizuno (1995) has put forward five primary points regarding the use of interpreters in the judicial system. With regard to securing competent interpreters, (a) a list should be made of interpreters suitable for the Supreme Court and (b) the number of interpreters should be increased. Concerning policies for maintaining a standard regarding interpreter ability, (c) a handbook for judicial interpreters should be constructed and (d) an official interpreter’s association should be established. To
guarantee interpreters’ accuracy, it is recommended that (e) the use of audio recording facilities be used. Despite these recommended guidelines, actual recruitment for particular judicial interpreting assignments – and the working conditions regarding those assignments – are in fact decided and overseen at a more local level and may differ depending on the case, the court to which it has been assigned, and the presiding judge. Concerns therefore abound regarding judicial interpreters’ official responsibilities, which are more demanding than most people involved in the court system would care to admit.

Although acquiescing to the fact that the position of judicial interpreters has made improvements in Japan, Nagao (1997) reports there are still numerous complaints and concerns about the position stemming from this lack of definitive job descriptions that can be broadly divided into two categories: working conditions and the quality of interpreting. In terms of their working conditions, complaints have been made concerning the lack of a unified pay system, non-standardized working hours, and, due to budget constraints, not being allowed to conduct interpreting assignments in pairs or teams, which is usually not permitted (Akimoto, 2001; Nagao, 1997). Also, according to a group of interpreters living in the Nagoya area (located in Aichi Prefecture, Japan) who spoke directly to one of the authors of this article, additional complaints include but are not limited to:

1. not being paid for “waiting time” if the scheduled time for a hearing or interview is postponed
2. having to sometimes wait a long time for payment (e.g., after a case has been completed and the responsibility for legal costs has been determined)
3. having to translate court proceedings in their own time without this time being included in their hourly pay rate
4. not being given definitive descriptions of their duties prior to assignments, and
5. not being given definitive descriptions of the time it would take to complete assignments

To the surprise of many, as of this writing, there are no special qualifications officially required for interpreters in Japan in terms of the quality of their judicial interpretation. To improve this situation, a system of steps has recently been introduced for those who seek to become judicial interpreters. These steps include observing court cases, writing a report regarding the observations and personal reactions to these cases, being interviewed by a judge, and attending intensive courses for judicial interpreters (The Supreme Court of Japan, 2004a).
However, participating in this system of steps does not apply to interpreters who began working prior to its introduction, regardless of the level of their dedication and expertise. Additionally, there is generally no form of “checking” being conducted for interpreted discourse during court sessions or interviews (Mizuno, 1995; Nagao, 1996), although the use of recording devices has been recommended by the Supreme Court expressly for this purpose. Also, as pointed out by the above-mentioned group of judicial interpreters from Nagoya, there does not seem to be a discernable method or series of steps followed for the appointment of interpreters to court cases.

Interpreter quality is not the only doubt clouding the interpreting process. Mizuno (1995) explains that a somewhat ambiguous method is employed by the courts to determine whether or not a defendant or a non-Japanese-speaking witness should be granted the services of an interpreter. For example, if a defendant’s Japanese ability is considered to be at a conversational level it may be decided that they do not need an interpreter at all. In other instances, if an interpreter who knows the defendant’s native language cannot be found, a second language may be used instead. Some have expressed serious concern regarding the issue of a non-mother-language tongue being used for judicial interpreting purposes (see Tanaka, 1998), for such language use has the potential to impact the quality of the interpreting service being provided, not to mention the possibility of infringing upon a defendant’s human rights.

Kadoyama (1995) expresses concern regarding the quality of interpreting on two fronts. First, most judicial interpreters are not legal professionals. Often being employed from outside the legal system, it is unlikely that they will be familiar with the legal terminology necessary for judicial interpreting assignments. Second, the quality of the official handbooks available for court interpreters is questionable. He again claims that the language used for both the foreign language and Japanese sections will be too unfamiliar to these “outside” interpreters, thereby rendering their interpreting skills less effectual. His suggestions for more stringent administration regarding official judicial interpreting qualifications and for official policy regarding the introduction of formal legal interpretation courses in tertiary institutions have gone largely unheeded.

A final problem identified with judicial interpreting, which is worth mentioning at least in brief, extends beyond the professionalism interpreters exhibit in terms of their linguistic ability and interpreting technique. This problem lies with their preparation for interpreting assignments and their sense of accountability for the accuracy of their interpreting. This criticism has been leveled at other legal professionals involved in the judicial process and their lack of willingness
to cooperate with the interpreter during pre-interpreting assignment preparation activities (Tanaka, 1997).

Beyond these problems, concerns, and complaints identified thus far, judicial interpreters must also be content with part time or temporary work, be on call for the entire duration of an assignment (regardless of the length of the duration of the case), be able to do work that is demanding both physically and mentally, and be financially secure until they are paid for their services on an assignment. Even with all of these drawbacks, the position of judicial interpreter is not looked upon as a true profession by either the judicial system in Japan or by the interpreters themselves. Rather, their work is simply considered a “service,” and in the best of circumstances interpreters are afforded only hospitality and industry-type status (although some may argue it is still only volunteer status). It may be conjectured that this lack of professionalism surrounding the position of judicial interpreters in Japan contributes to their performing of other duties. In the end, the lack of clear administrative guidelines and control, unsatisfactory working conditions, and relaxed attitudes regarding work performed result in making it nearly impossible to maintain a definitive role for the judicial interpreter’s position.

The Pilot Study

The idea to further explore the notion that judicial interpreters may be doing more than just interpreting emerged from the personal experience of one of the authors of the present article. In the course of discussions with numerous practicing judicial interpreters in the Nagoya area regarding the conditions and demands of their work, it was claimed that at times they were engaged in activities other than interpreting in their official capacity as the designated judicial interpreter. These additional activities seemed to be of an advisory or investigative nature, which far surpasses the commonly held notion that interpreters only interpret or only act as a linguistic bridge or conduit.

For instance, some of these judicial interpreters said that they were at times expected to give their phone numbers or contact details to defendants or witnesses so that they may be contacted directly for advice or assistance. At other times, some were asked to telephone defendants’ relatives from their own home phones in their own time with no supervision whatsoever from legal representatives. Some also mentioned that they, of their own volition during court proceedings or interview sessions, gave unsolicited comment to (and at times even
cautioned) members of the judicial system regarding their attitude towards or treatment of defendants or witnesses. From the number of incidents being referred to, the overall casual attitude of these judicial interpreters as they related these incidents, and the literature discussing judicial interpreters’ roles, the author deduced that the performing of additional duties by such interpreters may not only be routine but may also be expected of them by the court system in Japan. In response, she undertook a pilot study (Tuitama-Roberts, 2004) in order to more systematically assess whether or not there are indeed “other duties” besides interpreting being performed by such interpreters.

The pilot study’s data was gathered via questionnaires (a copy of which can be found in Appendix 1). Written in both Japanese and English and formulated using Dörnyei’s (2003) typology of questions, the questionnaires included the three basic forms (i.e., factual, behavioral, and attitudinal) in order to identify respondents’ demographic characteristics, amount and type of experience in interpretation and translation, and their attitudes, opinions, and beliefs regarding their positions and duties as judicial interpreters. As questioning people is an elusive endeavor (Oppenheim, 1976), both direct and indirect questions and a combination of closed and open-ended questions were used. Such a mix of questions was deemed most appropriate in order to elicit as much information as possible from participants about their work as judicial interpreters because it would allow freedom in participant responses and minimize researcher bias in question construction. Although qualified judicial interpreters were sought for participation from across Japan, only ten participants had verbally agreed to participate in the study, and only five had returned the questionnaires by the deadline date.

**Results**

As the questionnaire asked questions in different formats, various types of data were gathered. Table 1 outlines participants’ responses to questions 1 through 11 as well as question 14. For data analysis purposes, each participant was assigned a number.
### Table 1
*Participant Responses to Questions 1 – 11, 14*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Question Number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Age (Y/M)</td>
<td>50/1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>63/5</td>
<td>55/10</td>
<td>47/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>City of residence</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How become interpreter?</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>STEP Test Level 1</td>
<td>Advanced interpreter’s course</td>
<td>ICU interpreter course; 20 years of experience</td>
<td>3 years at ISS simultaneous interpretation school, Tokyo</td>
<td>Simultaneous Academy; STEP Test Level 1; TOEIC 975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Years working as interpreter</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Years working as translator</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Years as court interpreter</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Number of assignments</td>
<td>15–30 / year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70 court cases</td>
<td>140 + other</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Reasons for undertaking</td>
<td>a. 60%</td>
<td>a. 2</td>
<td>None applicable</td>
<td>a., b., and c.</td>
<td>e. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Other duties</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 indicates responses to question 12 (about where the participants interpreted in the judicial system and how often).

### Table 2
*Participant Responses to Question 12*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locations of Judicial Interpreting Experience</th>
<th>Respondent ID Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyoto District Court</td>
<td>5 (96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osaka High Court</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagoya High Court</td>
<td>1, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagoya District Court</td>
<td>1 (80%), 2 (100%), 3 (98%), 4 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichinomiya Branch of the Nagoya District Court</td>
<td>1, 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Because the term “court interpreter” is a more familiar translation of *hōtei tsūyakusha* (法廷通訳者), this terminology was used in the questionnaire instead of “judicial interpreter.”
Table 3 outlines the answers by each participant to question 13 (on their duties for their various assignments). Responses have been recorded exactly as written by the participants except the Japanese-to-English translations required for Participant 2.

Table 3
Participant Responses to Question 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1                  | • interview at a detention center with a lawyer  
                     • interpretation of court  
                     • meeting with a witness and interview with a lawyer  
                     • translation of the statements by PP & DC  
                     • translation of the documents of evidence  
                     • making phone calls in and outside of Japan to collect statements of witnesses with direction of lawyer |
| 2                  | • attend interviews  
                     • interpret the judges explanations in the court room  
                     • read aloud (sight translation) of court documents |
| (translated from Japanese) | |
| 3                  | a) In pre-court interviews with lawyers and the accused  
                     • assisted communication between accused person and defense lawyer  
                     • gave knowledge the accused persons about the Japanese court system and tried to release tremendous fears they must have  
                     b) In court  
                     • interpretation of all the verbal statements, questions and answers (judge, AD, Def. Counsel, and defendant)  
                     • accompanied with court personnel to get testification at sites |
| 4                  | • interpreting at detention centers between the accused and the lawyer  
                     • interpreting in the court between the judge, public prosecutor, the defense council and the accused |
| 5                  | • translate the whole proceedings |

Table 4 outlines the answers by each respondent to question 15 (what duties they performed outside their officially designated role in their interpreting assignments).
Table 4
Participant Responses to Question 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>No response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (translated from Japanese)</td>
<td>(No other duties were performed because) I could understand what the judge wanted to do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3                  | a. If lawyers are not experienced with foreigner’s cases and not realizing the importance of the explanation of Japanese Court System in relevance with the case I’d ask them to do it and let the accused person trust the lawyer (mostly gov. appointed) and interpreter as well. Our mutuality and sincerity give them relief) 
     b. Mentioned case always voluntarily 
     c. -- 
     d. It was necessary and appropriate I think. Because foreign accused persons are, regardless their contents of their crimes, extremely tense and afraid of what’d happen on them in foreign court hearings. Much of the fear come from not knowing the law and court systems of the country. |
| 4                  | a. When the lawyer asked me to contact with the accused family, I made international phone calls to them. 
     b. Being asked to do so 
     c. -- 
     d. It was necessary, because the accused family were very worried about the process or what would happen on their son or daughter, sister, brother, so if I called them and explained the situation or their family member who was prosecuted in Japan they were surely relieved. It was a kind of volunteer work. |
| 5                  | No response |

Finally, all participants gave lengthy responses to question 17 regarding comments about their working conditions as judicial interpreters, including comments and complaints about working conditions (salary, hours, labor rights), administration of the position, quality of interpreting, lack of communication between the courts and the interpreters, lack of openness with decision making, and expectations of the courts regarding the interpreters’ work.

Discussion

Data from only five participants working in only two judicial jurisdictions in Japan cannot be considered conclusive. However, as data collection was approached via a systematic process, the results nevertheless indicate that other duties besides interpreting are being conducted by judicial interpreters in Japan and hint at what the nature is behind those duties. For instance, an examination of the responses by the participants who answered that they had performed other
duties that were not part of the official interpreting assignment revealed that these duties (a) were not always voluntarily carried out, (b) arose because of extenuating circumstances (e.g., the participation of lawyers inexperienced with cases involving foreigners), and (c) were considered by the interpreters as being necessary (and even appropriate) actions to undertake.

It should be noted that of the five respondents who participated in the pilot study, four were from Nagoya and one was from Kyoto. Due to the author of the pilot study residing in the Nagoya area and the majority of participants being contacted personally, the geographic breakdown of participants may not coincide with how responses would be were a large-scale study undertaken. This is an important point to consider for analysis, as the administration of the judicial interpreter’s position is primarily undertaken at the local level. While further research should target judicial interpreters working in each of Japan’s judicial jurisdictions (see Appendix 2), results from the pilot study can only be considered applicable for the jurisdictions in which the participants worked. Additionally, as can be seen from the data taken from question 12 of the questionnaire (Table 2), the majority of the respondents’ experience has been in the Nagoya District Court or for district courts in general. This again highlights the fact that data collected may only be reflective of the applicable areas of the judicial process.

As mentioned previously, Kadoyama (1995) voiced several concerns about the quality of interpreting being conducted in Japan. To briefly reiterate, these concerns included (a) how court interpreters are, for the most part, hired from outside legal fields and are thus likely unfamiliar with legal jargon, (b) the questionable quality of official handbooks for court interpreters, and (c) the lack of stringent administration of judicial interpreter screening. His suggestion for instigating official policy for introducing formal legal interpreting courses at tertiary institutions has not been taken with the level of seriousness the matter deserves. As this pilot study has indicated, interpreters working in court cases tend to conduct a wide variety of extraneous and pertinent duties, but because such interpreters come from various backgrounds and fields of study, it is highly doubtful that their interpreter training included anything remotely resembling preparation for making informed decisions about what duties to perform as an interpreter and when to perform them. This hints at a serious lack of basic education in the field of interpreter training (specifically, judicial interpreter training) and begs for fundamental educational reform and a concerted effort by higher educational institutions to initiate interpreter education programs.
expressly for those who will work as judicial interpreters. While there are institutions instigating such programs\textsuperscript{4}, their numbers do not inspire confidence in timely improvements to the system.

While the interpreter education and training implications that arose from this pilot study are of no small consequence, that such interpreters do engage in such duties gives rise to a host of further possible implications and additional questions that, in the opinion of the authors, also deserve to be addressed in future research and should be intimately tied to educational courses that prepare interpreters for court work. For instance, what are the moral, ethical, and legal ramifications of judicial interpreters working beyond the scope of linguistic intermediary? Do all such interpreters lend their assistance to all those passing through the legal system, or are they in some manner selective? Do the interpreters seek change in the legal system’s use and view of interpreters, or are they content to leave things as they are? These are just a few questions upon which future research may be based.

\textsuperscript{4} From April, 2004, Osaka University of Foreign Studies began offering a course specifically for judicial interpreters. This is the first and presently the only course of its kind in Japan.
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Appendix 1: The Questionnaire

The following is the questionnaire used in the pilot study. Due to space constraints, it is not presented in its original format.

The Role of the Court Interpreter - Fact Finding Questionnaire

Please feel free to write additional comments whenever necessary. You may use the back of the questionnaire sheet or attach other paper as desired. Answers may be written in English or Japanese.

1. Sex 性別: __________
2. Age 年齢: __________
3. Nationality 国籍: __________
4. City of Residence 住んでいる町: __________
5. How did you become a court interpreter? どのようにして法廷通訳者になりましたか。
   a. received a request from the court 裁判からの依頼
   b. received a request from the police 警察からの依頼
   c. received a request from the council of an accused person 被告人の弁護人からの依頼
   d. because of my own personal interest 個人の興味
   e. other その他: __________
6. What interpreting/translating qualifications do you have? Please list them. どんな通訳／翻訳資格を持っていますか。書いてください。（例：__検定__級）
7. How long have you been working as an interpreter? 通訳経験はどのくらいですか。
   a. less than 1 year (1年間以内)
   b. between 1 and 2 years (1年間~2年間)
   c. between 3 and 5 years (3年間~5年間)
   d. between 6 and 10 years (6年間~10年間)
   e. over 11 years (11年間以上)

8. How long have you been working as a translator? 翻訳経験はどのくらいですか。
   a. less than 1 year (1年間以内)
   b. between 1 and 2 years (1年間~2年間)
   c. between 3 and 5 years (3年間~6年間)
   d. between 6 and 10 years (5年間~10年間)
   e. over 11 years (11年間以上)

9. How long have you been working as a court interpreter? 法廷通訳経験はどのくらいですか。
   a. less than 1 year (1年間以内)
   b. between 1 and 2 years (1年間~2年間)
   c. between 3 and 5 years (3年間~5年間)
   d. between 6 and 10 years (6年間~10年間)
   e. over 11 years (11年間以上)

10. How many interpreting/translating assignments have you undertaken since becoming a court interpreter? 法廷通訳者になって、法廷通訳経験は何回ですか。__________ assignments (回)

11. Why were you appointed to the court interpreting/translating assignments undertaken? Please indicate the number of times for each reason. 今までの法廷通訳の仕事に関わった経緯はどのようなものですか。その回数も書いてください。
    a. availability 時間的に可能だった：__________
    b. particular expertise 特別な専門的な知識：__________
c. personal association with legal personnel involved in the case 法廷関係者との関係: 

__________

d. personal association with accused 被告訴人の関係: __________

e. other その他: __________

12. Which court(s) have you interpreted for and how often? Also please indicate if the case was a criminal or civil case. どこの裁判所など、そして格ところで何回くらい通訳をしていましたか。刑事事件か民事事件か教えてください。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location 裁判所名</th>
<th>Criminal 刑事事件</th>
<th>Civil 民事事件</th>
<th>No. of times 何回</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. What have been your duties as the court interpreter for these assignments? Outline the duties undertaken in brief. 法廷通訳者として、どんな役割を果たしましたか？簡単に書いてください。

a. ______________________________________________________________________

b. ______________________________________________________________________

c. ______________________________________________________________________

d. ______________________________________________________________________

e. ______________________________________________________________________

14. In your capacity as the appointed court interpreter, have you performed any duties that were not part of your official interpreting assignment? 法廷通訳者として正式な役割ではないのに果たした役割はありましたか。

Yes はい _______ No いいえ _______

15. If you answered “Yes” to No. 14: 問い14番に、はいと答えた場合:

a. Please describe these duties in detail. どんな役割だったか、できるだけ詳しく書いてください。

_____________________________________________________________________________
b. Please indicate which duties were voluntarily performed and which were requested. 自己の判断でこの役割をしたかどうかを教えてください。

______________________________

______________________________

c. If requested please note who made the request and it’s nature. 請願された場合、誰かに頼まれたか、どんな形で頼まれたかを教えてください。

______________________________

______________________________

d. How did you feel about performing these additional duties? For example did you think they were appropriate? Please write your thoughts in as much detail as possible. この役割をしたことについてどう思いましたか。できるだけ詳しくまで書いてください。

______________________________

______________________________

16a. Would you be interested in being interviewed for a follow up study? All personal details will be kept in strict confidence. この後、アンケートの内容について又個人的な面接を行いたいんですが、参加できるかどうか示してください。個人的な情報などは全て秘密にします。

Yes はい __________  No いいえ __________

16b. If yes, please write your contact details below. 問い16番に、はいと答えた場合、連絡先を教えてください。

Name 氏名: ____________________

Home no. 自宅電話: ____________________

Mobile no. 携帯電話: ____________________

Email Address メール: ____________________

Address 住所: ____________________

17. Is there anything else you would like to comment on regarding your working conditions as a court interpreter? Please feel free to write in as much detail as you like. 法廷通訳人として労働条件の面で何か言いたい事があれば何でも書いてください。

______________________________
Appendix Two: Judicial Jurisdictions in Japan

This map can be found at the following web address:

courtdomino2.courts.go.jp/E_system.nsf?OpenDatabase
The Relationship between HIV Non-Barrier Protection and Stages of Change for Condom Use

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between HIV Non-Barrier Protection Strategies (NBPS) and Prochaska’s (1979) concept of Stages of Change for condom use. Non-Barrier Protection Strategies, for example, taking a sexual history of potential partners, having sex only in a monogamous relationship, avoiding sex with ‘high-risk’ groups, provide people with a sense that they are invulnerable to contracting HIV without the use of condoms (see Thompson, Kyle, Swan, Thomas, & Vrungos’ concept of Illusory Protection Strategies, 2002). Undermining a person’s belief in the effectiveness of these ‘illusory protection strategies’, it is suggested, increases their motivation to use condoms. The current authors hypothesized that persons at the “Pre-Contemplation” Stage of Change for condom use, that is, the people do not believe they are at risk of contracting HIV, will use significantly more Non-Barrier Protection Strategies than individuals in the ‘Action’ or ‘Maintenance’ Stage of Change, who believe it is necessary to practice 100% condom use (Prochaska, Harlow, Redding, Snow, Rossi, & Velicer, 1990).

A sample of 108 student volunteers attending universities in Bangkok, Thailand, completed four questionnaires, including: Illusory Protection Strategies, Prochaska’s Stages of Change for Condom Use, the Decisional Balance questionnaire, and a Demographic data sheet. The relationship between Illusory Protection Strategies and Stages of Change was examined using one-way ANOVA, with Stages of Change serving as the categorical variable and ratings of Illusory Protection Strategies as the dependent measures.
Introduction

Although HIV prevalence rates in Thailand have dramatically decreased in recent years, especially among commercial sex workers and their clients, there is a potential for a new HIV epidemic among both male and female Thai youth. Many Thai youth now engage in premarital sexual behavior and without barrier protection. The question is, if Thai youth are knowledgeable about unsafe sexual practices - a result of the Thai government’s successful education program, why do they engage in risky sexual behaviors? The answer, we believe, is that people who engage in unprotected sex attempt to deal with the threat of contracting STD’s and HIV infection through various means other than by using safe sex practices. Specifically, Thai youth believe that by using *illusory protection strategies* (Thompson, Kyle, Swan, Thomas, & Vrungos’, 2002), such as, having sex only in a monogamous relationship, taking a sexual history of potential partners, and avoiding sex with ‘high-risk’ groups, they are invulnerable to contracting HIV without the use of condoms.

The primary purpose of the current project is to establish a relationship between Prochaska’s ‘Stages of Change’ model and the use of Thompson’s concept of ‘Illusory Protection Strategies.’ Confirmation of this relationship can then be use to develop HIV prevention interventions for this population that correctly target an individual’s readiness to learn and engage in safe sex practices.

Background

*Illusory Protection Strategies*

Thompson, Kent & Thomas, & Vrungos (1999) suggest that individuals attempt to protect themselves from HIV infection in ways other than the use of condoms. These protection methods the authors call ‘illusory strategies’ because they are not 100% effective. Two primary illusory strategies identified in prior studies in Thailand and Singapore are: the ‘use of relationship’ strategy to maintain safety and the ability to accurately determine a partner’s HIV status, or the ‘examination strategy’ (Thompson et al., 1999).

Regarding the ‘relationship’ strategy, many people believe that they can maintain safety by only having sex in the context of a monogamous relationship. However, this strategy can only work if both partners do not engage in extra-dyadic sex. In Thailand, many males, even those ostensibly in a monogamous relationship, admit to sexual relations with other women, including commercial sex workers (Bentelspacher, 2004). Barrett et al. (2002) suggest that many young, sexually active adults believe that their relationship strategies and their sexual practices keep them safe from contracting HIV.

Regarding the ‘examination strategy,’ people attempt to determine the risk potential of a potential partner before having unprotected sex. Some of these methods include, having sex in a loving, monogamous relationships, taking a potential partner’s sexual history, and avoiding ‘high risk’ groups, such as drug takers and commercial sex workers. This strategy provides the individual with a sense or illusion that they are protected from HIV and STD’s. Thompson et al. (1999) found that these Illusory Protective Strategies provided individuals with a sense of control.
and a decreased concern about HIV. Recent studies, both qualitative and quantitative found that the most common reason given by young adults for engaging in unprotected sex was the perception that their partners were ‘judged’ to be at low risk for HIV infection.

Prochaska’s Stages of Change Model for Condom Use

From these studies, it appears that individuals who use illusory protection strategies believe they are not at risk of contracting HIV. These individuals would, therefore, lack the motivation to considering the use of ‘real’ protective strategies, that is, barrier protection when having sexual relations. Consequently, programs that teach the use of ‘real’ protection behaviors must first ensure that the participants are sufficiently motivated to learn these safe behaviors. Specifically, the individuals’ belief in illusory strategies must be challenged so the individual realizes that they are truly at risk of contracting HIV. This process can be conceptualized using Prochaska’s ‘Stages of Change’ model (Brown-Peterside, Redding, Ren & Koblin, 2000). Prochaska (1979) suggests that the behavior change process must be understood as a five-stage process. In the first, or ‘pre-contemplation’ stage, the individual does not believe that she/he has a problem and, as such, sees no need to change her/his sexual practices. Thus motivation, or readiness for treatment or behavioral interventions is non-existent. Individuals in this stage will comply with a treatment regimen if external pressure is applied; however, once the external force is removed, the individual will return to the baseline behavior.

The second stage of change is ‘Contemplation.’ The individual is aware of the problem and is thinking about what to do. However, she/he is not committed to a particular course of action. The person is planning to change behavior in, possibly, the next six months. Individuals in ‘contemplation’ are not ready for action-oriented programs.

In the third stage, ‘Preparation’, the individual is intending to take action in the near future. He/shi is marshalling resources needed to begin the change process.

In the forth stage, ‘Action’, individual are involved in actively modifying their behavior, experiences and environment in order to address their issue. These people have high motivation for treatment and they are already engaged in behavior change.

Finally, in the ‘Maintenance’ stage, the individual is working to prevent relapse and consolidate the gains they made during the action phase. They are changing their lifestyle to maintain new behavior. In this model, it is presumed that people often relapse. Change is not seen as a linear progression, but rather as a spiral.

Prochaska (1979) recommends that interventions should be prescribed based on the client’s level of readiness for change. Interventions which are targeting behavior change are inappropriate for pre-contemplation and contemplation individuals, whereas, individuals in preparation, action or maintenance stages will do well with interventions designed to change behavior. Such individuals are highly motivated, will participate actively in interventions, and exhibit behavior change in their lives.

Method

Hypothesis
There will be a significant relationship between and individual’s use of Illusory Protection Strategies and their level of Readiness to Change. High levels of the use of illusory strategies will be related to the pre-contemplation stage of behavior change.
Measures
All participants were asked to complete 4 questionnaires. These included:

a) Illusory Protection Strategy questionnaire: This questionnaire has been validated for use with an Asian population. Prior research by the current team (Scandell et al., forthcoming) found that illusory protection strategies (protection against HIV and other STD’s) can be understood in terms of three factors; these include Use of Relationship (that is, being in a monogamous relationship), Examination (that is, evaluating the lifestyle and sexual history of a potential partner), and Perceived Low Risk Behaviors (that is, mutual masturbation, oral sex). Adequate levels of homogeneity were obtained for each factor. In this study, only total scores will be used for analysis. Each item is scored on a 7 point scale ranging from 0 (never) to 6 (always).

b) Prochaska’s Stages of Change for Condom Use: This questionnaire has been validated with male and female populations ages 14 through adulthood. The measure determines an individual’s level of motivation for 100% condom use.

c) Decisional Balance: This questionnaire has been validated with male and female populations ages 14 through adulthood. The measure evaluates an individual’s assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of using condoms.

d) Demographic data sheet: requests age, gender, and marital status.

All questionnaires were translated into Thai language using forward and backward translation.

Data Analysis: The relationship between Illusory Protection Strategies and Stages of Change will be examined through correlational analysis.

Research Design
Subjects
A convenience sample of 108 students attending three universities in Bangkok, Thailand completed the questionnaires. Fifty-seven were male and 51 were female. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 27 years.

Procedures:
Volunteers were screened and only sexually active students completed the questionnaire. Upon completion of the questionnaire, participants were given an 'honorarium' equivalent to about 2 USD.

Results
Illusory Protection Strategy scores were factor analyzed by the principal components method with a varimax rotation. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity were examined and indicated that Factor Analysis was appropriate.
for the current data set. Tests were performed separately for males and females. However, all tests for females were nonsignificant, so on the findings for males are presented.

Using the criteria of eigenvalues being at least 1.0 for an interpretable factor, three factors were extracted (Factor loadings can be seen in Table 1). Examination of the scree plot confirmed a three-factor solution.

The eigenvalue for the first factor was 2.98 and accounted for 26.44% of the variance. Items loading on this factor (See Table 1) included sex with people know well, avoid high risk groups, limit sex partners, and avoid drug users. The coefficient alpha was .831. This factor was labeled Avoidance of Perceived Risky Partners; the items having high loadings suggest avoiding partners who are seen as risky or of unknown risk.

The eigenvalue for the second factor was 2.43 and accounted for 22.03% of the variance. Items loading on this factor included ‘sex in monogamous relationships’, ‘sex in loving relationship’, ‘sex with younger people’ (negatively), and ‘get to know partner before sex.’ The coefficient level was .569, which is somewhat low but acceptable for an exploratory factor analysis. This factor was labeled Use of Relationship to Maintain Safety.

The eigenvalue for the third factor was 2.37 and accounted for 21.57% of the variance. Items loading on this factor included: ‘take a sexual history’, ‘examine partners genitals,’ and ‘partner tested negative for HIV.’ The coefficient alpha was .693. This factor was labeled ‘Examination,’ as the items loading on this factor seem to suggest a quasi-medical or assessment procedure to determine the risk potential of partners.

Simple correlations were performed in order to examine whether there was a relationship between Illusory Protection Strategies factors ( Avoidance, Relationship, Examination) and Condom Stages of Change for three types of partners (Regular sex partner, Casual, Commercial sex worker.) Only one of the nine correlations was significant; ‘Avoidance’ was negatively correlated with Stages of Change for commercial sex workers, \[ r = -.422, \] \[ p < .05. \] This suggests that people who endorse higher levels of the Avoidance strategy are at lower levels of Stages of Change for condom use with Commercial sex workers.

The data set also allowed for an examination of the relationship among the Stages of Change for condom use. Stages of Change for Regular Sex Partner was significantly correlated to Stages of Change for casual partners, \[ r = .50, \] \[ p < .001 \] Stages of Change for Regular sex partner was significantly correlated to Stages of Change for Commercial sex workers, \[ r = .427, \] \[ p < .05. \] Stages of Change for Regular sex partner was significantly correlated to Stages of Change for Casual partners, \[ r = .50, \] \[ p < .001. \] Stages of Change for Casual Partner was significantly correlated to Stages of Change for Commercial Sex Work \[ r = .71, \] \[ p < .0001. \]
Table 1

Rotated Component Matrix (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sex in monogamous relationship</td>
<td>.262</td>
<td>.707</td>
<td>.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex hx</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.420</td>
<td>.702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>examine genitals</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>-.091</td>
<td>.860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex in loving relationship</td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>.638</td>
<td>.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tested HIV negative</td>
<td>.304</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>.794</td>
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<tr>
<td>avoid high risk groups</td>
<td>.873</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>.141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limit sex partners</td>
<td>.600</td>
<td>.567</td>
<td>.313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoid drug users</td>
<td>.849</td>
<td>.110</td>
<td>-.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get to know partners B4 sex</td>
<td>.544</td>
<td>.598</td>
<td>.366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sex with people one knows well</td>
<td>.636</td>
<td>.391</td>
<td>.283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex with younger people</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>-.691</td>
<td>.231</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
A Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that Thompson’s concept of Illusory Protection Strategies may be understood in terms of three underlying factors: 1) Avoidance of perceived risky partners, 2) Use of relationship to maintain safety (monogamy), and 3) Examination of a partner’s genitals.

With these three factors in mind, the main finding of this study is that young adult Thai males make use of the ‘avoidance’ illusory protection strategy when selecting a commercial sex worker. The males avoid having sex with commercial sex workers who they think are drug users or who appear to be ‘unclean’ in some way. The men will then have unprotected sex with sex workers who they evaluated to be ‘safe. By using these illusory strategies, (i.e., the males do not actually know whether or not the commercial sex worker is HIV-free) they are putting themselves and their other female partners at risk of contracting HIV.
References


<table>
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<th>1. Title of the submission</th>
<th>→</th>
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<td>Shrestha Abin</td>
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<td>→</td>
<td>Global College of Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Address</td>
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<td>Abin Shrestha</td>
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The modern age of twenty-first century presents a hostile face to many of children in Nepal. An increasing number of children are being forced to the streets day by day due to poverty, abuse, torture, orphaned, political situation, Maoist insurgency etc. Also, in Nepal, migration for work is a common and long-standing practice amongst poor rural families. Indeed denial of basic human and legal rights including the right to life, liberty and security as a person to children are now a defining feature of the Nepalese socio-economic landscape. The term ‘street children’ is hotly debated. Some say it is negative – that it labels and stigmatize children. Others say it gives them an identity and a sense of belonging. It can include a very wide range of children who: are homeless; work on the streets but sleep at home (rented room); either do or do not have family contact; work in open-air markets; live on the streets with their families; live in day or night shelters; spend a lot of time in institutions (e.g. prison). Also in
the street the children have learned the bad deeds from their friends, such as glue sniffing, use of drugs and alcohol, using nasty words etc.

This paper examines Nepal’s response to the growing problem of street children. What kind of policies and strategies the Nepalese government are putting in place, For instance, to what extent are families, schools and individual members of society dealing with the problem? Indeed, how is the government dealing with the increasing numbers of unsupervised children living alone in urban streets? What role can Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and community based social organizations play in addressing the problem of street children? We contend that not enough is being done to address the problem and that indeed the problem of street children remains an ignored tragedy that is set to have a devastating impact on the development of nation.

The paper indicates that the response to the problem has at best been muted and remains ignored or sidelined by the government and the general public. Parents are imposed sending their children into the streets to beg, steal or engage in petty trade, children are leaving their homes to escape domestic violence or because of the breaking up of family structures. The government and the community in general need to put in place viable policies or strategies that will ensure that the plight of street children is urgently addressed. The paper contributes to this task by exploring means and ways that the government and the community at large can play in solving the problem of street children in Nepal.
Title: Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring

Topic: Education/Psychology

Format: Workshop/Poster Session

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Proposal: Instant messaging is rapidly gaining popularity, especially with kids. AOL IM is a catchy creative way to teach and provide the following: advising, outreach, learning and instant mentoring. Through the creation and implementation of a program called Instant Mentoring, students will learn valuable life skills such as preventing and coping with bullies. In addition, students will be divided into equal ‘buddy lists’ among the teachers in order to have a mentor/advisor that they can go to in times of need. This program will also be used as a behavior modification system with rewards and consequences.

Rationale: Out of a need for behavioral improvement, mentors for the students, and psycho-social skills, the decision to create and implement Instant Mentoring was agreed upon. Every Friday, students meet with their ‘advisor’ who is a teacher in the middle school. All teachers participate, and for thirty minutes, teach group lessons on topics such as bullying, tolerance, honesty, and other valuable like skills. Through an increase of social understanding and awareness, this program affects more than students. It reaches parents, teachers, and community members alike. While designed for the student body, the program is an asset for so many others.

Participants Receive: Participants of this workshop/poster session will learn how to create and implement a psycho-educational program within a school setting (can easily be adapted to any setting.) Attendees will have the opportunity to participate in one or two abbreviated group sessions. In addition, they will be given a group packet which can be replicated.
Titles of Units

Family/Adult Support Systems

School Pride

Community Pride

Commitment to Learning: Motivation, Homework, and Roles

7 Habits for Highly Effective Teens Part 1: Reactive and Proactive

7 Habits for Highly Effective Teens Part 2: Planning for the Future

Bullying

Common Courtesy

Tolerance

Anger Management
Spirit Banner

**Name of Unit:** School Pride

**Materials:** colored paper roll, art supplies, students, creative minds.

**Age:** Any

**Focus:** Promoting school spirit and pride

**Procedure:** Divide students into groups of three. Pass out one roll of paper for each group. Direct students to create a ‘spirit banner’ to promote school spirit within the school. This can be related to any sport, academics, or anything that promotes overall good spirit.) When banners are finished, mount on sticks for a pep assembly in which the banners will be judged by the principal. The winning banner gets a prize. After the assembly, display the banners in the hallways to remind students to take pride in their school.

Encourage students to be creative in their designs. They can use string, glitter, anything is possible! Catchy slogans or phrases can also be incorporated into the poster design. The sky is the limit!
You’re Mission…Should You Choose to Accept It!

Name of Unit: “7 Habits of Highly Effective Teens”

Materials: Worksheet #14 from the “7 Habits of Highly Effective Teens” workbook, pen or pencil, students

Age: 6-8

Focus: Composing a Personal Mission Statement - giving students ‘words to live by’ for themselves.

Procedure: Discuss mission statements. What are they for? What do they do? How do you create one? What should be included in a mission statement? Using examples of lyrics from songs, ask students what they think the meaning is: “Live like you were dying” or “I hope you dance” etc. Pass out worksheet #14 to students. Encourage them to create their own unique mission statement. Facilitate discussion of mission statements by sharing one you created. Ask students to share their mission statement and what it means to them. Encourage them to put this in their folder so they can see it and remember it daily.
GO DEEP
What will your verse be?

"Would you tell me please which way I ought to walk from here?" "That depends a good deal on where you want to get," said the Cat.

"I don't much care where," said Alice. "Then it doesn't matter which way to walk," said the Cat.

- From Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

Personal Challenge:
I will have finished my mission statement by ____________________
Write this date in your agenda.

Signature: ____________________ Date: ____________________

For Mission Statement examples: see 7 Habits for Teens – pages 81, 82
It’s More Than Drama…

Name of Unit: Bullying and its effects on students

Age: Grade 6 or above

Materials needed: Scenarios for role play, scrap paper, wastebasket

Goal: To ensure students know how to handle tough or bullying situations.

Evaluation/Processing:
1. What are some positive things you have learned about this topic?
2. What are some things you wish you knew more about?
3. How does this topic make you feel?
4. What do you think of the solutions you came up with?

Activities:
1. Paper basketball- Think of an emotion you have felt while talking about bullies and suicide. Crumple your paper into a ball as you say your emotion and score a point by shooting it into the basket.
2. Role Play- break the group up into equal numbers and give each group a scenario (See Attached scenarios.) Ask students to role-play the situation and come up with a positive solution based on our discussions in group.
3. Review each group’s acting and ask the discussion questions regarding each scenario. Was the outcome appropriate? Was it the best choice? What were some other options? How prepared do you feel to face a situation like that if you had to?
Brian

Brian was a boy who followed me and my friends around when we were in sixth grade. Having been held back in school, he was a year older than the rest of us, and about six inches taller. His voice was loud and grating, and his insistence on being our friend irritated us. It didn't occur to me then how badly he must have needed a friend. On the playground one winter day, we explained to Brian that we had thought of a new game. One of us would be the prisoner, while the rest of us would be divided into "prison guards" and "rescuers." Brian would have the honor of being the prisoner first. Excited to be part of our gang, he agreed. We collected all the jump ropes we could find and tied Brian to a tree at the very edge of the school property. Telling him that we would go organize ourselves into "guards" and "rescuers," we left him there. When the recess bell rang, we went to class. A teacher finally found Brian and untied him, and we were all called to the principal's office. Instead of turning us in, Brian claimed that the whole game was his idea, and that he told us not to untie him because he wanted to escape on his own. He looked at the floor when he said this, and I could tell he was holding back tears. We were relieved not to get in trouble. But when Brian tried to play with us the next time, we chased him away.

Shannon

In eighth grade, there was a new girl named Shannon in our class. She was very shy very skinny and her clothes were a bit out of style.

Within weeks of Shannon's arrival, a popular girl in our class started saying that Shannon had bad body odor. She claimed that Shannon smelled like "fish," and that she didn't clean herself. Before long, boys as well as girls joined in the teasing. They gave Shannon a nickname, "Seafood Shanty," after an actual restaurant in our neighborhood. Soon people began making jokes about "crabs" whenever Shannon was around. Her face would get red, but she never said anything. Sometimes people pretended to be afraid of sitting next to her.

"Are you sure I gotta sit here? Something stinks!" they'd say if a teacher assigned them to a seat anywhere near Shannon. Boys claimed they saw shrimp and crabs crawling around under her desk. Some even called her "Sushi Shannon."

One day, one of my friends took a piece of chalk during lunchtime and drew a giant crab with the words "Now Available at Seafood Shanty" on the chalkboard. We all entered the class at the same time and read the sign. Everyone was laughing hysterically when Shannon walked in. She looked at the chalkboard and the laughing faces around her—people enjoying her suffering—and she burst into tears. And then she did something that surprised me. She wailed out loud like a child in pain and ran out of the classroom.

Many people laughed even harder when she did that. I laughed, too. But deep inside, I knew we had gone too far. Still, I never had the guts to say anything. I wonder where Shannon is now.
Tarah

One afternoon, on the bus ride home from school, I watched Maribel, a high school junior, picking on Tarah, a ninth grader.

Maribel was shooting spitballs at Tarah's head. They were landing in wet clumps all over the place, on Tarah's seat, on her coat, in her hair. During this time, Tarah pretended to be asleep, but I knew she was awake. She was just too scared to do anything.

Maribel seemed to be annoyed that Tarah was not responding. She got up impulsively and started walking to the front of the bus. Other kids giggled as she crept up behind Tarah's seat. Then she pulled a slimy pink glob of chewing gum from her mouth and shoved it deep into Tarah's long, curly hair. Kids at the back of the bus cheered as the gum clung to Tarah's scalp.

"Mar-i-BELL! Mar-i-BELL!"

During this whole time, Tarah didn't budge. She seemed frozen, as if she was somehow safer if she remained motionless. Yet everyone kept laughing and pointing to the neon pink mass tangled in her hair.

The next day, Tarah didn't come to school. When I saw her several days later, I noticed she avoided eye contact with me. And I could see that a section other hair, roughly the size of the gum wad, had been cut out. Tarah tried to hide this by changing her hairstyle, but I knew what had happened. While I felt sorry for Tarah, I was grateful the older kids in the back of the bus had her to pick on instead of me.

Rob

The bullies attacked me when I wasn't looking.

They'd been teasing me for days, calling me a "teacher's pet" ever since they learned I was on the Honor Roll. Normally I sat in the front of the bus and the bigger kids sat in the back. But on this day the front seats were taken, and I had no choice but to sit closer to the bigger, louder kids.

I was 14, a skinny freshman in high school, the only freshman boy on the bus till particular day Sitting in the back two rows were four seniors. They were big guys, who liked to smoke; one even had a beard.

It happened quickly. I heard a voice shout "Hey what's that?" and I turned. In a split second, two hands grabbed my shoulders and held them in place. Another kid sat in front of me so file bus driver couldn't see what was happening. A third grabbed my underwear from behind and yanked with all his might.

The pain was instant. The fabric of my shorts pulled tight and crushed my groin. Then it began to rip, forcing the cotton into uncomfortable places on my backside. Worse than the pain was the laughter. Everyone cackled as if the whole thing was a joke. But I wasn't laughing.

With a heave, the elastic strap broke, and a large section of my underwear came off in this kids hand. He held it up like a trophy and his friends cheered. Then he tied the torn strap around his forehead like a headband. Girls nearby clapped while the other boys relaxed their grip and shoved me into my seat.

I sat there trembling with anger and rage. If I had a gun, I might have shot them all. "How dare they touch me!" I thought, "How dare everyone laugh! "But thankfully I had no gun, and the bus was stopping at my house.

"Look, he's going to cry," said the kid who tore my underwear. "Go ahead and cry, you little girl."

Sometimes today years later, I still think about those boys and feel rage in my chest.
Abstract

Children and adolescents love stories. Bibliotherapy is a proven method of helping individuals understand concepts relevant to their own personal and unique lives. Reading literature on personal topics helps youngsters to overcome the emotional turmoil related to a real-life problem. The story of the "Velveteen Rabbit" has captivated audiences of all ages for the last eighty-three years. Utilizing this beloved story captivates group members. Participants will experience and pass through the three stages of bibliotherapy: identification, catharsis and insight. Emotional release is made possible through the experiences of the rabbit and his quest to become "real". Children and adolescents readily share their most secret concerns through this group experience. The participants use the rabbit in the early stages of the group to depersonalize difficult sharing until they understand the “becoming real” process and can move forward by themselves in an emotionally stronger and mentally healthier manner.

The group originally was created by the efforts of a graduate student and faculty member in an advanced group independent study class at Bowling Green State University. Sessions were designed to reach all types of learners by incorporating visual, kinesthetic, and artistic activities. Culture is addressed by utilizing activities that cut across many diverse populations. The use of a mandala, dream catcher, and specific music helps maintain interest and relates to varied populations. Facilitation of self discovery, emotional exploration and expression culminate in the writing of a personal story of each participant's journey to becoming real.

Although the group was created for a class, it was field tested at a local Children's Resource Center with two different groups; an elementary and adolescent group. Both groups were comprised of females. Since a group is usually a process the structure and activities of this particular group have also become an ever changing process due to issues presented by the group participants and also by the leaders and supervisors to become the group it is today. The group activities, goals and objectives continue change as the group is versatile and can be used in varied settings. The development of the group continues to be a process and will continue to grow and change as the children that are served continue to teach what is truly necessary as they progress to becoming "real".

Data from a student administered pre-post test will be presented to show the improvements experienced by the participants in this classroom or group experience. As of the writing of this abstract a twenty item questionnaire with a five point Likert scale has been administered to elementary boys currently involved in the Velveteen group. Selected questions that we hope to show improvement on include: question 6 related to having friends; 83% identified having few friends and question 17 related to understanding how others feel; 67% were unable to identify the feelings of others. Additional questions related to liking self, lying, sharing emotions and feelings have yet to be analyzed.
The Malaysian Ageing Population: Dreams and Dilemmas

Cross-disciplinary areas (Sociology and Media Discourse)

Paper session

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ABSTRACT

Improved health, longer life expectancy, low mortality rates and declining fertility over the past decades have led to a change in the demographic profile of the Malaysian population. Although Malaysia is still classified as a young country by ASEAN, the age structure for the past four censuses (in 1970, 1980, 1991 and 2000) clearly shows that the population of younger age groups is declining while the ageing population is increasing. It is estimated that by the year 2020, 9.5% of the country’s population will be aged 60 years and above. In addition, it can also be observed that the changes at large in today’s society namely, new retirement policies, the era of science and technology, the values placed on physical attributes and the acknowledgement of knowledge over wisdom have seemingly given rise to the devaluation of the elderly. The government has been slow to respond to the needs of the elderly because demographic ageing in Malaysia has not reached critical levels and family support is still considered a norm although it is on the decline. The devaluation of the elderly is further enforced by the media which plays a significant role in creating, controlling, regulating and reflecting public opinion. Despite the enormous literature on journalism globally, studies in print news on the elderly is less when compared to entertainment and advertising. Furthermore, no study has attempted to investigate the experiences of the elderly in Malaysia. Hence, this study sets out to do so in the local context and to find out what role the print media plays in both reproducing and transforming this cultural tendency. For the purposes of this study a five year database of newspaper articles featuring the elderly from a leading Malaysian English newspaper were reviewed. The critical discourse analysis approach which concerns itself with ideology, hierarchy, power and social inequalities was used to analyze the texts concerning the elderly which are featured in the newspapers. Both sociological and linguistic approaches were combined to investigate the relationship between discourse and society. The articles which featured the elderly in Malaysia were analyzed for three main concerns; how the elderly are represented, what identities are set up for those involved in the discourse and what relationships are set up between the expert and the audience. The texts from the articles were then reduced to categories and coded. The relationships among the concepts were mapped. The results showed that in the Malaysian context the elderly are politically and economically powerless, feel a loss of purpose due to a lack of alternatives upon retirement and that the Malaysian media does not adequately highlight the plight of the elderly. In fact their comparative absence in the print news and their voices in particular show their lack of representation and integration into society. These suggest that elderly Malaysians could be faced with alienating conditions. The results from this study would prove useful for the development of social security, health care, social services, long-term care, NGOs, programs and policies for the elderly.
The Threat of Immediate, Potentially Biased Evaluation by Whites Doesn’t Create Stereotype Threat Performance Drops in Minority Own-Group Contexts but Non-evaluative Out-Group Co-Actors Do.

Lloyd Sloan¹, Grady Wilburn¹, Debbie Camp¹, and Daniel Martin²

This research examines the role of the degree of presence of, and possible evaluations by, potentially stereotyping out-group members on the intellectual performance of negatively stereotyped minority test-takers. Sloan (2000) and subsequent others extended Steele and Aronson’s (1995) original proposal when they found that diagnostic testing with challenging stereotype-related materials in exclusively in-group settings didn’t produce performance decrements, but Stereotype Threat performance decrements did occur in out-group context testing, suggesting that stereotype threat outcomes may require out-group presence. Stereotype Threat performance decrements are eliminated when the tests are described as ethnically “fair”, suggesting that anticipation of immediate, potentially biased evaluation by out-group members may produce stereotype threat decrements within in-group contexts where it is otherwise absent. 326 African-American university students took 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) a White professor would arrive before the session ended and score their tests before they left or (2) the White professor interrupted just before the SAT test began to remind the Black Experimenter that he would return before the end of the session, thus reinforcing perceptions of out-group presence and evaluation. White experimenter’s produced stereotype threat performance decrements while African American experimenters’ didn’t, except when a White participant was present, suggesting that some out-group presence is required. None of the Black experimenter’s descriptions of the White professor scoring their test in their presence, nor the brief actual appearance of the White researcher 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, that such effects may require the added impact of frequent out-group member presence for their performance diminishing impacts.

In a notable departure from many attempts to explain persisting majority-minority differences in academic achievement, Steele and Aronson (1995) proposed and successfully demonstrated a situational psychological phenomenon that they named Stereotype Threat. Stereotype Threat theory was based on situational influences and may account for a considerable portion of the frequently reported performance discrepancies between majority and negatively stereotyped minority performers on challenging intellectual tasks like the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and general aptitude measurements. Alternatives as diverse as institutionalized, systemic structure or innate group differences have been suggested elsewhere, but Stereotype Threat hypotheses, and the present work, focus on cognitive and motivational consequences of situational influences that may make the test taker more aware of or concerned about a negative stereotype of their group’s ability on such tasks.

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What is Stereotype Threat and why is it thought to occur? Steele and Aronson, (1995) proposed that Stereotype Threat could be aroused by taking a difficult, frustrating test in an area (e.g., intellectual) that is a component of a relevant, negative, in-group stereotype. Those authors described it as placing one in the possible position of confirming by one's own behavior and performance, a negative stereotype about one’s group. An individual’s concerns that they might fulfill the stereotype or lend credibility to the stereotype through weak performance (e.g., through Stereotype Threat arousal) may create additional threats to the individual’s self-evaluation and may damage performance through other mechanisms including increased self or group consciousness, lowered performance expectations, reduced task effort, added evaluation apprehension, or even simple distraction from the task. Still others have suggested that the Stereotype Threat effect may be essentially initiated by a simpler cognitive priming event (Wheeler and Petty, 2001). These possibilities parallel hypothesized causes of the negative performance effects of Social Facilitation on difficult, challenging tasks undertaken in social settings compared to doing the task alone and without social impacts. Zajonc and Sales (1966) suggested that this was due to the presence of others while Cottrell et al. (1968) found support for evaluation apprehension as well. Later Baron (1986) argued that others produce distraction and resulting conflict with task attentional demands. That latter position was recently supported when Huguet et al. (1999) demonstrated that the presence of others produces a narrowed attentional focus that may hinder performance.

A combination of these sorts of mechanisms or any one singly, could reduce performance under the hypothesized stereotype threat conditions. Recent findings for example have shown only modest support for the direct performance damaging role of performance anxiety (Sawyer and Hollis-Sawyer, 2005), but have shown strong impacts on less anticipated cognitive shortfalls. Numerous researchers have now confirmed that Stereotype Threat conditions reduce working memory capacity, a serious problem for high intellectual performance (c.f., Schmader and Johns, 2003; Chasteen, Bhattacharyya, Horhota, Tam and Hasher, 2005), perhaps in part by adding an extra mental load (Croizet, Despres, Gauzins, Huguet, Leyens and Meot, 2004) and/or by generating negative thinking in the performer (Cadinu, Maass, Rosabianca and Kiesner, 2005).

Steele and Aronson (1995) observed the hypothesized performance reductions on difficult verbal ability tests administered to African American students when describing the test as being “diagnostic” of their personal ability. Such performance decrements didn't occur, relative to a test taking African American 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. Steele and Aronson (1995) also demonstrated activation of, and avoidance of, negative ethnic stereotypes when African American students anticipated immediately taking such a difficult verbal ability test. Again however, this occurred only when the test was described as being diagnostic of their ability. As expected, 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.

In the decade since the conceptualization of Stereotype Threat, the phenomenon appears to be very robust, generalizable and may be of great impact across many performance situations and for many negatively stereotyped social groups. This generality of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon has been observed in many 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), White men in stereotypically less successful (than African Americans) athletic tests (Stone, J., Lynch, C.I., Sjomeling, M. & Darley, J.M., 1999) and White men compared with women in a social sensitivity task (Koenig and Eagly, 2005) to note a few.

A central issue remains under investigation. What specific events or factors or mechanisms acting in the performance situations influence or cause the source or amount of activation of the stereotype awareness and performance decrements? A focal issue is to identify the mechanisms that contribute to the Stereotype Threat phenomena. An 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 being faced with a negative stereotype related, difficult test, other suggested factors that possibly increase stereotype awareness include simple reminders of race or race differences, expected bias and perhaps the implied comparisons that thoughts of stereotypes may suggest.

The Unanticipated Impacts of Out-group Member Presence on Stereotype Awareness Increases and Performance Decrements: Stanford University, a largely majority institution was the site of Steele and Aronson’s (1995) original research. As a result the challenging, stereotype relevant test may not 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?

In 1999, Sloan, Gurira, Starr, Sloan and Jackson addressed these hypotheses by measuring stereotype avoidance, stereotype activation and other hypothesized 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.

Diagnosticity was successful manipulated in the African American experimenter condition, but the overall results were in contrast to the Steele and Aronson (1995) findings and to simple predictions from the original 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. Later research observed performance reductions consistent with the above sited findings on Stereotype Threat arousal and awareness. 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 (cf., Sloan, Phillip, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson, 2000; Sloan, Glenn and Craig, 2002; Sloan, Wilburn, Martin, Fenton, Starr, Craig, Gilbert, and Glenn, 2003; Marx and Goff, 2005). Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000 and 2003) found similar results for women taking math tests with versus without men test-takers present. Thus the outgroup member may be an additional reminder of the stereotype or may cue possible stereotype-related bias/fairness concerns which have performance consequences. The latter question is related to the focus of this research.

Is out-group member presence required for some instances of Stereotype Threat?
The preceding findings results imply that a homogeneously 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 cues of notable stereotyping potential (here, racial) from out-group members present in addition to the diagnostisity of stereotype relevant task performance.

Terrell and Terrell’s (1981) work in Cultural Mistrust has observed analogous 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). Expectations of possible prejudices and negative stereotyping of the minority member by the White test-giver seem likely to produce lower perceptions of trustworthiness and credibility in the 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.

Early findings from current research in our laboratory confirms that African American students at this university expect a significantly higher likelihood that they will be negatively stereotyped and less favored by White Americans than by other American subgroups or any of the other nationalities examined. As a result, 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 additionally 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.

**Employing Out-group Presence to Examine the Mechanisms of Stereotype Threat:**

The potential effects of a hypothesized moderator of Stereotype Threat may be examined from several approaches. One approach pursued earlier has attempted to remove one potential negative element from the stereotype threat producing situation. Sloan, Philip, Jones, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson (2000) and Sloan, Maitland, Starr, Philip & Jones (2001) focused on the minority students’ perception of the 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 increase the participants’ awareness of the related stereotype, and/or it may more specifically suggest the possibility of biased testing or evaluation. Sloan, et. al. (2000), 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”. Within this situation, the White Experimenter condition no longer produced performance decrements. This suggested 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).

An opposite approach for teasing out the underlying mechanisms of Stereotype Threat was 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 alternative approach calls for adding 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). Sloan, et al.,
(2003), for example employed an African American experimenter presenting standard
diagnostic or nondiagnostic instructions to African American participants but also
adding that the test was known to be culturally and ethnically biased and unfair. This
added Stereotype Threat relevant manipulation produced no diagnosticity effect
however, and the authors suggested that out-group member presence may be required
to make an unfair test a threat.

An additional example of this alternative, second 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.

The present investigations use this second approach also 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.

Proposed Research Questions:

Prior research has shown that simply expecting that one’s data is being collected for
evaluation by a White experimenter does not produce the Stereotype Threat effects
(Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Craig-Henderson and Martin, 2005).

Would anticipating the actual arrival of a White, stereotype relevant, out-group
member to score one’s test in one’s presence, providing immediate evaluation of
performance (on a possibly ethnically unfair test) serve to increase Stereotype Threat
performance concern and decrements (perhaps through ethnic bias or likelihood of
stereotyping concerns) even in exclusively in-group contexts where it is usually
absent? An unfair test may be of little concern when the results are to be employed
only by other in-group member-researchers or if it is to be scores only after you leave.

Would this concern be increased by a White researcher actually appearing just before
the challenging intellectual test began and announcing that he would return at the end
of the testing? This should make anticipated out-group comparison-evaluation very
credible, but if White presence is instead an immediate prime or distractor, then this
brief appearance may have little impact on the majority of the challenging tasks on the
test.
In contrast, to examine continuous, mere presence of an out-group member without evaluative capacity, another Black experimenter condition included a white student in the group of test-takers (acting perhaps as an additional reminder of the stereotype or as a prime or distractor as above?).

METHODOLOGY

African-American women and men students at a historically African-American University (n= 326) participated in this research 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 20 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) that the White professor would arrive before the end of the session and score their tests before they left, or (2) the White professor interrupted just before the SAT test began to remind the Black Experimenter that he (the White researcher) would return before the end of the session. This was manipulated in order to investigate whether varying degrees of credibly anticipated and potentially stereotyping, out-group involvement would create or amplify any impacts of diagnostic instructions on performance deterioration. 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=8.6 (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(1,77)=6.16, p<.02; see Figure 1).

The Black experimenter’s statement that the White researcher would arrive and score their results in their presence caused no performance decrement effect (F<1; see Figure 2). Similarly, the White professor’s interruption just before the SAT test began to
remind the Black Experimenter that he (the White researcher) would return before the end of the session had no decremental effect on performance (F<1; see Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task: White Researcher Appears at Test Beginning Saying He Will Return at End**

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).

**Figure 4: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)**
CONCLUSIONS

When potentially stereotyping out-group testers presented the tests as being ethnically fair the Stereotype Threat performance decrements were eliminated suggesting that perceived unfairness in testing-evaluation was an important factor in Stereotype Threat. However within entirely in-group contexts (with a Black experimenter), expected immediate or future potentially stereotype consistent, unfair evaluations by out-group member researchers have not lead to hypothesized performance decrements in prior research or here. Dramatically, the mere presence of a very low evaluative potential White participant in the test taking group did lead to stereotyped minority members’ performance decrements. These findings suggest that if perceived or expected bias in evaluation may be a significant part of the concerns that drive the Stereotype Threat Effect, that those factors may require some perhaps amplifying impact of the presence of potentially stereotyping out-group members to create Stereotype Threat’s negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

The present study attempted to isolate any impact of expected comparison or evaluation by potentially stereotyping out-group members by incorporating a White professor who was to arrive at the end of the task and score the results with the test-takers to determine whether live evaluation threat was an important part of the diagnostic-stereotype threat effect. 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 live White, as opposed to, the Black experimenters. This manipulation, with no out-group members actually present, had no Stereotype Threat effects on participant performance.

Even the very brief actual appearance of the White researcher at the beginning of the intellectual task produced no diagnostic effect. These multiple factors still produced no indication of the diagnosticity effect so prevalent in out-group contexts for African Americans.

Only with the White test-giver or the White experimental participant in the Black experimenter’s testing session 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, the White experimenter or White participant), acting much more strongly as cues to expectations of stereotyping, or of unfair evaluation or as stereotyping primes or as distractors or evaluators. However this effect seems to occur thus far only when the White out-group member is presence for the entire portion of the intellectual task, suggesting that presence effects, if they occur at all in a brief appearance, are short-lived when the White stimulus person leaves the setting.

As in earlier findings, the current results 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.
Findings summarized here tend to suggest that there may be some other factor than simple comparison or evaluation 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 extensive, 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 evaluation concerns than those created in the settings or manipulations employed in this and prior research.

If the latter is the case, then it may be that substantial levels of cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; 1983; Whaley, 2001a), perhaps necessarily emphasized by more extensive out-group presence or majority social setting context, may be needed for negative stereotype awareness concerns to have impact. 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 mitigate or negate the adverse impact of the tester’s personal motives.

References


a. title of the submission
A Study of Process and Acquiring of the Meaning of Self-Disclosure in Encounter Group

b. topic area of the submission
Psychology

c. presentation format
Poster sessions

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A Study of Process and Acquisition of the Meaning of Self-Disclosure in Encounter Group

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Introduction

The author was trained in the graduate school of psychotherapy training course. In this course, the philosophy and methodology of Encounter Group which was based on the Basic Encounter Group (Rogers, 1970) was applied. And the purpose of this training for students was 1) get in touch with themselves and others, 2) to be able to disclose themselves when needed, 3) to obtain the ability to respond, 4) to aware what is happening, and 5) to become able to make self-decision (Kurato, 2005). Consequently, students acquire the basic attitude and intervention skills as psychotherapists through the training. The program of this training course was consisted of 3 stages (Table.1). The first stage was “Exercise experience” in the first semester of the master course. The second stage was “Group member experience” in the second semester and the third semester of the master course. The third stage was “Facilitator experience” in the fourth semester of the master course. Through these 3 stages, the students equip themselves for psychotherapist and become aware of their psychological issues. For the author himself, “self-disclosure” has been an issue. In this case, definition of self-disclosure is “the means by which one person willingly makes himself known to others, and process of self-disclosure is a process by which a man comes to know himself” (Jourard, 1958). In other words, “honest disclosure of self to others leads to true knowledge of one’s “self”; which constitutes a basis of one’s existential meaning” (Kurato, 1974).
So, this present study reports how the author has become acquainted with self-disclosure and acquired thus self-disclosure in the training course. Also this study examines what the meaning of self-disclosure is.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. The program of the training course.</th>
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<td><strong>M1</strong></td>
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<td><strong>The 1st semester</strong></td>
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<td>Exercise experience</td>
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<td>Group member experience</td>
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<td><strong>M2</strong></td>
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<td><strong>The 3rd semester</strong></td>
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<td>Group member experience</td>
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<td><strong>The 4th semester</strong></td>
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<td>Facilitator experience</td>
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Method

**Subject:** author himself.

**Methodology of analysis:** The KJ method (Kawakita, 1967), an analysis of written materials was employed. The written materials consisted of the verbatim from a 2 years long experience in the graduate course.

Results and Discussions

In the first stage, “Exercise experience”, I learned the basis of intervention skills as a psychotherapist. But, at the beginning of this stage, it was difficult for me to obtain an effective intervention as expected. So, I was confused. Through this experience, I became aware that the intervention to others was, for one, to express the feeling of mine instead of
using some intervention techniques. It seemed that this experience was the stage in which I acquainted with intervention skill and became aware of observing the inside of myself. In other words, the stage of “Exercise experience” helped to acquire “Self-observation” for me. (Figure.1)

In the stage of “Group member experience”, I felt somewhat out of place with other members, because they talked for long time without feeling in the encounter group. And I kept silence with distrust to other members. When some sessions passed, the facilitator helped me to become aware of my body movement. This intervention enabled to disclosure my feeling of uncomfortableness at the group. Then, there were some responses from members to my “self-disclosure”. Therefore I was able to feel accepted from the group, and I could willingly make myself known to members. This experience was my first experience of “self-disclosure in the group”. So it seemed that the issue of mine was “self-disclosure” in the stage of “Group member experience” (Figure.2).
Before the “Facilitator experience”, I felt anxious to perform the role of the facilitator. However, by rehearsing and receiving the supervision in advance, my uneasiness changed into the sense of responsibility to the group. However, in the early sessions, I worried if the group members would be only talking on gassing. Since I had the above feeling in functioning as a facilitator, I couldn’t have enough confidence. Consequently, I couldn’t believe the group would go well. During the supervision which was held by the professor of the course between sessions, he advised me to try to disclose my feeling to members. I believed in him and disclosed my feeling toward members and my situation in the group. Then, he proposed to try to do “self-disclosure” which expressed my negative impression to the group. And when I challenged “self-disclosure” of those feelings, I received the response from members, and they also confessed how they felt in the group. I thought that the group developed by these dialogues. Through these experiences, I could have confidence that “self-disclosure” would be one but good intervention method. Finally, it seemed that the stage of the
“Facilitator experience” provided me to practice “self-disclosure” as an intervention method in group psychotherapy (Figure.3).

References


Economic Restructuring, State Policy and Spatial Transformation: 
A Study of Office Development in Hong Kong

Bo-sin Tang and Siu-wai Wong
Abstract

Private market initiatives and state planning policy are two key forces shaping urban land-use changes. While the private market is often conceived to be primarily demand-driven, the rationale behind land-use planning decisions by the public authority is less well understood. This is especially so in the case of Hong Kong where such decisions are made at closed-door meetings by a group of government-appointed elite. Economic restructuring towards a service-oriented economy during the past three decades, as a result of the opening of mainland China, has led to a strong demand for office property in this compact city. Property developers and private landowners have responded by converting and developing residential and industrial land into office uses. All land in the territory is leasehold and such private development is subject to government planning approval. While Hong Kong is renowned as a laissez-faire economy, land and property development is nonetheless subject to strong government intervention. Using statistical records of property development data, this study examines planning and market decisions in influencing spatial distribution and development of office property in Hong Kong. It demonstrates how the institutions of urban planning and government policy have facilitated and constrained urban spatial transformation in this city.
1. Introduction

During the past three decades, many western cities have witnessed a highly visible transformation of their urban built environment. Prime offices, upmarket hotels, luxurious shopping malls, housing apartments and business convention facilities have emerged in accessible downtown locations leading to a facelift of the old urban centres within cities. Proliferation of postmodernist architecture, preservation of historical monuments, development of hi-tech development corridors, flexible and mixed uses of building space and suburban master-planned communities are some common features (Knox, 1991). Many western cities also experienced a coincidence of property market booms during the latter half of the 1980s, which Ball (1994) argues, were fuelled by a widespread process of changing economic structure, information technology improvement, rising consumer power, financial liberalization and government deregulation.

Urban spatial restructuring encompasses a complex mix of economic, political and social processes (Soja, et al., 1983; Gottdiener & Komninos, 1989; Bearegard, 1991; DiGaetano & Klemanski 1991; Fujita, 1991; Kephart, 1991; Machimura, 1992; Stimson, 1995; Lo & Yeung, 1995; Gritsai, 1997). It is argued that cities are affected by a new economic order characterized by geographical decentralization of production, internationalization of private capital and increasing cross-border activities (Henderson & Castells, 1987; Sassen, 1991; Knox & Taylor, 1995; Brotchie et al., 1995; Castells, 1996, 1998; Knox, 1997; Soros 1998). Capital exodus has brought massive scale of de-industrialization, unemployment, population flight and urban decline in many old industrial cities, and led to an economic structural shift towards finance, banking and higher-order business services. Internationalization of commercial activities has made multinational corporations ‘a new geometry of power’ which seeks to impose a hegemonic ideology of privatization, state deregulation and open markets on urban policy (Castells, 1998, pp. 347-355).

Some opinions contend that such restructuring has severely hampered state power (McCarney et al., 1995; Goodwin & Painter, 1996; McCarney, 1996; Sassen, 1996). Increasing global competition, production flexibility and capital movement have led to a change in political and social regulation. States are said to be drawn into ‘regulating for deregulation’ (Hoogvelt, 1997, p. 139) as they face enormous pressure to conform to market ideology. This is reflected in a shift from welfare state to workfare state (Jessop, 1993), and a switch from managerial to entrepreneurial policy at an urban level (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1990). Urban policy is
increasingly dominated by market considerations, in which there is a strong bias in favour of economic efficiency and market priority (Jensen-Butler & van Wessep, 1997). Traditional assumptions, practices and values in support of urban planning are undermined (Yiftachel & Alexander, 1995). Urban planning objectives have shifted from achieving welfare improvement, environmental protection and public interest to facilitating economic production, private investment and profitability (Healey et al., 1988). In the UK, for example, urban planning was transformed to mimic private sector functions (Thornley, 1996), and changed from being ‘market-critical’ to being ‘market-aware’ (Healey, 1992). Planning restrictions have been relaxed to facilitate property-led urban regeneration (Turok, 1992). Urban planning has been used to support city marketing initiatives and urban promotion of ‘mega-projects’ (Berry & Huxley, 1992). In many instances, such leverage on private property sector has not only reinforced spatial imbalance of urban development, but also resulted in destabilizing property markets in cities (Edwards, 1990; 2002; Fainstein, 1995).

Against this background, this paper examines government intervention of urban spatial restructuring in a small, compact city called Hong Kong. Located at the southern tip of Mainland China, Hong Kong was governed as a British colony for over 150 years until 1st July 1997. Since then, it has become a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People’s Republic of China. Under the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law of Hong Kong, the prevailing market institutions, system of private property rights and capitalist way of life remain unchanged. As an international financial centre and a free port, Hong Kong is susceptible to global and regional forces of economic restructuring. With a total land area of only about 1,100 sq. km. and a population of over 6.8 million people, Hong Kong is definitely one of the most densely populated cities in the world. Worse still, most of the territory comprises a mountainous terrain and only about 20% is flat land readily suitable for development. A quest for development land becomes a regular problem to local town planners.

This study examines how the institutions of urban planning and government policy have facilitated and constrained office development in Hong Kong. Following this introduction, this paper is divided into four sections. Section 2 underscores some key features of the political economy of Hong Kong. Section 3 outlines its regulatory framework of development control. Section 4 discusses how planning decisions have affected private office development initiatives and highlights some decision-making criteria of the planning decisions with the use of a statistical model. Section 5 concludes the paper.
2. Political Economy of Hong Kong

Hong Kong is often described as global example of a free market economy (Rabushka, 1979). Its development trajectory is said to have relied on private market initiatives working under a benevolent, limited city government that provides highest possible economic freedom. The government always claims that its major role is to provide a business-friendly environment and market infrastructure and then allow market force to prevail. Government’s contribution to the GDP is always kept to be around 20%. No matter whether its political status was a British Colony or is a Special Administrative Region of China, Hong Kong does not have a democratically elected government. The government bureaucracy comprises a highly centralized structure involving the Chief Executive (previously the Governor), Executive and Legislative Councils, the civil service and the judiciary. Top policy decisions come from the centre of the government bureaucracy. Government departments discharge their duties in accordance with the provisions of the respective Ordinances and policy decisions. Such a highly centralized, executive-led system, which can be dated back to the colonial regime before July 1997, enables the top government officials to be answerable to their sovereigns (Harris, 1978; Miners, 1998), and is commonly regarded as an effective governance model of this territory.

Hong Kong was initially a small fishing village in the early 20th century. Before the Second World War, it was mainly an entrepot for mainland China. Industrialization began after the War when the United Nations imposed trade embargoes on China. Local industrial expansion in the territory was enhanced by the exodus of industrial capital and expertise mainly from Shanghai and the influx of mainland refugees, both fleeing the Chinese Communist regime. The decade between 1960 and 1970 marked a prosperous development of light industries in Hong Kong. Manufacturing was then the largest economic sector in both GDP contribution and labour employment until the mid-1980s. Industrial growth supported the development of tertiary sector and strengthened Hong Kong's trading function. However, by the mid-1970s, Hong Kong’s industrial development was increasingly constrained by high property prices, rising labour costs and limited availability of expansion space.

Implementation of open policy and economic reforms under the leadership of the then Deng Xiaoping since 1978 has led to enormous economic and spatial transformation. Special Economic Zones that provided preferential policies to investors were established in Southern China with the
purpose of attracting foreign investment and modern technology. The opening of Southern China at that time supported Hong Kong to restructure its local economy and society towards service-based production and middle-class society. Manufacturing operations were relocated to the mainland so as to take advantage of its lower land and labour costs, favourable taxes and export subsidies. Hong Kong experienced rapid de-industrialization since the early 1980s. During 1980-1997, there was a marked decline in the manufacturing sector. Its contributions to GDP dropped from 23.8% in 1980, 18.9% in 1989 to 6.5% of the GDP in 1997. Conversely, its servicing sector rose steadily from 67.2% of GDP in 1980 to 85.2% in 1997. More significant growth came from the higher-order servicing sectors such as trading, finance, insurance, business services and real estate. Manufacturing employment dropped significantly from 910,000 jobs in 1980 to around 289,000 jobs in 1997 while servicing sectors began to dominate the employment market by providing over 1.4 million jobs in 1997. Professionalization of the labour force was another trend. Unemployment rates were kept low in most years before 1997.

As Hong Kong economy becomes increasingly service-oriented, real estate has also turned into a significant component of its economic resources. Haila (2000) has described Hong Kong as a 'property state' because a disproportionate amount of wealth is tied up in physical land and real property. The growth of the Hong Kong property sector was related to its burgeoning economy, which took off in the 1970s and grew tremendously during the 1980s and 1990s. Within the two decades between 1976 and 1997, for instance, Hong Kong’s real GDP grew at twice the world growth rate and achieved an enviable rate of 7% annually, or 5% per capita on average (Hong Kong SAR Government, 1998, p. 43). Property sector was estimated to have contributed some 24% of Hong Kong’s GDP since 1980 (Walker, 1990). Local banking and finance sector is intimately linked to the property industry. Generally about half of the commercial bank loans for local uses are spent on property development and related uses.

All land in the territory is owned by the government and is allocated to private uses under a leasehold system. The scarcity of developable land is a major supply-side constraint in Hong Kong but it also makes land a valuable government asset. Land sale revenues generally made up over 10% of the total government incomes. The government is highly disciplined in its land disposal policy, and is extremely mindful of property market performance because this has a major impact on the government’s financial position. The government is determined to maintain a system of competitive land allocation through public auction and tender so as to achieve fairness as well as to secure highest land sale revenue. Apart from land supply, the government can also
intervene into land development process through the development control mechanisms. Housing is notably the single property sector that has received the most extensive government intervention (Schiffer, 1991). At the moment, over half of Hong Kong’s population is staying in public housing of one kind or another. Before 1997, about one-third of private housing developments came from public land sale, through which the government could exercise direct control on location, scale and timing of development; the remaining supply was generated from private redevelopment of leased land. Through development control mechanisms, the government could exert influence on these redevelopment schemes. To enhance its fiscal health and to avoid excessive public infrastructure spending, the government has an incentive to maintaining a gradual release of serviced land for development.

3. Development Control Framework in Hong Kong

Development control in Hong Kong comprises mainly three separate levels including planning, land lease and building controls. Empowered by the Town Planning Ordinance (Chapter 131, Laws of Hong Kong), land use planning control is exercised by means of zonings embodied in over 100 statutory town plans. These statutory zonings set out the range of permissible uses on the site and thus have a direct impact on the redevelopment potential of private land lots.

On the other hand, as all land in Hong Kong is leasehold, development control can also be achieved, contractually, through the land lease documents. The government as the ultimate land lessor can impose various development requirements on the lessees. Every site can be subject to a separate set of requirements on the lease period, permitted land use, building form, development intensity and other appropriate development restrictions.

Finally, the Buildings Ordinance (Chapter 123, Laws of Hong Kong) requires that all private building and construction works must obtain prior approvals from the Building Authority. Through vetting of the building plan submissions from private developers, the government can ensure that a proposed development does not contravene any statutory and administrative provisions. Although these three levels of control are enforced by separate government departments, they generally complement each other in implementing the prevailing government policies. All these departments report ultimately to the government administrators. Thus, the development control authority in Hong Kong is, on the one hand, fragmented, but on the other hand, centralized (Tang et al., 2004).
Planning is at the forefront of all these controls. This means that private developers have to obtain the necessary planning permissions prior to land lease and building approvals. The zoning of the subject sites is thus crucial in this respect. Comparatively speaking, the land use zoning system in Hong Kong is less complicated than in other cities. Every piece of land is designated under a land use zone. Attached to every zoning is a Schedule of Statutory Notes that shows the types of land use that are always permitted within the zone (Column 1 uses) and the other uses (Column 2 uses) for which prior permission from the Town Planning Board (TPB) must be sought. The TPB is a statutory decision-making body responsible for plan making and planning control in Hong Kong. It is chaired by a senior government administrator and comprises mainly government appointed part-time, unofficial members, and is serviced by the government’s Planning Department.

Hong Kong is described as having a ‘hybrid’ planning control system because it essentially entails a discretionary approval process for private development applications made within a statutory framework of land-use zoning plans (Booth, 1996). This system is said to lie somewhere between a rigid ‘regulatory’ US zoning institution and a ‘discretionary’ UK planning permission system. The government source claims that, in considering planning applications, the TPB would ‘usually take into account such factors as the planning intention and Government policies, social, economic and environmental impacts of the development on the wider area, traffic and infrastructural implications, and compatibility of land uses’ (Planning Department, 1995, p. 27). The term ‘usually’ reflects the discretion in the planning decision process. In other words, the planning authority may consider a broad range of factors which are not well defined at the outset and cannot be specified distinctly prior to its decision. These factors can vary from case to case, since every statutory town plan contains a standard clause stating that every planning application would be judged on its own merit. But, what factors are regarded as ‘material considerations’ and how these factors have been weighted against each other by the decision-makers are rather obscure, because decisions are made behind closed doors and in the absence of applicants.

4. Study of Planning Decisions: Office Development in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is always described as pro-development and a free-market economy. However, previous studies about whether planning decisions followed market choices have shown some interesting results. Tang et al., (2000) and Tang & Choy (2000) argue that planning decisions on urban office redevelopment were affected by prevailing market supply conditions and suggest
that the TPB tended to reject new development applications when the current market supply was abundant. Thus, planning is not found to be autonomous of the market, nor is it a simple technical exercise. Lai & Ho (2001) also reveal that local development control mechanism for two residential zones was fairly responsive to rising property prices and it helped increase housing supply accordingly. Hui & Ho (2002) attribute a dramatic increase in planning approval rates to a change in government policy towards releasing more housing supply. However, in another empirical study, Lai & Ho (2002) suggest that Hong Kong planning permission was market neutral towards the container industry because the stated planning policy of concentrating container-related uses within ‘Open Storage’ zones was not followed by the TPB. Tang & Tang (1999) also find conflicting planning policies and unrealistic expectation of market reaction in implementation of certain planning incentives. Planning decision is thus not a straightforward mechanical process, but a key subject matter for study.

Development control has long attracted extensive scholarly interests (e.g. Underwood, 1981; Pearce, 1987; Rowan-Robinson et al, 1995; Willis, 1995; Thomas, 1997). Gilg & Kelly (1996) summarize four major methodological approaches with different analytical perspectives in studying such decisions. We ground our analysis within their category of ‘logical positivism’. What we will do is to first set out our hypotheses in explaining the planning decision, and then rely upon statistical inference with a view to falsifying these hypotheses (Preece, 1990). Logistic regression will be used in this study. It is basically an estimation method to test the relative strengths and significance of the factors (explanatory variables) in explaining the decision outcomes (dependent variable). A logistic regression model avoids the unboundedness of the dependent variable, expressed in terms of the probability of getting planning permission, which contains only two possible outcomes, i.e., either approval (Y=1) or rejection (Y=0).

In this study, we will examine planning control decisions on office development on residential land in Hong Kong. During the past three decades, many landowners and private developers in Hong Kong have sought to redevelop their housing land for commercial-office uses. Such redevelopment normally requires prior planning approval if the site is zoned as residential. We draw such data of development applications from the Planning Register which is available for public inspection. In residential zones, there were altogether 198 private applications for commercial-office development between 1985 and 2004. The TPB gave approval to 105 applications and rejected 93 cases. The success rate was 53%.
We will test two major groups of explanatory variables in the model. The first group contains publicly stated planning policies and decision-making guidelines issued by the TPB. There are seven variables including site area, configuration, availability of loading facilities, carparking, frontage, distance to transit station and traffic conditions around the site. The second group refers to our own hypothesized variables that may affect the chance of approval. These include proposed floor area, office market supply, vacancy, number of previous applications, date of decision, relative distances to nearby approved and rejected cases. The objective of our study is to test which variables might eventually be found to be statistically significant. If the stated policy guidelines were fully effective, we would expect our final model to include all the first group of variables with the expected signs. Explanatory variables that are statistically significant in the final model are identified as the key factors accounting for the decisions.

Table 1 shows the result of the final model which contains six explanatory variables and correctly predicts over 69% of the decision outcome. The remaining ones have been removed by backward stepwise elimination. Only two out of seven planning guidelines enter into the final model. Availability of loading and unloading facilities is found to be a very significant decision criterion. Indeed, the lack of such facilities accounted for one of the mostly quoted reasons for rejection of such applications by the TPB. In other words, not every stated planning guideline had an equal weight in accounting for the decisions. Furthermore, the number of previous applications was found to be significant and have a positive effect. In other words, the case would likely get approval if it involved more applications in the past. It appears that the applicants might be able to move up a learning curve when they accumulated more experience in dealing with the TPB.

[Table 1 here]

The final model also indicates that the TPB might have pursued a spatial clustering strategy in considering private commercial-office redevelopment on residential land. The relative distances to nearby approved and rejected cases are found to be significant decision factors. It looks like that the decision makers wished to concentrate office redevelopment projects on specific clusters rather than allow them to spread out in the urban districts. Such strategy may help to achieve land use compatibility. However, their proximity to mass transit stations and their proposed site areas, which were included in the stated planning policy, are not found to be significant factors. Thus, the chance of success may not entirely be related to the particulars of the proposed project itself.
The model also indicates that the date of decision is a significant negative factor. An application tended to attract rejection in recent periods. There could be several possible explanations. First, the TPB might have changed its policy attitude towards private commercial-office redevelopment on residential land. Urban decay has recently attracted a lot of public attention and concerns in Hong Kong. To address this problem, an Urban Renewal Authority (URA) has been set up by the government since 2000 with a mission of pursuing a comprehensive approach in regenerating the old urban areas. The Authority is a statutory body responsible for assembling private land lots in the urban districts and redeveloping them under a large, master-planned project. This approach is often considered much preferable to piecemeal redevelopment of small, single lots by original landowners. The TPB might wish to reject such attempts of private redevelopment in order to complement the URA approach.

Another possible reason might relate to the protection of residential land supply. High housing price in Hong Kong has always been a politically sensitive issue, especially during the late colonial regime. After the change of political sovereignty, C.H. Tung’s SAR government tackled this issue head-on with a supply-side solution and announced to pursue a housing production target of completing at least 85,000 housing units per year. Against this background, the TPB might turn somewhat negative towards office redevelopment of urban housing sites. Finally, another possible explanation might refer to the worsening quality of development applications. After years of redevelopment efforts, private developers might have exhausted most opportunity sites with obvious redevelopment potential. What are left behind are those most ‘difficult’ cases of which redevelopment schemes are unlikely to resolve all technical problems and therefore were rejected by the TPB. As the decisions were made by the TPB within closed-door meetings and not all information of the planning applications were disclosed, these explanations remain speculative.

5. Conclusions

State and market are two key forces transforming urban space. While the private market is often conceived to be primarily demand-driven, the rationale behind government land-use planning decisions is less well understood. This is especially so in the case of Hong Kong where such decisions are made at closed-door meetings by a group of government-appointed elite. Hong Kong is a land-deficit, compact city in southern China. As a result of the open policy and market reform in China during the past three decades, Hong Kong has undergone economic restructuring
towards a service-oriented economy leading to a strong demand for office property. Property developers and private landowners have responded by converting and developing brownfield sites into office uses. All land in the territory is leasehold and such private development is subject to government planning approval. While Hong Kong is renowned as a laissez-faire economy, land and property development is nonetheless subject to strong government intervention. This study examines how planning decisions have influenced spatial distribution and development of office property in Hong Kong. It demonstrates that the land-use planning guidelines do not appear to provide an adequate explanation for the decisions. Technical merits of the development schemes do not fully account for the decision outcomes. A higher-level, strategic urban policy appears to play a much stronger role in influencing land-use planning decisions. This study demonstrates how the interaction between planning policy and market initiatives have facilitated and constrained urban spatial transformation in this city.

Acknowledgement:

The authors acknowledge the funding support from the Research Grants Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China (Project No. PolyU 5008/01E) and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University Research Grant (Project No. G-T897), which contribute to the study work in this paper. The authors are grateful to the research assistance provided by Shan-shan Sze, Joshua Wat and Rachel Chan in this study. The usual disclaimers apply.
Table 1: The final model

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-2 Log Likelihood: 157.651
Cox & Snell R Square: 0.269
Nagelkeke R Square: 0.362
References:


Hui, E.C. M. and Ho, V.S.M. (2002), *Relationship between the landuse planning system, land supply and housing prices in Hong Kong*. Department of Building and real Estate: Hong Kong.


The Impact of Low Socioeconomic Status on Health

Epidemiological Considerations, Biobehavioral Mechanisms, and Implications for the Nation’s Growing Latino Population

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Topic Area: Psychology
Presentation Format: Poster Session

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The detrimental effects of low socioeconomic status (SES) have been well researched and documented, yet fewer studies have investigated the potential impact that this psychosocial risk factor could have on the exploding Latino community. One has only to look at the numbers to understand the necessity of further research in this area: as of July 1, 2003, there were 39.9 million Hispanics living in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). In some areas, the growth rate has been exponential. For instance, in the Raleigh-Durham area, the Hispanic population grew 1180% between 1980 and 2000 (Sutton, 2004).

In addition to growing numbers, a high percentage of the Latino population is classified as low SES. For example, in 2003, an estimated 22.5% of Latino households earned income placing them below the poverty level (DeNavas-Walt, 2003). Since this percentage is derived from U.S. Census Bureau statistics for Hispanic households, it is unlikely that it reflects the entire Latino population, particularly undocumented workers. Undocumented workers employed in industries such as agriculture may not even earn minimum wage, and frequently comprise the bottom tier of the SES ladder.

Given the known association between the psychosocial risk factor of low SES and disease, the impact of low SES on the health of the Latino community has the potential to be grave in the coming years. With incomplete data on how the health impact of low SES is moderated by Hispanic origin or other important factors such as acculturation, more research is needed to protect the public health of this at-risk community.

**Epidemiological Considerations**

According to Dr. Nancy Alder (1993), “Differences in mortality by social class have been documented since the 19th century,” and the modern relationship between low SES and poor health and mortality has been clearly demonstrated. Yet little substantial research exists on the
complex interplay between low SES, Hispanic origin, other key factors like acculturation, and disease. The studies and data presented below are therefore offered with the stipulation that their results may not translate seamlessly to the Hispanic population, particularly in light of surprising findings termed “The Hispanic Paradox,” which indicate that, for some Latinos, low levels of acculturation may be protective against the negative impact of low SES.

In order to understand how low SES relates to disease, one must first have a firm grasp of what constitutes low SES. One’s socioeconomic status is determined by their income, education level, and occupation, and SES exists as a gradient; it is not merely the two extremes of high and low. The impact of SES on health and disease appears to exist as a gradient as well (Figure 1).

![Figure 1](image)

*Figure 1. Mortality ratio (observed to expected deaths) by education (data from Kitagawa and Hauser). SHS, some high school; HSG, high school graduate; SC, some college; and CG, college graduate


This “gradient-effect” was demonstrated by the 10-year Whitehall study of 17530 British civil servants, which found “a steep inverse association between social class, as assessed by grade of employment, and mortality from a wide range of diseases.” In addition to finding a three-fold increase in mortality for the lowest SES group compared to the highest, the study showed that individuals in successively lower levels of SES had successively higher levels of mortality (Marmot, 1991, p.1387). For instance, using the top administrators as a reference
point, the executive and professional class had a relative risk of mortality of 1.6, followed by 2.2 for the clerical staff and 2.7 for the unskilled laborers (Alder 1993). This showed, once again, that the issue of SES is an issue of gradients; it cannot be boiled down to an argument of rich vs. poor. Another major implication of the Whitehall study was that the detrimental effects of low SES cannot be accounted for by access to healthcare alone. Since the study took place in Britain, which has a nationalized healthcare system, everyone studied had access to a basic level of care. Furthermore, although it is possible to “buy up” to a higher level of care in some instances, “there is no reason to believe that professionals have less access to care than their administrative superiors just one level up” (Williams 2003).

One proposed mechanism for the negative impact of low SES on health is increased childhood adversity. This mechanism will be explained in further detail under “Biobehavioral Mechanisms,” but evidence for the relationship between low SES and increased childhood adversity will be given here. One of the most influential studies in this area was Hart and Risley’s “Meaningful differences in the everyday experiences of young American children” (1995). Hart and Risley sent investigators into the homes of 42 families with infants, each classified as professional, working class, or welfare. Investigators recorded one hour of speech per month in each of the homes for two and a half years, and discovered that children living in welfare homes not only heard fewer words per year (3 million compared to 6 and 11 million for the working class and professional family children, respectively); they received more negative and less positive feedback from their parents. Each year, the welfare children received 57,000 negative comments from parents, compared to 36,000 for working-class children and 26,000 for professional-class children. They also heard just 26,000 positive comments compared to 62,000 (working-class) and 166,000 (professional). Controlling for the parents’ IQ, the children raised in
welfare homes had lower IQ scores at age 9, setting them up for life-long challenges in school. This, coupled with Matthew’s (1996) research that boys whose parents use more negative and fewer positive communications when talking about a conflict display higher levels of hostility, clearly indicates that the adverse, low SES childhood environment can have major implications later in life.

Among the other numerous examples of the adverse mental-health consequences of low SES is a University of Michigan (2002) study entitled, “Life course socioeconomic conditions and adult psychosocial functioning.” This study assessed middle-aged men from eastern Finland by measuring cynical hostility, hopelessness, and symptoms of depression. It compared these results to participants’ childhood SES (which was determined by recall of parents’ education and job) and current SES (determined by current occupation and income). Harper (2002) and his colleagues discovered that low childhood SES correlated with both higher cynical hostility and higher hopelessness in adulthood. For example, participants who had two parents who did not complete their primary education “had a .15 standard deviation (P=0.006) higher cynical hostility score, and a 0.20 standard deviation (P=0.00018) higher hopelessness score, after adjustment for education, occupation, and income.” In addition to also being associated with higher cynical hostility and hopelessness, participants with low current SES showed more depressive symptoms (p.395).

The negative impact of low SES on health seems to be clear. However, there is another key variable in the study of Latino groups- level of acculturation- and its surprising influence has been termed “The Hispanic Paradox.” The Hispanic Paradox refers to the findings that some Hispanics have lower rates of mortality and disease than other groups despite having lower SES and more risk factors. Prime examples of the Hispanic Paradox include studies that have shown
Hispanics to have lower all-cause and cardiovascular mortality than whites (Swenson, 2002; Sorlie, 1993) as well as studies that have shown Hispanics to have fewer low-birth-weight infants despite a significantly lower level of prenatal care.

For instance, the “Racial and Ethnic Differences in Health in North Carolina: 2004 Update” reports that although over 30% of Latinas began prenatal care after the first trimester of pregnancy or received no prenatal care at all (as compared to 12% of white women and 24% of African American women), they had an infant death rate of just 5.8% and a low birth weight rate of just 6.2%. Whites had infant mortality rates of 6.3 and low birth weight rates of 7.2%, and African Americans had infant mortalities of 15.4% and low birth weight rates of 13.9% (N.C. Department of Health and Human Services, 2004).

However, whatever benefits the Hispanic Paradox holds seems to be lost within a generation of migration to the United States because U.S. born Hispanics have far worse health outcomes than their foreign born Hispanic counterparts. For instance, one study showed that U.S.-born Mexican infants with U.S.-born mothers had low birth weight rates of 14% compared to 3% for those infants whose mothers were born in Mexico (Collins, 1994). English language acquisition, one measure of acculturation, also points to poorer health outcomes. Herrick (2004) demonstrated that although Spanish-speaking Hispanics in North Carolina had less education, lower income, less health insurance and less health-care access, as well as less fruit/vegetable consumption and less physical activity than English-speaking Hispanics or whites, their incidence of diabetes was significantly lower (Figure 2).
It is important to note that the Hispanic Paradox has been disputed by some. In fact, several recent studies, such as Hazuda’s (2003), “All Cause Cardiovascular Mortality among Mexican-American and Non-Hispanic White Older Participants in the San Antonio Heart Study—Evidence against the “Hispanic Paradox,” have questioned the validity of earlier findings, stating that “in the San Antonio Heart Study, Mexican Americans were at a greater risk of all-cause, cardiovascular, and coronary heart disease mortality than were non-Hispanic Whites” (p.1048).

In summary, the epidemiological data presented above provide just a small sampling of the information that demonstrates the wide-ranging negative impact that the psychosocial risk factor of low socioeconomic status has on health, including mortality, mental capacity, hostility, hopelessness, and depression. With all this in mind, it may seem reasonable to assume that Latinos largely low socioeconomic status will cause them serious health problems in the coming years. Yet Latinos have the additional variable of acculturation level, and, as demonstrated by the controversy surrounding the Hispanic Paradox, the link between acculturation, SES, and
disease in this population remains poorly understood. However, the overwhelmingly negative relationship that low SES has with health in other ethnic groups makes it clear that the impact on Latinos merits further investigation.

**Biobehavioral Mechanisms**

Among the mechanisms that have been proposed to account for the health disparities across socioeconomic classes, the one that has received the most popular press in the United States is access to healthcare. Although low access to care, particularly preventative care, is undoubtedly a contributor to the poorer health of low SES individuals, studies such as the Whitehall study indicate that far more is at work here. In fact, research indicates that low SES can actually *change one’s biology*, which could result in the propagation of poor health and disease.

One proposed mechanism for the negative impact of low SES on health is the childhood adversity model, which suggests that the adverse childhood environments experienced by low SES individuals cause a decrease in their CNS serotonergic function, which, through various biological pathways, causes psychosocial risk factors and biobehavioral mechanisms to cluster in the same people (Williams 2003). The explanation of this mechanism is twofold, and involves 1) evidence that increased childhood adversity does indeed lead to a decrease in CNS serotonergic function and 2) the biological pathways by which low serotonin could lead to negative health consequences.

First, there is ample evidence that childhood adversity does indeed lead to a decrease in CNS serotonergic function. One example is Meaney’s studies of weanling rat pups. In this study, pre-weanling pups were separated from their mothers for either long or short periods of time during the first seven days of life. The pups that experienced the long separation received less
maternal attention upon their return (i.e. increased childhood adversity) and exhibited “larger physiological responses to stress and more signs of fearfulness than rats not deprived of maternal attention. These greater responses are associated with decreased serotonin turnover in the hippocampus” (Matthews 2000). Thus, Meaney showed that by exposing the pups to childhood adversity, he could produce the same symptoms of low serotonergic function.

Several studies done in monkeys corroborate these findings. Higley (1996) performed a study of rhesus monkeys that were either peer-reared or mother-reared during the first six months of life. Both as infants and adults, the peer reared monkeys (the adverse childhood condition) exhibited reductions in brain serotonin turnover as indexed by CSF 5HIAA (p.629). In a separate study done by Fontenot et al (1995), experimenters exposed groups of cynomolgus macaques to three stress conditions, achieved by the number and timing of rearrangements of their housing: no stress, past stress, and recent stress. The monkeys’ brains were collected, and the amount of serotonin and 5HIAA in the prefrontal cortex were measured. The monkeys in the past-stress condition had significantly lower levels of both serotonin and 5HIAA, showing once again how early life stress can damage normal serotonergic activity.

In addition to monkeys, decreased serotonin function has been shown in humans raised in the adverse childhood environment of low socioeconomic status. In a study by Matthews et al (2000) entitled, “Does Socioeconomic Status Relate to Central Serotonergic Responsivity in Healthy Adults?,” investigators recruited participants of varying SES and measured their prolactin response to a fenfluramine challenge. Fenfluramine causes stored serotonin to be released and prevents synaptic serotonin reuptake, and since the release of serotonin stimulates the release of prolactin, the change in plasma prolactin after administration of fenfluramine can be used to represent the “overall serotonergic responsivity in the hypothalamic-pituitary axis”
Participants in lower SES groups showed a blunted prolactin response, indicating lower serotonergic reactivity (Figure 3).

![Graph showing mean fenfluramine-induced prolactin responses](image)

**Figure 3.** Association between standardized family income scores categorized into quintiles based on the distribution of sample scores and unadjusted mean fenfluramine-induced prolactin responses. *From: Matthews: Psychosomatic Medicine 62:231-237 (2000)*

How, then, does decreased serotonergic function lead to increased disease and mortality? The biological pathways are numerous and diverse, and may not all be well understood.

However, decreased serotonin’s effect on HPA axis function, sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system responses, alcohol intake, smoking, food intake, and immune system response are all particularly relevant.

First, decreased serotonin has serious consequences for the regulation of hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis, the hormonal system comprising the body’s stress feedback loop. Smythe and Meaney (1994) have proposed that maternal attention and affection leads to an increased amount of serotonin in the hippocampus in the infant rats, which in turn promotes increased expression of glucocorticoid receptors. The presence of more of these receptors in adulthood results in a more effective “turn-off” of the HPA axis functions that occur in response to stress because glucocorticoids “exert an inhibitory, negative-feedback effect over the synthesis of” corticotrophin-releasing hormone and arginine vasopressin, which are hypothalamic releasing-
factors for [adrenocorticotropic hormone] ACTH (Liu, 1997, p.1659). The presence of sufficient glucocorticoid receptors becomes critically important when one considers the consequences of chronically increased HPA axis function. Since stimulation of HPA axis function causes the release of cortisol, which increases lipids, drives fat to the gut, and makes cells more resistant to insulin, disorders such as central obesity, diabetes, and metabolic syndrome can result when the HPA axis is improperly regulated.

Additionally, the release of CRH that occurs during HPA activation causes an increase in the sympathetic nervous system (SNS) and a decrease in the parasympathetic nervous system (PNS). The effects of SNS activation include increased blood pressure, which, chronically, is associated with increased cardiovascular disease (Stamler, 1993). This is aggravated by the accompanying decrease in PNS activity because the PNS is one “brake” on SNS responses. The combination of increased SNS and decreased PNS that occurs when the HPA axis functions are activated may have played a role in Kraus et al’s findings (1980) that white males with lower education experienced greater levels of hypertension (Figure 4). Disrupted HPA function is also “likely to be involved in the pathophysiology of anxiety disorders and major depression” (Keck, 2005, p.1170).
In another mechanism, low serotonin has been shown to lead to heart disease via an increased immune response to stress. Ed Suarez reported at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Psychosomatic Society that, when stressed, individuals with low serotonin produce interleukin 1 alpha and tumor necrosis factor alpha, both of which are cytokines that are part of the immune system’s response to injury, and that activate the immune system’s white blood cells (“Combination of Stress,” 2000). Suarez explained, “Upon activation, white blood cells, or monocytes,” stick to the site of injury -- in this case, the artery walls of the heart where assaults like smoking, high blood pressure and high cholesterol have created microscopic tears. Once there, they build up into layers, all the while consuming low density lipoprotein, or the "bad" cholesterol. The very act of consuming cholesterol creates a process called oxidation, in which the cholesterol cells become hardened like cement. Hence, plaque is formed inside the lining of artery wall.” The build up of this atherosclerotic plaque is known as coronary heart disease, and it leads to heart attacks by blocking the flow of blood to the heart.

The relationship between low SES and atherosclerotic plaque, which likely occurs via low serotonin, was also demonstrated in a study by Lynch, et al (1998), “Does Low
Socioeconomic Status Potentiate the Effects of Heightened Cardiovascular Responses to Stress on the Progression of Carotid Atherosclerosis?” Researchers collected data on three different measures of SES: childhood SES, education, and current income as well as data on three different measures of atherosclerotic progression: maximum inta-media thickness (IMT), plaque height, and mean IMT. Participants were members of the Kupoio Ischemic Heart Disease Risk Factor Study, and their cardiovascular reactivity was classified as either high or low by the change in their systolic blood pressure “in anticipation of a maximal exercise stress task” (p.390). The results showed that low SES across the life-course (as determined by all three SES measures) showed the largest atherosclerotic progression (no matter which of the measures of atherosclerotic progression was used). For example, individuals with low childhood SES and high cardiovascular reactivity had a plaque height change of .34mm, followed by high SES high reactive men who had a change of .27mm, and low SES/low reactive and high SES/low reactive men that both had a change of .26mm. This difference between the low SES and high SES high reactive men is of key importance because it indicates that the psychosocial risk factor of low SES can greatly exacerbate atherosclerotic progression in individuals who already have a high risk for heart disease because of their high cardiovascular reactivity.

Additionally, decreased CNS serotonergic function leads to poor health by causing an increase in risky behaviors. The smoking gradient across SES levels has been particularly well documented. For example, Alder (1993) used data from the Whitehall II Study (Marmot, et al, 1991) to demonstrate that smoking rates decreased as employment grade went up (Figure 5).
Further evidence can be found in a 1989 study entitled, “Educational attainment and behavioral and biological risk factors for coronary heart disease in middle-aged women.” Here Matthews (1989) found the rate of smoking to be 45% for women with less than a high school education, 30% for those with some college, 23% for those with a bachelor’s degree, and 19% for those with an advanced degree (Alder, 1993). This places women of low SES at a much greater risk for emphysema, lung cancer, and other consequences of cigarette smoking. The relationship between low serotonin and alcohol consumption has also been clearly documented. For example, Heinz (1998) found “A significant reduction (a mean of about 30%) in the availability of brainstem serotonin transporters...in the alcoholics, which was significantly correlated with lifetime alcohol consumption and with ratings of depression and anxiety during withdrawal” (p.1544). Higley (1996) also found that the peer-reared rhesus monkeys, which had decreased CSF 5HIAA, consumed more alcohol than their mother-reared counterparts. Long term alcohol abuse, problematic in and of itself, is also associated with cirrhosis of the liver, depression, and damaged social relationships. Finally, low serotonin has also been shown to cause an increase in food intake (Waldbillig, 1981), which can lead to obesity.
Overall, the mechanisms that lead from low SES to disease are diverse and may not yet be fully understood. However, what is clear is that children who grow up in adverse childhood environments (i.e. low SES environments) may suffer from decreased serotonergic function, which can place them at serious risk for health problems, and which can cause a variety of such problems to cluster. With all this in mind, it is no wonder low SES is considered “the most powerful single contributor to premature morbidity and mortality” (Williams, 1998, p.1745).

**Next Steps:**

In light of the overwhelming evidence documenting the negative impact of low SES on health, it seems particularly necessary to address the health risk that this psychosocial risk factor represents for the nation’s rapidly expanding, largely low SES Latino community. However, before it is possible to implement an intervention, we must first get a firm grasp on how low SES affects Latinos in light of the surprising impact of low acculturation. Therefore, a reasonable next step would be to design and implement a large-scale study on the complex relationship between SES, Hispanic origin, acculturation, and disease in order to answer the following key questions.

1) In light of the controversy surrounding the Hispanic Paradox, is there a significant difference in the health outcomes of low and high acculturation Latinos? 2) What, if any, is the impact of SES on health and disease in low acculturation Latinos? 2) What is the impact of low SES in highly acculturated Latinos? Is it comparable to other United States populations? 3) What aspects of low acculturation could potentially be responsible for its apparent “protective” effect?

An effective study encompassing the effects of low SES, acculturation, Hispanic origin, and disease would require several variables. It would require recruiting Latinos from different SES brackets, ideally 5 so that it would be possible to see the gradient effects of SES, if they exist for this population. Within each SES bracket, it would also be necessary to identify
individuals with high, moderate, and low levels of acculturation. This would present a recruiting challenge as, unfortunately, fewer Hispanics are likely to exist at high levels of SES but low levels of acculturation. However, tools for measuring acculturation, such as the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II have already been designed and are available in Spanish, and could aid in recruiting an appropriate subject pool (Gonzalez, 2001). It would also be important to recruit both men and women as the effects of low SES and acculturation could vary by gender. Finally, since the majority of Latinos in the United States are of Mexican origin, and since cultural values and experiences vary greatly by country of origin, limiting the study to Mexican Americans would eliminate the confounding variable of nationality.

After recruiting the aforementioned subjects, their health and health outcomes would need to be evaluated. In addition to tracking mortality, participants could be evaluated for biological risk factors such as cholesterol levels, blood pressure, body mass index, and glucose tolerance. Their cardiovascular responses to stressor tasks could be measured, and the progression of atherosclerotic plaque could be tracked. Additionally, participants’ hostility, mental health, and risky behavior levels could be evaluated via questionnaires and interviews.

Once the relationship between low SES, acculturation, and health becomes clearer for the Hispanic population, it will be possible to create and test behavioral or pharmacological interventions. Latinos, and the large subset of Mexican-Americans, present a unique opportunity to Behavioral Psychologists because they share a cultural common thread that could assist researchers in developing a viable, culturally appropriate, intervention, and because they represent growing population. One possible avenue to providing an intervention would be to target recently immigrated, low-acculturation Mexican-Americans, and attempt to preserve the temporary effects that their low acculturation status may hold. Yet regardless of the form that
interventions take down the road, the most important thing is to do further research in this area.

If the impact of low SES on the Latino population turns out to be as negative as it is for other groups, it has the potential to create a huge public health crisis that could be devastating to the Latino community, as well as a major strain on an already overtaxed healthcare system.
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Production, Representations, and Consumption of “Chinese” Blockbusters for Global Markets: A Case Study of Hero

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Production, Representations, and Consumption of “Chinese” Blockbuster for Global Markets: A Case Study of *Hero*

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Abstract

In this paper I will examine the production, representations, and consumption of “Chinese” blockbuster produced by China in the era of global capitalism, and investigate what a “socialism with Chinese characteristics” might be by looking at how China intends to develop the cultural economy while incorporating into global capitalism. I will use *Hero* as a case study to explore how such a cultural economy “with Chinese characteristics” can be examined in relation to the role of transnationalism and nationalism in production and consumption. Obviously following the step of the previous successful Chinese film *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon*, these two films share similarities in their global success among Western audiences, but also demonstrate different textual and cultural meanings concerning how “China” can be interpreted. By examining the production, representations and consumption in the film, I hope to look at how “Chineseness” is constructed in this film, and how it is interpreted differently among Western and “Chinese” audiences.

A controversial text: a comparison with *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon*

*Hero*, a Chinese ancient martial arts film directed by Zhang Yimou, was released in Western markets in 2004, two years after its first release in East Asia. Financed mainly by China and Hong Kong, using transnational crews from China, Hong Kong, Japan and Australia, *Hero* is similar to *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* in its Hollywood style packaging – with a huge budget and starring Chinese superstars, with high-tech post-production and Hong Kong style choreography. However, if the US-Taiwan commercial film *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* exemplifies a transnational cultural economy which appeals to a diasporic Chinese identity, *Hero* exemplifies another kind of cultural economy, by which we can examine further how China is intending to incorporate into global capitalism by taking advantage of the cultural heritage, while at the same time the construction of a socialist national identity still remains in such a transnational cultural economy, and also how the power relationships between the East and the West is still reflected in its representations.
Just as *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* is not regarded as a traditional ancient martial arts film by martial arts fans in China, one member of the production crews of *Hero* admitted that this is a film “shot for foreigners” and constructing a new genre different from traditional ancient martial arts films,\(^1\) due to its aim at global markets. However, a main difference between *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon* and *Hero*, which is also a reflection of their different cultural economy model, is that *Hero* turned out to be a highly controversial film in both the West and the East. Based on the story of King Qin (known historically as a tyrant and the first emperor of China) and his encounter with several assassins, *Hero* is revised from a Chinese factual history of “Jingke’s assassination of King Qin.” However, while in historical fact, the assassin failed to kill King Qin, who was ambitious to unify China and notorious for his authoritarian reign over the nation, *Hero* revises the history, showing instead a narrative in which the assassins had the chance, but gave up the assassination due to their realization of the ideal of a “commonwealth,”\(^2\) which according to this film can only be realized after the unification of China. Along with such a problematic text are fancy cinematography and surreal martial arts scenes presented by Zhang Yimou’s specific aesthetics of film (The narrative of *Hero* is outlined further in the Appendix).

Contrary to its brilliant records at the global box office, it did not receive comparable reactions from the awards and critics. It was nominated for the best foreign language film in the Oscar Awards and Golden Globe Awards in 2003, but did not successfully win either one. Comments from Western film critics were polarized, though most appreciated its aesthetic achievements; among Chinese communities in East Asia, the criticism was even much more severe and divergent, though it was an overwhelming success at the box office under strong promotion – with 30 million dollars in the mainland (the biggest domestic grosser in Chinese film history) and some 300,000 dollars in Taiwan (compared with other films from China which normally earn no more than 60,000 dollars).

This film, then, proved to be a successful example of the cultural economy at work in connecting China with global markets, though it aroused opposing and controversial critical discussions on problems of representation. I will discuss in depth this controversial text and its representation of China through a textual analysis. In order

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\(^{1}\) [http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/2/1/26/n166558.htm](http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/2/1/26/n166558.htm) (*Dajiyuan Weekly News* 2002/1/16)

\(^{2}\) In Chinese “Tian Xia,”(天下) which in the English version is translated as “under the Heaven,” a translation that I don’t think clearly expresses the meaning since Tian Xia not only means an ideal realm but also refers to people and state. In order to be more faithful and specific to the details of this film, in this thesis I will use “commonwealth” instead.
to explain how such a construction of text is related to the current development of cultural economy in China, which exemplifies China’s adopting capitalism by “socialism with Chinese characteristics,” I will first look at China’s film industry as a development of national cinema, and examine the cultural economy in terms of the current development of the Chinese film industry, which is also related to Zhang Yimou’s rise as the best known director from China. I will also look at its schizophrenia both as a national cinema and transnational commodity, further examine its self-Orientalism, and analyze the divergence in Chinese audiences’ diversified and critical readings of this film, which deconstruct the ideology in the text in varying ways.

**National cinema and China’s film industry**

Just as the recent booming economics of China declare what Deng Xiaoping called a “socialism with Chinese characteristics,” or so called a “planned socialist economy” or a “socialist market economy,” which is different from Western capitalism, *Hero* appears to be a film aiming at global markets while at the same time gaining government support. As a commercial film targeted at global markets with the filming approval from Chinese government, it gathers the highest production investment in Chinese film history of some 30 million US dollars coming from China and Hong Kong, and thus easily gathers transnational well-known production crews and superstars while appealing to international markets.

The Chinese government, however, did not invest directly in this film; it is thus necessary to distinguish this commercial film from other “mainstream” film that the Chinese government underwrites and promotes. To serve the propaganda purpose of the Communist Party and to encourage film production, there have always been certain “mainstream” film productions and other cultural products supported by the Chinese government, which deal with anti-Japanese war or PRC history, political propaganda glorifying the Chinese Communist Party, etc. *Hero*, which aims at global markets, of course wouldn’t want to be labeled with such a government endorsement; instead, it is said to gain the financial support from professional marketing strategy of film industry: the script outline and production crews were evaluated and verified by the international insurance company, and were financed by advance booking of the releasing rights.

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3 *Zhuxuanlu* in Chinese ( ？ ？ ? ) .

However, the government role was ambivalent and vague in this film. The filming and releasing time of Hero was parallel with China’s entry into the WTO in 2002. Facing pressures to open the film market after entering the WTO, the Broadcasting Bureau of China set seven goals for developing the film industry, including “the strategic project to continue improving the quality of domestic films,” “the project to strengthen and conglomerate the film production,” and “the project of going out, pushing Chinese films onto the world stage.” To encourage and increase the profile of Chinese films in global markets, it also launched a center to popularize domestic films in overseas markets in 2004, and hopes to learn from the successful experience of Hollywood releasing companies.

While developing the film industry by commercialization and gaining the global profile, however, the Chinese authority is still strict in its content control over films. This can be traced back to the development of the film industry in China and its emphasis on a “national cinema”; as Sheldon Lu (1997) has shown, the development of Chinese cinema has always been linked with nationalism and patriotism in China. First, the cinema arrived in China in the late nineteenth century as a foreign thing. When Chinese people began to make films, they were conscious that foreign film dominated the Chinese market, and by the 1920s they increasingly saw the cinema as an important tool for promoting patriotic resistance to Western and Japanese dominance of China. After the People’s Republic of China was established in 1949, most foreign film was excluded and an effort was made to “sinicize” the cinema within a socialist framework (Lu 1997). Thus, even if the Chinese film market is supposed to open after China’s entry to the WTO, the Chinese government still insists on distinguishing films from general commodities and argues that trading regulations of these cultural products should be drawn up through further negotiations (Liu 2003).

Until now, strict censorship is still imposed on film production - each film script has to be approved by the Chinese National Bureau of Film before filming, and another round of censorship happens before releasing; moreover, any Chinese film attending foreign festivals also has to be approved beforehand. Topics concerning the Cultural

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5 Since 1994, China began to open the domestic film market to foreign film and set a quota of ten films each year. After entering WTO in 2002, a quota of twenty is guaranteed, which is expected to increase to fifty, three years after its entry. According to Financial Magazine (?? ?? ??, 2005, Feb.), in 2004, the invest from foreign capital in Chinese broadcasting and film industry was also guaranteed, though it was also noted that the Chinese holding shares cannot be lower than 51%.

6 Others include the project of film talents, making the releasing system in the rural area flexible, decreasing the film tax, and making the projecting personnel in rural areas wage earners, etc. Please refer to “Changes and developments in the releasing system of Chinese films after WTO,” Watching Films(? ? ? ? ), 2003, Dec.


8 Another Chinese director Jiang Wen’s film, Devils on the Doorstep, was banned in China due to its attending the Cannes Film Festival without having it censored by the Chinese National Bureau of Film.
Revolution, the dark side of Chinese society and the corruption of the Chinese government have always been taboos, because “the image of the Communist Party has to be maintained.” In 1994, the Broadcasting Bureau shut out a number of film directors and producers for violating these regulations, and gave orders to all filming organizations not to offer support to them.

*Hero* obviously gained a much better treatment than other films. The Chinese government showed its strong favor of this film both for filming (having the People’s Liberation Army join as extras for Qin soldiers) and releasing (having the global premiere in the Great Hall of the People, a place where the national people’s representatives gather for meeting and many political activities are held). Though both were claimed to be paid for, it was also recommended to foreign film festivals by the government (the Chinese National Bureau of Film only recommends one film each year in China for attending the Oscar Awards). Besides, in order to prevent pirates from ruining its box office, strict security examinations against pirates were executed in the premiere, and all the reporters had to show their certificates of citizenship in the entry. The Chinese Bureau of Foreign Affairs also arranged for *Hero* to be shown in the evening parties for welcoming foreign diplomats.

Though not a “mainstream” film with direct financial support and endorsement from the Chinese government, *Hero* packaged as a transnational commodity was treated as a “national cinema” with “national promotion.” As I have mentioned, such ambivalence comes from China’s two-sided policy toward cultural products: the market mechanism coexistence with ideological control, and the transnational capitalism with the stress on nationalism. It is thus worth examining the representations in such a “transnational” cultural product by looking at how “China” is presented in the film, and how it is turned into a commodity aimed at global markets. Before that, it is also important to introduce the background of Zhang Yimou, the director and also one of the script-writers of this film, and his turn from a director of anti-authoritarian films to mainstream films over these years.

It goes without saying that Zhang Yimou is generally considered one of China's two great directors, Kaige Chen being the other. Both were graduates from the Beijing Film Academy in 1982, the so-called “the Fifth Generation” in Chinese film history, defined by their exposure both to Western movies and new filmmaking technologies. Having grown up in the Mao Zedong era and having been a peasant in the rural areas,

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his early works show his criticism and anti-authoritarian attitudes against the injustice in contemporary Chinese society, as the films *Red Sorghum*, *Ju Dou*, *Raise the Red Lantern* and *Shanghai Triad* show. It is for such topics that were seen as taboos by the Chinese government, shot with his specific aesthetics of strong colors, that his works were highly appreciated in Western film festivals but banned in China. One of his early films, *Living*, is still banned in China up to the present time due to its focus on the cultural revolution. It is also due to such a career background (his fame having been built by the West then back in China) that his film style has commonly been criticized as “filming for Western audiences” among Chinese cultural elites. However, as a domestic film market boomed with China’s rising economy in the 1990s, his criticisms of the government began to disappear in his later works like *The Story of Qiuju* in 1992 and *Not One Less* in 1999. In recent years his turn to the “mainstream” not only shows in filming *Hero*, but also in his acceptance of the offer of a position as a member of the national political committee of China,\(^1\) and his being charged with the marketing film for Beijing’s application for the 2008 Olympic Games, and Shanghai’s for the World’s Fair. Rather than revealing hidden problems in Chinese society, the images of China are packaged with Oriental splendor and flamboyance in these recent works, and the dark side of China seems no longer to exist.

**Textual analysis: a historical drama without a historical depth**

Zhang Yimou’s turn to the mainstream topics can be attributed to China’s dramatic social change and economic growth in recent years. He admitted in an interview that the reason why he decided to shoot a film like *Hero* was to compete with Hollywood film, as he had more and more difficulties searching for film themes due to recent social changes in China and the severe censorship of films.\(^2\) Co-scripting the screenplay with Li Feng and Wang Bin, he said that he hoped to film a story of swordsmen’s righteousness and sacrifice for the nation and people: “Hero refers to the ones who suffer most, the ones who keep the commonwealth in mind.”\(^3\)

\(^1\) A committee selected from “outstanding elites” which can “reflect the public opinion” and offer suggestions to the Chinese authority and national institutions.


(1) **Construction of a national consensus**

However, as I mentioned before, history is revised and reinterpreted in this film’s narrative. King Qin is represented more as a wise king who can realize the ideal of a “commonwealth,” rather than as a historical tyrant who conducted authoritarian
measures. So one of the reasons why the text of *Hero* is controversial among Chinese audiences is probably their doubt about exactly who is the “hero” in this film: the assassins from Zhou who gave up killing ambitious King Qin for reasons of the “commonwealth” and thus sacrificed their own lives and even countries; or, sarcastically, King Qin, who seems to convince the assassins and unifies China? King Qin’s unification of the seven kingdoms and the standardization of the written language, currency, and weights and measures gave birth to a nation which exists until now as “China”; but his brutal bellicosity and authoritarian tyranny shown by his burning political writings, killing cultural elites and executing cruelly those who disagreed with his policies are seriously criticized by historians as resulting in the darkest time for cultural development in Chinese history. However, all of these injustices seem to be justified by the ideal of a “commonwealth” in this film, and thus according to one of the assassins in *Hero*, King Qin “should not be killed.”

Although the story of this film is packaged by love stories among assassins for its commercial purposes, it therefore proves to be a typical example of “socialist art” with its political implication that individualism and sectionalism should be in a secondary place to the unification and “commonwealth” of the nation. A nationalism which justifies people’s sacrifices and the myth of the nation is constructed through the story. Its revision of the image of King Qin also echoes to the argument of “criticizing Confucianism, glorifying Qin,”14 an ahistorical discourse proposed by the Chinese Communist party in the Cultural Revolution, during which period Maoism criticized Confucianism as a traditional Chinese cliché which prevented China’s modernization. Instead, this film glorifies Qin, a dynasty in which aggressive, severe and authoritarian measures were imposed on the people. Appreciation of this nationalist interpretation of history in *Hero* from Chinese government officers can best be depicted by the following report from *Beijing Youth Newspaper*:15

“*Hero* did very well in the process of the censorship,” said a producer who has cooperated with Zhang Yimou for five films. He raised his tone excitedly, “every officer and organization leader was not only attracted by the tremendous, powerful scenes and the beautiful, delicate fighting, but also deeply convinced and touched by the hero’s ‘strong wills with soft minds, open-mindedness and a bigger ambition for the whole world.’ ”

It was also mentioned by these officers that the actor who played the role of King Qin

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14 Pi Kong Yang Qin (?? ?? ?).
“interprets very well King Qin’s heroic spirit, broad mind and humanity which have always been ignored...a great interpretation of an emperor’s manner.” If for Zhang Yimou “Hero refers to the ones who suffer most,” as he stated in the interview, then for these government officers, their interpretation of the “hero” who has “strong wills with soft minds, open-mindedness and a bigger ambition for the whole world” is highly ambiguous and could even refer to King Qin in this revisionist account of history.

(2) Transnationalism and Commodities: Postmodern pastiche and display

In spite of the nationalist ideology implied in this film, as a commercial film targeted at international markets, *Hero* evidences transnationality in production: directed by Zhang Yimou; written by Li Feng, Zhang Yimou and Wang Bin from China; photographed by Christopher Doyle from Australia; music by Tan Dun (violin solos, Itzhak Perlman); action scenes directed by Tony Ching Siu-Tung from Hong Kong; and costume design by Emi Wada from Japan (the Oscar award-winning designer of *Ran* by Tatsuya Nakadai). Gathering production professionals from all fields, and starring superstars well-known by both Western and East Asian audiences, such as Jet Li, Zhang Zi-yi, Tony Leung and Maggie Cheung, it is difficult to categorize *Hero* as a film “from China,” except in its socialist-like story.

Such an attempt at reaching global markets through transnational cooperation is reflected in *Hero*’s hybridity in genre, form and film aesthetics. Zhang Yimou has acknowledged that he learned from Taiwanese directors in some of his works (Zheng 1993), and in the age of transnationality, the genres and styles among different regions are becoming more and more blurred, despite political divergences. In *Hero*, first, the flashback that characterises the whole story undoubtedly reminds audiences of the Japanese director Tatsuya Nakadai’s classic work, *Rashomon*. Zhang Yimou’s use of four colors (red, blue, green, white) to symbolize different narrated versions of “truth” and characters’ states of mind is also similar to the famous Polish director Kieslowski’s masterpiece *Three Colors Trilogy* (*Bleu*, *White* and *Red*). Besides, the choreography of fighting between Nameless and Broken Sword in the opening is obviously appropriated from the Hollywood film, *The Matrix*, a science-fiction film whose choreography was directed by Yuen Wo Ping (also the choreography director of *Crouching Tiger*) from Hong Kong; and paradoxically in *Hero* such a style is reimported to Asia again from Hollywood.

However, just as postmodern aesthetics tells us about the use of mix-and-match and
pastiche (Jameson 1983), such a hybridity and appropriation in form and genre represents a horizontal combination in which in-depth meaning does not exist – Hero’s transnationality is reflected in its superficial decoration and display, in which any in-depth meaning has been abstracted during the process of commodification. This can be examined through its art and costume design by the Japanese designer Emi Wada, which makes the film more like a fantastical imaginary than a history of China. As Wada mentions in the crew interview collected in the Hero DVD, the costume design in Hero comes from her ideas of Japan, Korea and China, and is deeply influenced by her “memories in Kyoto, and experiences in other countries.” While many of the scenes and costumes look more like Japanese, rather than Chinese style, and Wada claims to have used 54 shades of red to make the images stronger, these fantastic wardrobes and scenes in Hero do not refer to Qin’s history (such an ancient dynasty obviously didn’t have the dyeing techniques for 54 shades of red), but a simply splendid visual display. As Stella Bruzzi (Harper 1987: 167) points out, while one way to see costumes in the historical film is to “look through” its historical meaning and implication, most of the time people are just “looking at” these costumes as spectacles, as people’s fascination with historical drama comes simply from the visual pleasure, and the costumes provide a kind of strong visual texture.

Thus, though Hero is a story based on history, the way it revises and represents the history, turning it into a transnational commodity with fictive characters, new interpretations of ideology, hybrid and fantastic forms and aesthetics, effectively composes a “history” without a historical referent and historical depth. Andrew Higson (1993) suggests that while a nostalgic gaze is presented in historical dramas through the splendid visual spectacle piled up by props and scenes, history is turned into a visual commodity in which its original historical time turns still and its location becomes abstract as a perfect imaginary. Such an argument corresponds well to Hero’s strategy to break into global markets. One of the script-writers, Wang Bin, admitted that the story and the emotions of the characters were not Zhang Yimou’s focus since he began to film Hero. “The plot and story cannot help you break into Hollywood market. Hollywood has shot so many dramas with great stories, which we cannot catch up with. So we have to touch audiences by forms and beauty.”

Self-Orientalism: a “performance” of Chineseness

If not aiming at the Oscar awards, Hero seems to prove that it is right that such a

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16 One example is Zhang Zi-yi’s costume. As she seeks revenge on Flying Snow, the way she tied the sword on her back is more like a Japanese warrior, rather than a Chinese warrior.

17 http://www.jwb.com.cn/mb/content/2005-05/02/content_296186.htm
strategy of emphasizing form and beauty rather than the plot in a Chinese film can be successful in Western markets. Most Western film critics appreciated its aesthetic achievements; it was selected as one of the top ten best films in 2004 by Time Magazine and the BBC, and Empire magazine, a film magazine in the UK, gave Hero an evaluation of five stars, and commented, “maybe stories work differently in third century BC China, and this is not a film about plot anyhow. It’s one about movement and colour and music. And rarely in any country’s cinema will you see a film so wondrously charged with all three.”

However, marketing also played an important role in Hero’s success in Western markets. Released by Miramax in the West, one of the Hollywood “majors” with a powerful releasing system, Hero was shown in 2,200 theaters in the US, which almost guaranteed its box office. Seeing that Hero aroused great controversy in East Asia, Miramax delayed its releasing for two years, and without Oscar awards as an attraction like Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon, they made this film “presented by Quentin Tarantino,” who has always been famous for his novel film style and whose recent film Kill Bill attracted Westerners’ fascination with Chinese and Japanese martial arts. Such a strategy successfully drew Westerners’ attention to this film as it was released. In this sense the “transnational production” as only a nominal cooperation again works primarily superficially rather than in the substantial content.

Some Western critics did criticize the film’s emptiness. As Stephen Hunter from The Washington Post commented, “[a] mighty wind blows through Yimou Zhang's martial arts epic Hero…this may be the windiest movie ever made, and the wind isn't just actual, it's also metaphorical: It's the wind of history roaring through the story, but it's also the wind of romance, courage, opera and, uh, rubbish.” For general Western audiences, some complained that the story was “incredible, convoluted, impossible to follow,” found it “inane” to compare fighting to music and calligraphy, or some made teasing observations, putting it in the context of the current world situation: “the Qin dynasty reflects the USA today, the assassins reflects the Osama Bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda members except for No Name.” However, while it is recognized that the plot is basically problematic, the story is obviously not an important factor in attracting Western audiences watching this film, and what is more impressive is the

18 Empire, September 2004, Issue 184.
19 The Washington Post, Friday, August 27, 2004; Page C01
21 Matthew Bratkowski, Missouri. US. Amazon DVD review.
imaginary of a romanticized ancient China:

This is a film that can lift your spirits and have you laughing out of sheer joy, as you gaze in wonder at the perfection of the mise-en-scene and cinematography. That is, if you let the film take you on a journey, without pondering its questionable plot points...Yet, it is difficult to ponder these details when viewing such a spectacle. The sheer beauty of the battles, the gentle floating of the assassins as they fly around their arenas (which range from a forest of orange trees, crisp leaves falling to the ground throughout, like rain, to the crystal clear and calm of a mountain lake), the costumes of characters at varying stages in the storyline...the amazing army scenes which feature thousands of arrows being fired into the sky to create a black cloud that descends right on top of the camera, all these elements combine to produce a faultlessly perfect image, each frame a worthy photograph that reminds you why cinema is the greatest art form of the 20th century.23

The plot is more or less a ploy to present some beautiful and powerful scenes and doesn't quite stand on its own, esp. since it more or less copies the Rashomon formula. But the film is, to repeat myself, both beautiful and powerful. The kung-fu moves are dance-like...arrow scenes are very carefully designed and leave the audience breathless. The filmmakers employed thousands of extras (as opposed to using computer graphics) for the invasion scenes, which are again impressive...Hero breaks no new grounds in filmmaking, but it does a terrific visual job.24

While for many Western audiences this film is appreciated more as a fantastic spectacle, the miseries of people sacrificed behind the birth of a unified China are thus romanticized. This can also be observed in the marketing strategy of Hero in Western markets, as shown in its English trailer: “it was a time of courage and sacrifice...how far would you go to become a hero?”, and also in the slogan printed on the film poster in the UK: “one man will challenge an empire.” The tragic theme of Hero becomes nothing but a myth and legend about China for Western audiences.

Orientalism has always been the way in which the Orient is represented by the West, as shown by Western films on China and Chinese subjects. Even when Chinese cinema began to gain the world’s attention in international festivals in the 1980s,25

25 Please refer to the first chapter: “Decentering Hollywood and the rise of ‘Chinese cinemas’.”
most of these award-winning Chinese contemporary films were still mystified stories of Western fascination, such as Cheng Kaige's *Farewell My Concubine*, and of course Zhang Yimou's *Red Sorghum*, *Judou*, or *Raise the Red Lantern*. This can be attributed to Western critics' envision of post-Mao China as a mysterious and alien land falling behind the “advanced Western countries,” and something that should be revealed to the world. As William Rothman admits, “we Americans studying Chinese cinema in those years found ourselves envisioning the events sweeping China as a grand historical melodrama” and thus felt “called upon to play a role” in promoting new Chinese films (1993: 259). Such Orientalism in turn is transformed into self-Orientalism in the works of these award-winning Chinese directors, as implied by the Beijing film critic Dai Jinhua: “winning such prizes has become a prerequisite for filmmaking; western cultures, artistic tastes, and production standards related to international film festivals now determine our purely national films.”

The rise of Chinese films in international festivals exemplifies the politics of culture and how Western hegemony was built through normalizing depictions, or representations, of non-Western people as exotic Others. However, as Zhang Yimou “plays” such an exotic Other by feminizing and sexualizing China through the “novelties and miseries” happening in a Chinese traditional big house in *Raising the Red Lanterns*, or as in *Hero* he manipulates “pastiche and display,” using 54 shades of red to strengthen the images, and shoots the flying scenes in almost all the famous Chinese natural sights for foreign tourists, such a depiction is no longer just about “representation,” but also a “performance” of China. However, while such a performance can be a fantasy for Western audiences, for Chinese audiences “China” and Chinese history are obviously not reducible to pastiche and performance. Among Chinese communities in East Asia, the criticisms of this film were even more severe than in the West. In mainland China, although some people appreciated it as “having a broader scope concerning an issue of the nation than *Crouching Tiger,*” most of the criticisms concern Zhang Yimou’s unfaithfulness to Chinese history and fancy scenes with an artificial plot; as Bei Yei, the author of *Chinese Civilization* mentioned, his works “lack human spirits.” As this film raised critical comments among Chinese audiences, most Chinese audiences in the mainland, just as they criticize *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon*, show a “nationalism” appealing to tradition and historical authenticity of history, and a kind of “mysophobia” in cultural identity, which

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27 *United Morning Newspaper*. 2003/1/10
28 *Arts Critiques*, published by Chinese Arts Institute, interviewed many Chinese cultural elites about their criticism on Zhang Yimou in 2004 with a topic “Criticizing Zhang Yimou”
29 A psychological term which refers to an abnormal fear of dirt or contamination.
should not be “contaminated” by commodification and cultural hybridity. Here are some of the mainland Chinese readings:

Since this is a story with a historical background, the names and the important historical event cannot be fabricated. Even if the story is revised and fabricated, it has to be reasonable, to combine the historical reality with the art of fabrication. However, this film originated from Jingke’s assassination of King Qin, but replaced this famous character with Nameless, Broken Sword, and Flying Snow, and what’s worse is the totally different interpretation about King Qin. A martial arts film? Tourist film? Science-fiction film? …many of the scenes in the film are so poetic with gorgeous and sexual colors. If it were not the fighting scenes, those beautiful scenes make me feel like watching a tourist film. On the other hand, it also feels like a science-fiction world as you see people hung in the air flying here and there.  

The plot is unnatural and the lines are pale and weak. This is the biggest defect of this film and makes director Zhang’s framework unconvincing…he has to give a reason how King Qin is proved to be a nice king for both the nation and the people…The Chinese culture in this film is too artificial and awkward to absorb audiences into the plot…and the large scenes are meaningless. It only reminds me of the Marlboro advertising in the 1990s and feels like a showing-off of economic strengths and computerized effects.  

In Taiwan, critics overwhelmingly centered on the film’s implied nationalist ideology of rationalizing a unified China. Chiao Hsiung Ping, a leading Taiwanese film critic, commented, “when Zhang Yimou, who used to defy the Chinese authority by presenting in his films the lives of Chinese peasants, turns to speak for the ruling Chinese authority, the whole film is just nothing. Susan Sontag criticized Riefenstahl’s films as being suspicious for covering up Fascism by aesthetics; however, Zhang Yimou’s Hero does not even have Riefenstahl’s firm faith to convince audiences.”  

Taiwanese audiences, besides criticizing the film’s intention to revise history, were also particularly sensitive about the ending of the film and the implied ideology of a violent and unified China:

30 Liu Chun-chin. Translated from People’s Website: http://www.people.com.cn/GB/wenyu/64/130/20030107/903068.html
31 Translated from Sina Entertainment Website: http://ent.sina.com.cn/r/i/2002-12-25/1501121945.html
32 Leni Riefenstahl, a German motion-picture actress, producer, photographer, and director who is best known for her documentary films of the 1930s dramatizing the power and pageantry of the Nazi movement
33 Translated from World Screen, 30.
The filming and representation is kind of cliché, but Zhang Yimou is a smart director so he knows how to use aesthetics and action scenes to complement the insufficiency of the plot…however, in the end of the story, the scene of Qin soldiers shooting thousands of swords on Nameless is just like how China targets missiles on Taiwan; the shape left on the wall encircled by swords after Nameless being shot looks like the contour of Taiwan.\(^{34}\)

It is such critical readings of this film among different Chinese audiences that deconstructs the self-Orientalism in this film, and also the implied ideology. In Caton’s (1999) analysis of audiences’ reading of Lawrence of Arabia, he argues that in the artistically complex and ideologically loaded work, both the text and audience readings are ambiguous. In Hero, it is also such dialectical readings that destabilize the ideology constructed in the text. The critical and diversified readings of audiences further explain that “China,” as an imaginary referent, is actually a signifier endowed with relatively arbitrary signifieds/meanings which compete with each other dynamically. Thus the efforts to “perform” China through representations still cannot be exempted from how China is represented and perceived in audiences’ everyday lives, such as Chinese audiences’ perception of a more “accurate” or “authentic” Chinese culture and history, or, particularly for Taiwanese audiences, China’s oppression of human rights and aggressive uses of missiles against Taiwan.

The case of Hero demonstrates a transnational cooperation of the cultural economy while a socialist China attempts to incorporate into global capitalism. While the Chinese government intends to develop the cultural economy in global capitalism, on the one hand it encourages commercialization and globalization, but on the other hand it still grasps the ideology – a strategy which is parallel with its two-faced management in economy and politics. If we can conclude that Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon, a US-Taiwan co-production, shows the transnational cooperation of a “Chinese” film appealing to a “Cultural China,” a broader definition of “Chineseness,” Hero is a case which shows the ambition of contemporary China in connecting the global by the cultural economy, with a historical and socialist/nationalist text being constructed, which still cannot get away from self-Orientalism. However, while watching Hero, a competing discourse of the “nation” is also demonstrated among different audiences, with Chinese mainland and Taiwanese audiences showing differently nationalistic readings which are both against the text. It is such an interplay between the text and its competing readings that

\(^{34}\) Translated from Taiwanese Yahoo Movie Forum: http://tw.mb.yahoo.com/movie/board.php
deconstruct the text and dynamically construct the meaning of China, when “Chineseness” is commodified and marketed with its socialist political implications and self-Orientalism aiming at the global market.
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OffOffOff Film website. http://www.offoffoff.com/comments/
Appendix

Hero is a story based on a time when China was still divided into seven kingdoms. It begins with the arrival of Nameless, a swordsman from Zhou, to King Qin’s palace because he killed Sky, Broken Sword, and Flying Snow, the three assassins of King Qin, and King Qin awards him to sit within ten paces of the King, as he promised. As King Qin awards him with drinks and asks Nameless how he could defeat the three assassins most skilled in the world, he flashbacks different versions. The whole story is filmed like Rashomon through the flashback narration of Nameless and King Qin, which is presented with fantastic fighting and scenes. Each version is filmed with different colors of costumes on the same characters with the same scenes.

At the end of the story King Qin recognizes that Nameless is in fact an assassin disguised by pretending to be a killer of Sky, Broken Sword, and Flying Snow. However, as Nameless has the chance to kill King Qin in the end, he changes his mind in the last minute, due to the idea of “commonwealth,” the word which Broken Sword wrote in the sand to him before his coming. Broken Sword used to have the chance to kill King Qin but finally gave up because he realized from swordplay and calligraphy that the highest realm of swordsmen is peace, an ideal that he thought only King Qin could reach after his unifying the seven kingdoms. Nameless accepts Broken Sword’s advice at last, thus though he knows the decision not to kill King Qin would sacrifice many people’s lives including himself and his country, he still “expects” that King Qin could unify the seven kingdoms and leave him alive. In the end Nameless is executed by thousands of swords by Qin soldiers. Finally, King Qin unifies the kingdoms into China.
Abstract

Although high rates of sexual victimization have been reported among homeless youth, less is known about how the risk factors may differ for gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth compared to heterosexual youth. Based on a sample of 172 homeless young adults in the Midwestern United States, results revealed that sexual abuse and neglect, depressive symptoms, prostitution, and having friends who traded sex were significantly associated with higher levels of sexual victimization. Females and gay, lesbian and bisexual youth experienced higher rates of sexual victimization compared to males and heterosexual youth. A test for interactions revealed that the effect of gender and sexual orientation on sexual victimization was moderated by sexual abuse, prostitution, trading sex, and friends trading sex.
Geographical localization

Cerro de San Pedro is a semi-abandoned historic mining town located in the center of Mexico, the State of San Luis Potosí. Cerro de San Pedro is a small village 10 miles east of the City of San Luis Potosí, the Capital of the State of San Luis Potosí.

Cerro de San Pedro is located in the mountains above the valley of San Luis Potosí and is part of the watershed area for the valley and its major cities. The valley is the source of 73% of the water for the area.

It is a ghost town containing the ruins of shops, churches, estates and a hospital.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Today there are only about 100 people living in the Cerro. The Real hamlet covers the hills on both sides of the canyon; large and small houses flank the narrow streets (Cordero de Enciso, 1997). The remains of the 400 year old town are still there, along with an active church and municipal office.

Cerro de San Pedro sits in the high desert in the heart of Mexico, the kind of place with lots of road runners and big cacti.

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government
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José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

400 years of mining did not alter the original appearance of Real, which is irregular and whose center is the parish of San Pedro. The artistic and urban development that started in the 17th century is represented in Cerro de San Pedro.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

There are two structures particularly important from the historical heritage perspective. The Church of San Nicolas dates from XVII Century and San Pedro Apostle which dates from the Century XVIII.
Tarascan Indians settled around the church and they adopted San Nicolás as their patron saint; the avenue in front of the church was used as an exchange and socializing place (Cordero de Enciso, 1997). Two churches were built in Cerro de San Pedro attended by the secular clergy helped by the Franciscan monks, and later by the Augustines who were able to speak Tarascan. The two churches built in the first half of the 17th century being identical, though the San Pedro church was later modified. The church of San Pedro is a rare example of a 17th century church; and its coloring is in aesthetic harmony with the hill behind it. The San Nicolás de Tolentino church is built on one side of the canyon and has become an urban area. The San Nicolás church kept its primitive appearance of only one nave and barrel vault.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

There are several diverse historical monuments protected by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-INAH)
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

The section of town known as "La Colonia de los Gringos" contains what once were company offices and living quarters of the American Smelting and Refining Co.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Legal background

Since the Prehispanic times in México, mining has played an important role in economic and political history. From 1986 to 1990 The World Bank granted credits to support the structural adjustment economic policies. The credit 3359 supported structural adjustment of the mining sector categorized as B to eliminate environmental requirements and public hearings (Border Ecology Project, 1994). Under a neoliberal economic policy, amendments to constitutional Article 27, a new Agrarian Law, a Mining Law (1993) and a Foreign Investment Law during the nineties, allow the ejidatarios, originally limited owners of land rights, to change the ownership. Investors now could associate with ejidatarios, exploit land resources without buying it. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) offer advantages and opportunities for investors.

The Mining Law (1993) and the Regulation to the Mining Law (1999) opened to foreign capital areas that were reserved for national investors and defined new rules for the development of national and foreign investments in exploration and exploitation of minerals as activities of public utility. The granting process of mining concessions does not require public hearings and most of the times the affected communities are the last ones to know about the project. There are some references about considering this and others “competitive advantages that offer Mexico compared to their partners in NAFTA (Bardake, 1993). A mining concession can not be cancelled for polluting the environment and only can be fined.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Historical antecedents

The Guachichiles inhabited the area of Cerro de San Pedro hills before the Spanish came. The first original urban plan of Cerro de San Pedro dates from 1412. A couple of missionaries visited the area in the 1570s, but silver was found in the Cerro de San Pedro hills. Cerro de San Pedro used to be one of the biggest mining towns of the Colonial New Spain. Five hundred years ago, Spanish conquistadors carved up the earth as they plundered the town's riches, sending most of the treasure back to Europe. In March 1592, Don Miguel Caldera, a mestizo and Commander of the Spanish army sent a group of miners to reconnoiter the land in the hills of the valley of San Luis Mexquitic and register the mines of the gold that called it Real de San Potosí.

Some 60 discoveries were registered with metals rich in lead. The richest minerals lay near the surface. After 40 years of struggle with the Guachichiles during the last decade of the 16th century, the Conquistadores convinced the Indians that planting crops and to have a sedentary life. Real de Minas de Cerro de San Pedro was founded in 1583 after several mines in the vicinity began operations, although is established that was in 1592, before that the capital of San Luis Potosí, discovered in the XVI Century, due to its wealth was baptized by the Spanish as the Potosi. Martín Pérez was one of the discoverers of the mines of el Cerro de San Pedro (S. L. P.), on March 4, 1592, was (P.F.V.: Col. Doc., Vol. I, p. 254, cited by Del Hoyo, 1979).

Cerro de San Pedro dates back to the sixteenth century and was the original location of the state capital of San Luis Potosi. But at the San Pedro Hill there wasn't enough water to support the town and for washing the metals, so they ended up moving. The Spaniards founded the village San Luis Potosi in the valley. The San Luis Potosi city’s Coat-of-Arms had the Cerro de San Pedro on a blue and gold background with two silver and two gold cross bands, over which is lying Saint Louis King of France, testimony to its mining origins. The mountain is the symbol of their heritage.

Some Spanish families mestizos, mulattos and Indians founded Real de Cerro de San Pedro further up in the sierra which had their own governors and unions. Tlaxcalans, Tarascans ad Otomies were brought in to work in the mines and the cattle ranches. The mining district Cerro de San Pedro has supported various periods of significant mining activity and has seen many production mining campaigns since its discovery over the past 500 years. There are no records of production during the period (1575 to 1660) of mining activity in the Cerro de San Pedro. The mines produced wealth in the first thirty years and some 62 million pesos were paid in rights alone during its first 60 years of existence; that is, some 10 million pesos per year (Cordero de Enciso, 1997).

In 1613, the mayor, Pedro de Salazar had the famous Socavón del Rey built; a horizontal tunnel that gave access to deeper veins which produced around thirty tons of silver mixed with gold in a year. After 15 years of mining the amount of precious metals reduced although there was a “gold affair” that stirred greed among a group of men, who colluded.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

in an enormous fraud and the owners of the Briones mine lost their property and finally in 1628 the houses in San Luis Potosí’s main square were vacated. The last rich mine, the San Cristóbal was closed down in 1656 although there were some bonanzas on El Cerro.

In 1690, the Mayor, Alonso Muñoz Castilblanche, opened the San Cristóbal mountain pass with the help of a loan made to him by the Viceroy, the Count of Galvez and production increased to one fifth of what it was in 1620. In 1740 one hundred furnaces and sixty mineral crushers still existed in the region.

In the 18th century the area had a reputation for maltreatment of indigenous people and anger. The poverty of the inhabitants of the Hill and its surroundings increased and became worst in 1767. The donations of silver given towards the reparation of the church were lost. The expulsion of the Jesuits resulted in an uprising in 1767. Cerro de San Pedro in 1767 was the focal point of a popular insurrection against the excess of Borbonic reforms. The serranos had demands and opposed the removal of the Jesuits but have to surrender. Viceroy Marquis de Croix sent Don José Galvez with 400 soldiers to punish the rebels and their families cruelly, but the serranos managed to have their taxes reduced and the church was repaired and improved.

By the mid 18th century, after two hundred years of mining industry, it was underdeveloped and had low of productivity due to a lack of capital, technological insufficiency, the limited capacity of the specialized workers, and a shortage of supplies and labor, among other things (Villalba, 200). A few years later, Don Joseph de Castilla y Loaeza, a knight of Santiago founded the Compañía Patriótica that invested 20,000 pesos and used old-fashioned techniques. In 1773, San Luis Potosí had around twenty mining communities in deplorable state of unproductiveness. By 1774, Cerro de San Pedro had to continue to struggle to restore exploitation of the local mines (Lopez Miramontes y Urrutia, 1980).

In 1816 a horizontal tunnel was built in the Pópulo hill and the Socavón Aventurero de la Victoria, the tunnel of adventure and victory, restarted 60 years later. Compañía Metalúrgica Mexicana owned the railway that extended towards Río Verde that to transport the minerals from San Pedro to San Luis Potosi. A major period of mining activity began in 1870 and continued through the early 1950's. In 1930, the American Smelting Company (ASARCO) worked the horizontal tunnel and the work continued until 1948 when the miners’ strike broke out and the mine closed down.

By the late 1940s, the gold, lead, iron, manganese and mercury deposits finally began to give out. By the early 1950's it is estimated that approximately 2.5 million ounces of gold and 40 million ounces of silver had been produced from the Cerro San Pedro district. In 1993, the region of Cerro de San Pedro was declared ecologically protected area. Local firms continue to extract limited quantities of minerals from the mines. Visitors can enter La Descubridora, the town's first mine. Guide service is available.

Minera San Xavier project development in Cerro de San Pedro

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Renewed interest in the Cerro San Pedro district began in the 1970's with evaluations by various companies to determine the district's potential as a large tonnage, low-grade, bulk mineable deposit. In 1971, Las Cuevas mining company was unable to revitalize the mines. When the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was enforced in 1994, the Canadian Company Metallica Resources Inc. started to explore the old mining town with the intentions to exploit its resources in gold and silver. In 1995, Metallica acquired an option to purchase Cerro San Pedro project and began an exploration program to expand the work of recent exploration programs conducted by other companies. Minera San Xavier (MSX) at Cerro de San Pedro is developing a gold mining project.

Also, orpiment is reported from very few Mexican localities, among which, it has been found sparingly in the gold deposits of Cerro de San Pedro. The colors in this miniature from Juarez, Cerro de San Pedro, San Luis Potosí, Mexico go very well together - green pyromorphite, yellow wulfenite, gray galena, and white barite - it's really a beautiful piece! (Bob Winfree's auction on eBay).
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government
The February 1997 feasibility study included a proven and probable reserve estimate of 77.3 million tons averaging 0.60 g/t gold and 24.8 g/t silver, with an overall waste to ore ratio of 1.51:1. The reserve estimate was prepared by Mine Reserve Associates, Inc. and was calculated using a gold price of $400/ounce and a silver price of $5.00/ounce. Metallica elected to seek a joint venture partner to develop the property in late 1997, and in January 1998 entered into an agreement with Cambior, Inc. to acquire a 50% interest in MSX. The agreement resulted in the issuance of additional MSX shares to Cambior such that it would own 50% of the issued and outstanding shares of MSX. Cambior's ability to retain its 50% interest in MSX was contingent upon it spending $20 million on project development by December 31, 2000. (Metallica Resources Inc, 2005).

The Cambior feasibility study included a proven and probable reserve estimate of 63.5 million tons grading 0.62 g/t gold and 24.5 g/t silver, with an overall waste to ore ratio of 1.57:1. The reserve estimate was prepared by Cambior, Inc. and was calculated using a gold price of $300/ounce and a silver price of $5.50/ounce. Mine development, working capital and mine equipment costs were estimated at $68 million. (Metallica Resources Inc, 2005).

In May 2000, Cambior sold its 50% interest in the Cerro San Pedro project to Glamis Gold Ltd. In November 2000, Glamis published a revised feasibility study for the
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

project that included a proven and probable reserve estimate of 49.2 million tons grading 0.57 g/t gold and 23.0 g/t silver, with an overall waste to ore ratio of 1.45:1. The reserve estimate was prepared by Mine Reserve Associates, Inc. and was calculated using a gold price of $275/ounce and a silver price of $5.25/ounce. Mine development, working capital and mine equipment costs were estimated at $45 million. (Metallica Resources Inc, 2005).

On February 4, 2003, WLR Consulting, Inc. ("WLR") prepared a technical report on the Cerro San Pedro project that included a proven and probable reserve estimate of 61.1 million tonnes grading 0.59 g/t gold and 24.0 g/t silver, with an overall waste to ore ratio of 1.21:1. The reserve estimate was prepared by William L. Rose of WLR and was calculated using a gold price of $325/ounce and a silver price of $4.62/ounce. Mr. Rose is a Qualified Person, as that term is defined in Canada National Instrument 43-101. On February 12, 2003, Metallica purchased Glamis' 50% interest in the Cerro San Pedro project for $18 million plus a sliding scale net smelter returns royalty. (Metallica Resources Inc, 2005). (Metallica Resources Inc, 2005).

In February 2003, Metallica updated the Glamis' feasibility study run-of-mine development plan to provide for contract mining. The use of contract mining will reduce the project's capital cost to approximately $25 million, a result of eliminating the need to purchase the mining fleet. Metallica also updated the mineral reserve estimate using a higher gold price due to the strengthening of the gold market. Based on a $325 per ounce gold price and a $4.62 per ounce silver price, the mineral reserves stand at 61.1 million tonnes grading 0.59 grams per tonne gold and 24.0 grams per tonne silver representing 1.8 million ounces of gold equivalent. The gold equivalent reserves increase to 2.1 million ounces at a $350 per ounce gold price and a $5.00 per ounce silver price. (Metallica Resources Inc, 2005).

Annual production was projected at 90,400 ounces of gold and 2.1 million ounces of silver, which equates to approximately 120,000 ounces of gold equivalent per year over a mine life of approximately 8.5 years. Cash operating costs, net of silver credits, are estimated to be $177 per ounce.
In September 2003, an updated capital and operating cost study was completed for the Cerro San Pedro project. Metallica Resources (MR), pretended to build what she announced in Wall Street, one of the greatest open pit mine of gold and silver of the world.

**Actors:**

**a. The mining company**

Minera san Xavier (MSX) is the Mexican subsidiary of the Canadian company is Metallica Resources involved in developing the San Xavier Mine in the municipality of Cerro San Pedro, San Luis Potosi, Mexico. The mining project of Minera San Xavier (MSX) is located 20 kilometers northeast of the city of San Luis Potosi, the state capital with a population of approximately one million people.

**b. Community and social movements involved**

The affected community is the small village of Cerro de San Pedro.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

In Cerro de San Pedro it has been formed an alliance among diverse civil groups, organizations and political parties in a coalition called Alianza Ciudadana Opositora a Minera San Xavier. Alliance in Opposition to the San Xavier Mine is formed by social movements.

Among the groups, the most involved are:

- Educación y Defensa Ambiental A.C., Environmental Education and Defense.
- Pro San Luis Ecológico A.C., Pro San Luis Ecology,
- Patronato Pro-Defensa del Patrimonio Cultural e Histórico de Cerro San Pedro, A.C., Patronato in Defense of the Cultural and Historical National Patrimony of Cerro San Pedro, and
- Asociación de Vecinos de Cerro San Pedro, the Neighbors’ Association of Cerro San Pedro

Other members of the alliance are:

- Central Independiente de Obreros Libres y Campesinos
- Frente Cívico Potosino
- Frente Cívico de Soledad de Graciano Hernández
- Signo y Tierra
- ICOMOS de México
- Escuela de Capacitación Cívica
- Parlamento Indígena
- Comerciantes de la Central de Abastos
- Vecinos de la Colonia La Florida
- Frente Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, the Zapatista Front for National Liberation
- Tangamanga Branco.
- Frente Cívico de Teotihuacan
- Frente Popular Zacatecas
- Greenpeace
- Hermano Hombre
- Movimiento Huasteco democrático
- Movimiento Pueblo Libre
- Partido Verde Ecologista de México, Consejo Estatal

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co–operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Partido de la Revolución Democrática, Consejo Estatal
Red Todos los Derechos para Todos
Rovolucionarte
Nava Partido Político
UCD
UNTA
Colectivo Azul the Blue Collective, and
The Blue Lilly, etc.

The alliance also counted with the support from the Catholic Church and its Archbishop

The citizen’s group opposed to the project, the Ample Oppositional Front (Frente Amplio Opositor) is the citizens’ movement that has a long-running struggle to prevent the destruction of the village of Cerro de San Pedro by a Canadian company that is planning to operate an open-pit gold mine.

University of San Luis Potosi has conducted an independent review of the environmental impact study.

Compas, this is one of the resistance movements of the San Luis Potosí civil society

Government

Municipal President of Cerro de San Pedro opposed the mining project and had not given his town’s permission to the state government, the Governor of the State of San Luis Potosi and the President of Mexico.

The conflict

According to the company MSX, the 100%-owned Cerro San Pedro gold and silver heap leach project is located in the historic Cerro San Pedro mining district in the State of San Luis Potosi, Mexico. The presence of MSX in Cerro de San Pedro has caused a severe social conflict among the inhabitants of San Pedro, Soledad y San Luis and has called the attention of all who are concerned by historic heritage, cultural and environmental issues.

MSX argued that its operations would have some benefits: 40 millions of pesos in taxes will be paid to the federation in eight years and would by materials and provisions to local suppliers which would be the minimum because most of these suppliers would be foreign. Never the company referred the mining operations as an ecocide, contamination of watersheds, pollution of air and destruction of the historical heritage. The inhabitants of these communities supported by environmental groups and NGOs argue that the project will pollute sources of fresh water besides of perturbing the environment and the ecology of the region.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

At the center of the controversy is the cheap and efficient technology. It is alarming the use of cyanide and its impact on watersheds, the environment and human health. Lixiviation consists in pile up mineral mixed with cyanide over a platform in such a way that gold will be residual. Cyanide is used for the extraction of metals since 1887 as a chemical reactive to solve gold in water (Logsdon et al, 2003). 20 percent of global production is used in a process of lixiviation to get gold. Almost 99% of gold is separated from a rock and it is profitable to spend one ton of cyanide to extract 6 kilos of gold (Ronco, 2002)

Studies done by Minera San Xavier to evaluate pollution risk to the watershed of the valley of San Luis and to quantify the use of millions of cubic meters of water and its evaporation are insufficient and with a tendency. The hydrological card of INEGI the subterranean waters of San Luis Potosí and Cerro de San Pedro are the same in the geo hydrological zone. The daily use of 16 tons of cyanide and 32,000 tons of rock material that would require one million of cubic meters of water per year would have residuals of cyanide, heavy metals, toxic material and mercury stem can contaminate the watershed favored by inclination of land and put at risk population

The process implies daily 16 tons of cyanide mixed with 32 millions of litters of water. According to the Environmental Impact Manifestation presented by MSX, should be erosion by deforestation, alteration of drainage patterns, cancellation of productive activities, pollution caused by deposits of toxic residuals and severe, irreversible and permanent damages. The Manifestation of the Environmental Impact of the company considers that “the impact is significant and adverse for the extraction of water” (Page 16) 90% of water consumption comes from the valley of San Luis which can be contaminated by the cyanide used in the lixiviation process (Martínez Ramos, 2004).

In the last 25 years, the major causes of cyanide spill over have been 76% due to imperfections in the lixiviation yard, 18% due to pipes an 6% due to transportation accidents. (State Environmental Resource Center, 2004). Mining Companies have caused ecological catastrophes that have provoked reactions of civil society groups and governments around the World. Governments of many countries have prohibited open pit mining exploitation using cyanide. (Governor’s office, 2003; Friends of the Earth y Oxfam America, with support from Mineral Policy Center, 2003)

The company had bought up buildings in the village to be used for offices. The open-pit silver and gold mine planned for the area would have a dramatic effect and is being challenged in court by environmentalists. Environmentalists have a long battle against the company Minera San Xavier (MSX), a subsidiary of Canada's Metallica Resources that plans to build an open-pit silver and gold mine that would decapitate the mountain that looms behind the town Cerro de San Pedro. In a postproduction model developed by the company, the area looks like a lunar landscape. The ore-processing plant, where the toxins would be used, sits just 20 minutes from San Luis Potosí, the capital of the state and home of about one million people.

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Excavation for the mine will take place in an area of 67.7 hectares, digging a crater 1,150 ft. deep and a half-mile wide to gain access to the 90,500 oz. of gold and 2.1 million oz. of silver the mountain could yield each year for the next decade. The mountain will be demolished and in its place will be large deep pits filled with the residue of the mining process. Soil cover will be lost in an area of approximately 500 hectares.

The pit is only about 600 meters from the town square and the tunnels from the old town go under the church and the square. If the mine project goes forward, a 1,150-ft., half-mile crater would be blasted in the top of mountain that sits behind the town of Cerro de San Pedro, Mexico. The proposed mine would destroy the historic remains of the old town and destroy the environment because of the cyanide leaching and potentially poison the water of San Luis Potosi. Greenpeace says cyanide high risk in mining plans by a Canadian firm in the Mexican district of Cerro de San Pedro. The firm Cambior has been involved in two most disastrous cyanide spills in mining history. Millions of liters of water contaminated.

The project would entail moving part of the town and its historic buildings, but the people don't want to move. To avoid damage of the buildings, the company plans would move the municipal buildings and the centuries old church another 600 meters away. The company would destroy the environment for a yield that would last only 6-8 years. MSX only vaguely outlined on the environmental-impact report. how it would restore the mountain top, clean up the massive piles of bulldozed waste, protect rare plants and wildlife like the biznaga cactus and the desert tortoise, and safeguard the town's 16th-century structures. Actual profit from the exploitation would be low in comparison to the amount of destruction and permanent ecological damage that would result.

Most troubling was the company's unclear plan for the management and disposal of the toxins, including cyanide, that are used in gold mining. The daily use of 13 tons of explosives composed of nitrate “Anful” will produce great quantities of dust which can cause irreversible ills. 640 millions of m3 of cyanide materials would be residuals covering a surface of 178 hectares which will not allow agricultural or cattle activities for generations. The potential poisoning of the watershed lands alone would have dramatic consequences for the inhabitants of San Luis Potosi. (Campbell, 2004) However, MSX argues that it has clarified its plans and is implementing the 100 changes suggested by a group of Mexican academics who studied the environmental-impact report.

In spite of the fact that permits have been cancelled, the company have huge trucks, big tanks and workers on site, and the land has been cleared for future use in an environmentally protected area, so the clearing is obviously illegal. A test drill resulted in the street collapsing because of the tunnels under the street and the company had "repaired the damage" by dumping a load of gravel. If the project goes forward, MSX would add about 170 jobs to its existing staff of 34 to work on the mine, but the new jobs will require education and training that people from Cerro de San Pedro often lack. Some qualified residents would receive temporary housing a few miles from town. Other villagers could choose to stay here and receive a monthly payment based on the typical
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

wage here, from MSX that could be used to strengthen their houses to protect them from the blasts.

The Company violated federal and state laws. Among federal laws:

- Presidential Decree of June 2, 1961 which forbids extraction of water in the valley of San Luis Potosi.
- Article 35 of Federal Law of fire arms and explosives. Store and consumption of explosives is only 50 meters from town instead of at least one kilometer.
- The Agrarian Law establishes the obligation of the agrarian authority to staff and protect the ejidatarios. The Company leased ejidal lands from fake ejidatarios.

State Laws violated are

- Article 7 of the Environmental Law of San Luis Potosi which does not give faculty to the governor to authorize licenses of land use. The Governor exceeded his authority to grant authorization of land use in may 2000.
- Article 15 of the State Constitution of San Luis establishes the right of citizens to enjoy a healthy environment and to prevent and combat environmental pollution.

Cooperation and conflict relationships between the actors

A decree of September 1993 protects the area of the municipalities of Cerro de San Pedro, Soledad and San Luis Potosi of any type of aggression against the natural environment. A Reordering Plan of San Luis Potosí and surroundings (Plan de Ordenación de San Luis Potosí y sus alrededores, launched by Government in 1993 included Cerro de San Pedro and previewed and ecological restoration during the following 20 years. On September 1993, the government of San Luis Potosi granted the plan, establishing that 3 fourths of the municipality territory should be oriented toward development of wild life, signaling the lack of water as a fundamental problem and the need to have recharging watersheds and giving priority to industries with low consumption of water and not polluted (Periódico Oficial del estado de San Luis Potosí, 1993).

In 1994 MSX conceived the mining Project to exploit Cerro de San Pedro in an open pit process at only 50 meters from the town. Since 1995, information and letters have been sent to many officials. The citizen’s group opposed to the project, the Frente Amplio Opositor (Broad Opposition Front), has won a number of legal battles. However, some people favor the project arguing that mining is part of this town's history and it's economic legacy. On May 5, 1996 was founded the Patronato Pro Defensa del Patrimonio Cultural e Histórico del Municipio de Cerro de San Pedro, AC

The mining Project was born in 1997, when MSX received authorizations from local authorities. The company argue that the Project Cerro de San Pedro would generate almost 2,000 millions of pesos in investments, jobs positions for locals and 74% of

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

buying al local suppliers (Europa Press, 2004). With the announcement of the Project was born also the opposition formed by environmental and architectonical conservation MSX subscribed the leasing contract of land in March 1997 for a period of 15 years by fake ejidatarios that did not have land rights on the Ejido. The Environmental Impact Statement for the Cerro San Pedro project was submitted to the Mexican Federal authorities in October 1997.

Since that time the permitting process has included a public hearing in March 1998 and a technical review of the permit documents by the University of San Luis Potosí as mandated by the State government. In 1998, a technical scientific opinion from the Commission to Review the Project Cerro de San Pedro and Minera San Javier from the Autonomous University of San Luis Potosí established over the environmental components that only prevents monitoring of water but not air and soil where the cyanide could harm (Comisión de la Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí para la Revisión del Proyecto Cerro de San Pedro de Minera San Xavier (1998). Researchers accepted the invitation under the condition that the results of the study should be published before should be shown to the Company and to SEMARNAT. The environmental study done by researchers of the Autonomous University of San Luis Potosí has not been considered as serious, complete and professional but it was considered as an instrument of expression of company’s interests.

On March 20, 1998, the Municipal President was found dead by a bullet in his head. The motive would be that he requested an audit and wanted penal action against former municipal president that had sold illegally abandoned fincas to MSX. One day before of his assassination, official of he company gave a presentation of the project at the Hotel Westin and after the lunch at El Saucito he argued with William Copeland Dodge, the manager of MSX. A portfolio with documents was lost and the Governor recommended the interested persons about motivations, to take care of themselves because the officers of the company would do anything to get what they want. Other employed of the company was accused of robbing a painting of XVII Century

An official from the International Council of monuments and sites (ICOMOS), an organization of UNESCO declared that if the Minera de San Xavier project destroys the cultural heritage of Cerro de San Pedro, the Governor of San Luis Potosí will be remembered in history as responsible (La Jornada San Luis, 20 de Febrero, 1999). Conservationist and environmentalist groups have asked stated government and federal government not to authorize the project. Government should find equilibrium between conservation of cultural values and exploitation of material resources in such a way that the solution should guarantee the integrity of historical monuments.

In 1999 The Secretary of the Environment and natural Resources (SEMARNAT) authorized the project and its environmental impact in spite of serious violations to the General Law of Ecological equilibrium and Environmental Protection. In February 1999 The National Institute of Ecology (INE) granted environmental permit to operations of MSX against the existing plan of 1993 but establishing 100 conditionings, among which, the number 12 established relocations of the communities Cerro de San Pedro and La

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co- operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Zapatilla. Conditioning 68 established that the company should consider a proposal for limiting the use of water through treatment and other alternatives (Instituto Nacional de Ecología, 1999)...

On the 26 of February, 1999, the National Institute of ecology granted authorization to change land use in Cerro de San Pedro. On the year 2000, the civic platform Pro San Luis Ecological presented an appeal against authorization of mining exploitation granted on 1999 to Minera San Xavier by the National Institute of ecology. On May 5, 2000, the government of San Luis Potosi and the municipal of Cerro de San Pedro granted conditional authorization for land use for mining exploitation.

Since 2001, The social Justice Committee of Montreal, Mining Watch Canada and the Mexican NGO FUNDAR Center for analysis and research, funded by IDRC, are involved in a project to establish the impact of Canadian mining operations in Mexico, and to provide support to the affected Mexican communities. Field research was carried in Cerro de San Pedro. Relationships between Canadian and Mexican partners are maintained, nurtured and deepened linking communities and NGOs up with similar groups. A seminar on the impact of mining activities in Mexican communities took place as well as case studies (Mining Watch Canada, 2002).

In April 2002, according to information from the company, the last of the amendments to the federal and state mining permits that had previously been issued was received by MSX. MSX acquired of irregular form water rights of ejidatarios and small land owners who have suit the company. The company obtained illegally and against conditioning 68, 992,000 cubic meters of water from intermediaries of six concessions. An order of apprehension of MSX’s officials was granted (La Jornada San Luis, 2002).

On August 2002, the Tribunal of the Intenational Center for Dispute Resolution on Investments established a laud in favor of the United States Enterprise Metalclad, imposing a fine of 16 Millions Dollars to the Mexican Government for discriminatory treatment after the authorities closed a land field for residuals and trash in Guadalcazar (San Luis Potosí, México). This was a dangerous antecedent that the commercial and business logic is above the health and welfare of communities

In October 2003, Mexican state and federal agencies, and Catholic Archdioceses of San Luis Potosi, authorized the structural stabilization and installation of blast monitoring equipment at the Cerro San Pedro Apostle Church. Metallica Resources Inc, was pleased to announce it on October 23 (OTC Bulletin Board, 2003). On November 24, 2003, the Agrarian Unitary Tribunal (Tribunal Unitario Agrario) emitted an agreement to stop operations of the transnational company, requested by the real ejidatarios to maintain the integrity of the land in conflict.

Approximately $2.0 million was spent on initial project development during 2003. Construction of the mine begun in the first quarter of 2004 with commissioning scheduled for the fourth quarter of 2004. The exploitation unit started to build on February 2004 with the withdrawal and re plantation of 21,000 protected cactus while

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

MSX affirmed being in process of ISO 14001 certification. The topography report includes plans of geoposition of the National Institute of Geograph and Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática, INEGI) stating that the mining exploitation is on the area of the hill and in the town. On February 11, five years later, the company submitted the impact on health issues and the company has not given any information regarding the areas of conservation of five species of cactus to the SEMARNAT. Besides the historic architecture, there are five species of flora included in the norm 059 at the risk of extinction.

Earlier 20004 a group of nearly 20 environmental and civic groups charged Mexico's Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources of illegally rubberstamping in 1999 MSX's environmental-impact report. Cruz Camarena (2004) reports a confrontation early in March between 60 local environmental and community activists and representatives of the San Xavier Mine, the head of the State Unit of Civil Protection, Investigators from the Autonomous University of San Luis Potosí (UASLP) and the Secretary of Ecology and Environmental Organization.

On the 17 of March, 2004, the Unitary Agrarian Tribunal rejected the rental contracts between the MSX and false ejidatarios. The Governor of the State of san San Luis pressured the President of Municipal Government of Cerro de San Pedro to grant the corresponding agrarian permits. He also pretended to cancel the decree that protects the ecological zone. The Secretary of the State Government also pressured and wanted to corrupt the Municipal President of Cerro de San Pedro to grant permits of land use and to give support for authorization of SEDENA’S permit to use explosives for bastings. The Secretary of Economic Development of the State of San Luis has land properties neighboring MSX and ceded 65% of water rights. The President of the Mining Chamber of Mexico in a conflict of interests supported the blasting of MSX even knowing that the were against judicial decisions.

MSX has established programs dedicated to the conservation of the environment. MSX has formed a non-profit foundation to supervise and administer the funds that Metallica donate to preserve the village of Cerro de San Pedro and assist the surrounding communities. April 12, 2004, a protest mining at Cerro de San Pedro was organized by FZLN.

On May 11, 2004, Fred H. Lightner, General Director of Minera San Xavier, sent a letter to Herrera Muñoz insisting on the permit to use explosives, warning that Metallica Resources would announce publicly in United Status that the company is found without any possibilities to continue with the construction of the mine due that it has no count with the general permit to use the corresponding explosives. He continued on saying that their investors and potential investors in other projects in Mexico would begin to question regarding the risks to invest in Mexico (Cruz Martinez, 2004).

On the 18 of May, 2004, The Second District Court granted a suspension as part of the appeal 564/2004 promoted by inhabitants of Cerro de San Pedro to halt granting of
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

construction and functioning of MSX. However, this permit was liberated on the 7 of August at Cabildo session.
In June 2004, the antimine coalition, Pro San Luis Ecológico won a federal court sided with environmentalists in effectively nullifying MSX's environmental permit, which halted the company's work. On June 23, the Supreme Tribunal of Fiscal and Administrative Justice cancelled the environmental permit granted by the Secretary of Environment and Natural Resources (SEMARNAT) in February 1999. On June 23, the 9th Collegiate Tribunal in Administrative Issues of the First Circuit of the nation Supreme Court of Justice (SCJN), declared that the license of change of land use and open pit mining project granted to MSX by the National Institute of Ecology violated the the General law of Ecological and Environmental Equilibrium and the Decree of Planning in the State of San Luis Potosí.

On July 22, the Municipal Presidency was taken over by MSX One week before an entrepreneur intended to bribe the President. The Secretary of Economy of Mexico declared in August that MSX was a win-win project and authorized the 28 of July a temporal occupancy of land against article 20 of the Mining Law that forbids a mining exploitation when there are population or an ecological reserve. The environmental permit to operations of MSX was cancelled the 28 of July, 2004 the same that was granted by The National Institute o Ecology (INE). For more than one year, Fox visited the State once per month and promotes MNX. President Fox visiting Canada questioned the judicial decisions affecting operations of the mining company.

On the 29 of July when visiting San Luis met the President Municipal of Cerro de San Pedro and recommended the approval of the municipal permits even against resolutions of the judicial power. According to Loredo, Fox told him that he was worried to achieve the mining project and that he (The President of Mexico) recommended its approval (La Jornada San Luis, 30.08.04). The argument used by government to support operation of the open pit mining company is the generation of 300 low wages employments, for only 8 years. It was criticized that President Fax for having a double moral. While he promotes disobedience to the law of the Municipal President of Cerro de San Pedro, he has accused the Mayor of Mexico City for the same fault. The Municipal President recognized that he authorized the operations of the open pit mining because he was afraid of his life and the life of his family. In 1999, the Municipal President, the father of Loredo, was murdered because his opposition.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Marcelo de los Santos Governor of the State o San Luis, Oscar Loredo, Municipal President of San Pedro and Vicente Fox, the 29 of July, 2004. Fotografía: La Jornada San Luis

On the 7 of August the Municipal President of Cerro de San Pedro approved the permits to build the mine and conformity regarding safety and location against a previous agreement of no approval done on may 28, based on the appeal 564/2004 and agrarian and environmental resolutions forbidden these permits. Loredo recognized that the permits were illegal; there was not other way to face the pressure. However, the session was tape recorded, where the Municipal President declares that he was under pressure by President Fox and the Governor of the State The Municipal President declared that it was known beforehand that the federal government and the state government are in agreement and they are potent that one can not be against them; they have the hand over our neck and there were some advertencies. When this decision was questioned, he responded asking if his life was not important.

On August 9, the Second District Court admitted other appeal presented by ejidatarios and next day declared suspension in order that SEDENA could not authorize buying and using of explosives. On the 10th of August, the same Court granted other suspension as part of the appeal 909/2004, to halt Sedena`s actions to deliver to the company permit to buy and use explosives, but license was issued the 12 of October by the Secretary of Defense. On August 18, a congresswoman Eliana García, presented to the Permanent Commission of Congress a point of agreement to request the Judicial Power to investigate federal and state officials involved in disobedience to the law.

On August 21, opponents to the MSX’s project closed the offices and demanded immediate exit of the company from Cerro de San Pedro. Among these opponents were Movimiento Pro-Cerro de San Pedro, Frente Cívico Potosino, Greenpeace, Frente Zapatista de Liberación Nacional y del Movimiento "Ya Basta", inhabitants from Cerro de San Pedro, San Luis Potosí and Soledad, and a patrol of public security.

September 1, 2004, a decision of the Mexican Federal Superior of Fiscal and Administrative Justice Court (Sala Superior del Tribunal Federal de Justicia Fiscal y Administrativa, TFJFA) has called for the mining company’s permit granted on February 1999 to conditionally operate the mining to be revoked because of its failure to comply with proper procedures with respect to their environmental impact study. The resolution states that because biodiversity is at danger, the Project should not be authorized. Commencement of mine operations was anticipated to begin in the fourth quarter of 2004, subject to project financing.

In a resolution dated September 1st, the TFJFA substantiated a case brought in 2000 by the civic union Pro San Luis Ecológico, opposing the authorization granted to the company the previous year by the National Institute of Ecology (INE). The Delegate of the SEMARNAT in San Luis Potosi (2002-2004) created and presided Foundation of Potosi under the purpose declared by Minera San Xavier to fulfill the conditions

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

established by National Institute of Ecology to authorize the Manifest of Environmental Impact and to provide the compensations of ecological costs. The firm needs more than three years to fulfill only 32 of 100 conditions imposed by SEMARNAT while this Secretary only needed one Month to accept them

The Court halted operations at the San Luis de Potosí Gold Project, owned by Minera San Xavier (MSX), a subsidiary of the Canadian company Metallica Resources. The Federal Court's resolution was based on the necessity of ecological preservation of San Pedro Hill, where some animal species are in danger of extinction, as well as risks derived from cyanide use in mining, which would put in danger the biodiversity of the area. In addition to this point, the TFJFA recalls that the responsibility for preservation and regeneration of the environment lies with the federal authority. It concludes that the permit granted for the concession did not conform to "applicable laws".

The opponents to La Minera San Xavier consider that "the project is dead", since any action that could undermine the federal justice decision "would imply disrespect and transgression of the law". The company has retorted that the decision lacks a scientific base and that it will harm Canadian investments in the country. Second District Judge of the Federal Judicial Power dictated suspension of plan as part of the appeal 909/2004, promoted by ejidatarios de Cerro de San Pedro, San Luis Potosí, to suspend permit of buying and using explosives by the company.

MSX appealed the ruling and, in September, lost again. Because the company's latest appeal was rejected, they are threatening to use NAFTA's Chapter 11 to sue the Mexican government for potential lost profits. On September 27, the Broad Opposition Front asked to the Sub direction of Mining Rights to order cancellation of concession to Minera San Xavier

On October 7, personnel of the Secretary of Economy asked the ejidatarios to withdraw the land but a judge suspended the action. Against the owners of the land, during the first period of the project, more than 100 hectares of protected areas were illegally naked of protected species cutting the flora and expulsing the fauna. The municipal President who under pressure granted the permit, confronts a suit for not obeying the law because the municipal permit was suspended on March 16, 2004. On February 6 2004, MSX did not acknowledge some of the environmental commitments acquired and underestimating obligations to fulfill conditionings.

The company also committed fraud against the three levels of government who granted respective permits for the mining project under the assumption that land tenure was not viscid. With a fake contract, MSX took possession of land causing destruction on old buildings and protected flora and fauna, a loss to the ecosystem.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

The company also closed neighborhood roads that had been used by inhabitants of La Zapatilla, Cuesta de Campa, Portezuelo y Cerro de San Pedro, without any permit. Invaded land of national property where was the old track of the train Potosi-Rioverde and installed a fence of several kilometers to avoid access to inhabitants to municipal land. (Montemayor, 2004).

On October 26, the Federal Tribunal of Fiscal and Administrative Justice determined that authorization of conditioned land use granted in 1999 to the project of MSX was against federal norms and not considered the existence of a protected area plan for the Cerro de San Pedro and surroundings. In public speech the 28 of October, the Minister of Environment and Natural Resources evaluated the resolutions of tribunals as the worst and spoke on favor of the company as having fulfilled all the requirements and considered as absurd the opposition of the inhabitants.

After SEDENA granted permits for use of explosives, on November 18, an incident of violation of suspension granted to the appeal promoted by ejidatarios on August 9, was promoted. On the 22 of November, Semarnat promoted a revision against the resolution that cancels the permit of conditioned operation of the open pit mining to MSX and SEDENA authorized to MSX the use of explosives.

The 29 of November, 2004 the Director of Mining in the State of San Luis Potosí declared that in the following days the Company would have the first blasts to prepare operations. 30 of November, 2004, The Senate Chamber passed an “obvious and urgent resolution” to stop programmed operations of MNX

On Dec. 1, an Agrarian Unitary Tribunal defended its claim that MSX's lease excludes a group of land owners. The Agrarian Unitary Tribunal ordered to obey the sentence derived of an appeal 807/202 which determined the illegality of the leasing contract of land subscribed in March 1997 for a period of 15 years by fake ejidatarios that did not have land rights on the Ejido. (Cruz Martínez, 2004). The Court cancelled rental contracts subscribed between the company and false ejidatarios. The ruling freezes MSX's land rights although the company constructed barbed wired fences around land that the company doesn’t own.

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

The Agrarian Tribunal (Tribunal Unitario Agrario) has nullified the rental contracts for the land where important parts of the mine are located – on the grounds that the persons renting the ejidal (socially-owned) land to the company were not in fact members of the ejido, that is to say that their actions were fraudulent. About the land use, the company declared that the ejido leased is Cerro de San Pedro when belongs to the municipality of Soledad de Graciano Sanchez. The intention is to avoid permits in area that is legally environmentally protected. Also, Ejidatarios of Palma de la Cruz leased 136 hectares to Minera San Xavier to be used as shops but the company was using it as disposal of sulfurous material that is not lixiviable.

On the 13 and 14 of December, the company blasted the area of La Zapatilla incrementing tension among the inhabitants of the region. On December 14th, it began excavating the mountain. Inhabitants of the town La Zapatilla were relocated alter the company initiated operations. When the INAH knew about the blasting, requested the company to stop of such activities arguing the defense of around 115 buildings dated from XVII to XIX Centuries. Since 1998, INAH had warned over the danger for the historic heritage that would represent to activate the mining. With the opposition of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), and the reluctant permission for using explosives for blasting the mountain, of the Secretary of Defence (SEDENA) the company has begun its operations. The company appealed but the judge did not grant suspension against INAH decision.

On December 18, intellectuals, artists and around 50 civil, environmental and Human Right organizations strongly requested President Fox to respect and enforce the law at Cerro de San Pedro and to order Minera San Xavier to suspend activities based on judicial resolutions and verdicts. The arguments of the organizations, among others, Frente Amplio Opositor, la Asociación Nacional de Abogados Democráticos, la Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Agrícolas y el Movimiento Agrario Indígena Zapatista (Maiz), were in favor to defend the environmental, cultural and historic heritage and the imminent health risks of more than one million people Ejidatarios continued with a safety line in front of the entrance to the mine although it was announce that the Secretary of Economy of Mexico will grant a permit of temporal land occupancy in the agrarian nucleus of Cerro de San Pedro in response to an application done by MSX the 28th of June, 2004 (Cruz Martinez 2004a). Thus, the Company and government were looking for other options of land ownership such as Expropriation or temporal occupancy. But expropriation is only by cause of public utility.

On the 20 of December, The Third District Court received the appeal presented by the company against the decision of the INAH. The Canadian firm Metallica Resources Incorporated suffered a second decrease in the year of 16 percent in value of shares on December 21, after informing shareholders over the resolutions of Unitary Agrarian Tribunal which nulls the contract of leasing of 300 hectares in Cerro de San Pedro. Metallica Resources responded with an appeal and skating that would look for other option of land tenancy to have access to mineral resources The first decrease in a year, of around 20% occurred in mid 2004.

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Members of Christian Science Monitor, were the first Canadians to come and witness the damage that has already happened, and the potential for more harm. On December 22, 2004 under strategic action, Mexico citizen’s group sought halt in the Canadian-owned mine, in responds to an urgent request for Canadian support to challenge legality and operations.

Sedena admitted participation in control and surveillance of blast that the company realized, confirming violation of suspension dictated by the judge in August, 2004 ordaining not liberation of permit to use explosives (Cruz Martinez, 2004). Another round of blasting was scheduled for December 31st. On December 18, the Municipal President of Cerro de San Pedro announced next detonation.

On the 15 of November, 2003, The Commander of the 12 Militar Zone of San Luis Potosí considered that authorization of the permit could affect negatively to SEDENA. The Secretary of National Defense, the 30 of November 2003, agreed to suspend the permit to use explosives granted to the mining company, but on October 12, 2004, against resolutions of judged, signed and granted permits of use of explosives. The Commander of the military zone that had opposed was removed from his position. On November 22, SEDENA authorized to MSX the use of explosives.

However, the 24 of December when authorizations were public already, the permits were suspended but not cancelled. The Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional (Sedena), suspended the permit 3762-San Luis Potosí granted to MSX to buy and consume explosive material under the argument that the license to the company was altering the peace, tranquility and public order among people living in the region of Cerro de San Pedro, although the inhabitants have denied alteration of public order (Cruz Martinez, and Balboa, 2004).
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

The National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) suited against directives of the Transnational for destruction and demolition of Finca Guadalupe, that dated since the XVIII Century. The Broad Opposition Front sent a letter to the Canadian Embassy requesting intervention to halt operations of the Canadian company who is blackmailing and pressing inhabitants of Cerro de San Pedro using as arguments the NAFTA’s framework (Roman, Jose Antonio, 2004).

The last two days of December 2004, the lawyer of the company MSX got signatures among fake ejidatarios from Cerro de San Pedro and La Zapatilla, who would agree to use TNT (La Jornada, January 2, 2005).

The Ministry of the Environment has taken legal steps to have the previous court rulings against the company overturned. SEMARNAT had promoted an appeal of revision to the resolution of cancelled permit but had obtained in its favor a suspension to avoid cancellation of the permit. The Commission of Governance, Constitutional Issues and Justice of the Permanent Union Congress approved an agreement to request information to SEMARNAT about the legal status of Minera San Xavier and to accept the resolution of the Court that cancels the permit of operation of the open pit mining. A plural commission traveled to Cerro de San Pedro (La Jornada, January 12).

The destruction of a historic building catalogued as a heritage monument of the XVIII Century in the town of Cerro de San Pedro by Minera San Xavier was reported by La
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Jornada San Luis and Triunfo Elizalde (2005). The Finca o Casa de Guadalupe is included in the National Catalog of Historical Monuments. Access to the Finca was denied to the Municipal authorities by the employees of the company when authorities went to take an act because an inhabitant showed the titles of property.

The inhabitants of Cerro de San Pedro only had obtained from Congress an agreement to request information from the SEMARNAT over the legal status of the company (La Jornada, 17 January). On the 18 of January, 2005, the INAH suited MNX for the intentional damages caused to real states that are historic heritage of Cerro de San Pedro and request suspension of actions to avoid damages against real states and the AOF accused the company to unfulfilled obligations. The suit was presented on January 15 because the Company did not requested any authorization although on November 18, the INAH had asked he company an immediate suspension of any activities and blast in the area. On the 17 of January, protesters of AOF demanded INAH for information (Enciso, 2005e).

The owners of Casa Guadalupe, a historic real state demolished by MNX suited the company for dispossession and damages. The building is in the catalog of historic constructions of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). Personnel from INAH ordered to stop demolition on January 15. The Patronato Pro Defensa del Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural del Municipio Cerro San Pedro, demanded cancellation of concessions to MNX for not fulfillment of the Mining Law (Enciso, 2005d)

According to the Secretary of Environment and Natural Resources (SEMARNAT) Minera San Xavier has fulfilled with 180 conditions established to favor sustainable development (Enciso, 2005c). The 20 of January, 2005, the Broad Opposition Front (AOF) Frente de Oposición Amplia (FOA) to the Minera San Xavier addressed an open letter to the Constitutional Governor of the State of San Luis to denounce damages caused by the blasts and the dangers and risks of planned mining operations. The argument of the governor stating that it was “an issue between particulars” is severely criticized (Annex C.).
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Minera San Xavier suit for defamation to members of the Broad Opposition Front two ejidatarios of Cerro de San Pedro and the leader of a civil organization Pro Defensa de Cerro de San Pedro (Cruz Martines, 2005a for the publication of an article in La Jornada (Masisare, 29 de Agosto de 2004). The National Network of Civil Organizations of Human Rights, All the Rights for All (la Red Nacional de Organismos Civiles de Derechos Humanos Todos los Derechos Para Todos) started to circulate a setter of support to the three accused, as an Urgent Action.

Minera San Xavier lost other judicial process when the Third Court of District from State denied an appeal against the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, INAH), who requested last December suspension of blast explosions that damaged the historic heritage (Enciso, 2005b).

In a public message, AOF sustained that in a shameful act of cynicism and impunity, Cardenas Jimenez has recommended the Minera to go to the Tribunals without knowledge of the course legal process (La Jornada, February 13). The Broad Opposition Front to the MNX announced in mid February 2005 that would promote a demand of political suit for negligence against the Minister of the Environment and Natural Resources who have supported the company in a public hearing on the 11 of February (La Jornada, February 14). The Senate approved an agreement requesting SEMARNAT and SEDENA to explain their involvement in the Minera San Xavier case (Cruz Martínez 2005)

On March 4, 2005 a conference/forum Cuarto Concierto Cultural por la Defensa de Cerro de San Pedro took place for the defense of the environment the village and the rights in Cerro de San Pedro, sponsored by Patronato Pro Defensa Cerro de San Pedro, marking the 413 anniversary of its foundation, the 4 of March of 1592.

On March 17, a KAIROS delegation formed by seven Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and United church leaders went to Cerro de San Pedro to investigate a mining operation owned by Metallica Resources, a Canadian company based on Ottawa that stands accused of illegal gold mining in Mexico. The company threatens to destroy both the historic town and the surrounding fragile ecology. The Canadians met with KAIROS’ Mexican partners and local people to bear witness to their struggle and brought details home to Canada, including video and other documentation. “Foreign mining in Mexico is another by-product of NAFTA and the trade liberalization policies that affect the poor,” said Lutheran National Bishop Ray Schultz, a delegate with the KAIROS
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

program. “When our Mexican partners raised concerns about this Canadian-owned mine, we felt we had to investigate.” (Kairos, 2004).

Representants of Kairos, formed by a group of Canadian religious institutions expressed concerns over the conflict of the Community of Cerro de San Pedro and the Canadian company considering that the practices of MNX violates Canadian Laws in Mexican territory (Munoz, 2005). Previously, a member of the Broad Opposition Front had toured and campaigned in Canada lobbying leaders of opinion and legislators. On March 18, 2004, the Auxiliary Bishop Daniel Bohan of Toronto called on a Canadian company to abandon a Mexican gold and silver mining operation using cyanide that locals fear will poison their water. With a surge in gold prices, MSX executives want to move forward and are searching for a legal breakthrough that will allow MSX to begin excavation and resume operations by mid-2005 (Campbell, 2004).

Under an irregular procedure, the Canadian Company promoted two appeals, but was denounced by the Pro Ecology Group. On 6 of April, 2005, a Tribunal in Administrative matters of First Circuit informed to MNX that had lost the appeal. Canadian legislators and Human and Parliamentary Rights Canadian Organizations formed a follow up and analysis committee to investigate actions of Metallica Resources, owner of the project Minera San Xavier. The Human Rights Canadian organization had visited previously the community of Cerro de San Pedro (Enciso, 2005a).

The Canadian Ambassador in Mexico met with the Broad Opposition Front to the MSX on the 4 of May and expressed the concerns of the Canadian Government for the conflict between the company and the Community of Cerro de San Pedro. A group of 30 environmentalist organizations accused the Minister of the Environment and Natural Resources to benefit transnational corporations approving projects such as the open pit mining at Cerro de San Pedro against the will of the community and demanded a change in the environmental policy (Enciso, 2005). The protestors also denounced that the Minister has prosecuted environmental activists.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Oppositional groups win the judicial controversy against MNX after the First Court of District (Juzgado Primero de Distrito) has dismissed the appeal 503/2005, which was the last resource of the Company’s defense. (La Jornada, 9 de mayo, del 2005). The Governor of the State of San Luis Potosí ordered to highjack a complete edition of the newspaper La Jornada San Luis to avoid to be know the publication of his official maneuvering for pressure the decision to install the mining company Minera San Xavier (Hernandez Lopez, 2005).

13 of May 2005 is reported that after Metallica Resources presented loses in its first report of the year, the owners of MNX plan to withdraw Cerro de San Pedro’s project and will suit the NAFTA’s panel of controversies Cruz Martinez, Angeles (2005a).

Final remarks and conclusions

Mining activities are perceived as the main factor of marginal regions and depressed zones. Mining concessions granted by Mexican government is centralized, brief and against public hearings, in such a way that affected groups and communities can not react immediately and mobilize against potential risks and dangers or to negotiate rights and interests.

The Canadian firm Metallica Resource Incorporated was at the point to destroy part of the environmental, cultural and historic heritage of the country, although there were three judicial resolutions to halt operations granted by different authorities upon request of the Ejidatarios who have rights to own the land had been dispossessed. It was assumed that operations of the firm were in complicity with the Federal, State and local governments. The environmental and health risks would have side effects on more than one million people living in the localities of Cerro de San Pedro, la Soledad and San Luis Potosi. Norms were violated by the transnational when it started operations without obtaining legal permit of construction and operations and authorization to manage and to store explosives.

Exploitation of gold trough open pit mining and use of cyanide lead to destruction of natural environments and irreversible geomorphologic alterations, distortions of watersheds, reduction on the quality of available water, transport accidents of dangerous substances and spill over during the exploitation, irreversible destruction of natural scenic and generation of deposits highly risky pollutant materials which have social, cultural and environmental impacts at short, medium and large terms (Montenegro, 2004).

The negotiation agenda and international mobilization around the debate over the concept of sustainable development and defense of the environment is a paradigm presented as a model of cooperation and consensus where the needs of all are incorporated and the greater have a compromise to support weaker. Intervention of the state and international community to benefit the public interest and the common good and to control forces of the state and to achieve more equity among populations together with the implementation of more sustainable production and consumer patterns.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

It is quite evident the lack of sensitivity of foreign mining companies toward the consequents of their activities upon the communities and environment. To a certain extent, we disagree with Sánchez-Mejorada (2000) who argues that facts will not convince the fringe environmental activists, the best defense is to address all environmental concerns and to have an aggressive community relations program that will put the facts before the general population that will be affected by the project. Keeping a low profile will rarely work when being assaulted by activists on all fronts. But, an aggressive community relations program will escalate the conflict.

This case also shows the lack of negotiation between firms, communities, new social movements and governments. Information about externalities and future costs of company activities is crucial but more crucial is formulation and implementation of more sensitive policies to avoid damage of the environment, biodiversity and health of population. Governmental institutions must be aware that their decisions may affect the community quality of life of actual and future generations only for a small increment in economic growth and large increase in private benefits of a small group of investors.

More informed citizens tend to be more active protestors, such as the case of the students in San Luis. Contact between informed individuals of diverse groups and organizations help to exchange experiences and create public opinion in favor of mobilizations. Community participation and involvement in decision making of community development planning is quite limited by the lack of critical information. This fact is critical when the local government can not provide the right information because there are other interests affecting the process.

The impact of mining activities is not part of the national political debate agenda

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Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

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Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

valenciana and real de catorce mining communities (mexico), 1760-1790. Colegio de San Luis.

ANNEX A  Cerro de San Pedro, San Luis Potosi, Mexico

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facts &amp; Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place Name</td>
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Cerro de San Pedro or San Pedro, town (1990 pop. 129), San Luis Potosi, N central Mexico, on interior plateau, 12 mi/19 km ENE of San Luis Potosi; 22°15'N 100°40'W. Elev. 6,719 ft/2,048 m. Silver, gold, lead mining.
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

ANNEX B. San Luis Movement - Call For Public Support

To Public Opinion,
To the Means of Communication,
To the Non-Governmental Organizations and Environmentalists
To Governor Marcelo de los Santos
El Cerro de San Pedro and the San Xavier Mine

With the goal of making known clearly and completely the problems that have been developing for eight years now in the Municipality of Cerro de San Pedro in the state of San Luis Potosí, México, and with regard to the controversial project to exploit the gold and silver that the Canadian Mining company Minera San Xavier [MSX of Metallica, Canada] plans to carry out there, we urge you to become familiar with the following information. Two or three minutes of your time could really impact hundreds of years of future history.

Historical Background

Thanks to the rich deposits of gold and silver found in the place, in 1592 the Royal Mines of Cerro de San Pedro were founded, an event recorded in the fact that in the center of the coat of arms of the state of San Luis Potosí, México, one finds the Cerro de San Pedro over which Saint Louis, King of France, is resting.

In the middle of the Cerro (the mountain) are seen the holes left by the mining exploitation and on the sides of his royal personage are seen the bars of gold and silver. That is to say, that it is to the Cerro de San Pedro, that the state of San Luis Potosí owes its existence. Linked to its glorious past are the churches that date from the seventeenth century as well as all of its exceptional architecture of such importance that the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) carried out all of the work necessary so that UNESCO would consider it part of the historic patrimony of the nation. At present the paper work is in process to have the Cerro de San Pedro declared a Zone of Historic Monuments.

Once the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect in 1994, the Canadian [mining company Metallica] owner of the San Xavier Mine (MSM) conceived the idea of prospecting in the Cerro de San Pedro located 12 kilometers from the capital city of San Luis Potosí with the goal of exploiting its resources, gold and silver. The extraction of gold and silver is planned to be carried out with a system called “open pit mining” (tajo a cielo abierto) and the recovery of the metals will be done by a cyanide process and lixiviation of the ore, that is washing or percolating the ore.

Impact

The company called the inhabitants of the town to a meeting during which it was explained to them that the project would mean the disappearance of the village, of its
Co–operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

churches and houses, but that they were being offered money to relocate themselves and for the construction of new houses.

In order to carry out the exploitation of the site by the open pit method, it will be necessary to remove up to one kilometer, cutting down the mountains and grinding them up, and then digging down into the subsoil to a depth of between 250 and 350 meters. That is to say, it will require according to what was said, removing the land on which the town rests, using 13 tons of explosives of nitrous ammonia. Instead of the Mountain of San Pedro, there will be the Crater of San Pedro.

In order to get more minerals, the traditional foundry system will not be used, but rather in the lixiviation yard 16 tons of cyanide will be mixed with 32 million liters of pure water which will be taken from the aquifer that serves the city, and which, as those of us who live in San Luis Potosí know, is in danger of being exhausted because of over use. The sodium cyanide mixed with the water produces hydrogen-cyanide acid, which when evaporated will travel daily toward the city and its populated environs.

It is also proposed to use 25 tons daily of explosive made of nitrate of ammonia with the goal of extracting 75,000 tons of material each day. The explosive will produce great quantities of dust that can cause illnesses such as pulmonary fibrosis and silicosis, an irreversible and incapacitating illness common among miners.

The people of San Pedro, Soledad de Graciano Sánchez, Los Gómez, Pozos, Armadillo de los Infante, San Luis Potosí and other surrounding towns will be constantly inhaling those contaminants.

[The article goes on to list some specific laws that will be being violated in this process.] (See below)

For more information contact Alicia Beatriz Cruz Camarena at fzln_slp@hotmail.com
Protests can be sent to:
comunicacionsocial@congresoslp.gob.mx
sgg@slp.gob.mx
marcelo@slp.gob.mx
sSAN LUIS MOVEMENT - CALL FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT edesore@sedesore.gob.mx
segam_rtrevino@slp.gob.mx
For the company view about this issue see:
Metallica Company press release

Metallica on Cerro San Pedro

Dorothy Kosich, “Metallica earns social license first,” in Mineweb at:
http://trinity.mips1.net/MGGold.nsf/0/42256E2B005E0A2E85256E3D00469473

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co–operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

Some of the legal aspects that are being violated
Federal laws:

a) Article 35º of the Federal Law of Weapons of Fire and Explosives, indicates the demand of a perimeter of 1,000 meters of the place of storage and consumption of explosives, free of constructions for house room, historic zones and archaeological zones. If the project is carried out tons of explosives would be utilized to do the cut just 50 meters away from the town.

b) Article 3º of the Presidential Decree of June 2, 1961 prohibits for an indefinite time the use of water from the subsoil of the Valley of San Luis Potosi without previous written permission by the Secretary Office of Hydraulic Resources.

c) The Agrarian Law establishes the obligation of the authority to assess and to protect the “ejidatarios,” (like cooperative members). Mining San Xavier negotiated with the “Asamblea Ejidal” the leasing of its lands without the Agrarian Attorney's office to comply with its obligation to assess the coop members. The contract of leasing mentions persons that do not appear in the National Agrarian Registration. This means that the company legally lacks the title of the property it wishes to exploit.

State, municipal and local laws

a) Article 7º of the Environmental Law of the state of San Luis Potosi published in the “Periodico Official” of December 15, 1999, establishes the attributions of the Executive in environmental matter. These attributions do not include the faculty to offer floor use licenses in a specific area or region. The executive power was exceeded in its functions when it offered and gave such permission in May, 2000.

b) Article 15º of the Constitution of the State of San Luis Potosi establishes the right of the inhabitants to enjoy a healthy environment with the obligation of the municipal and state governments “to conserve, to protect and to improve the natural resources of the state (or entity) as well as to prevent and to fight environmental pollution.

Know more about the problematic and participate actively in defense of the patrimony that is of us all. Come to the III Cultural Festival de Cerro de San Pedro that will be in March 6 and 7.

Patronato Pro-Defensa del Patrimonio Cultural e Histórico de Cerro de San Pedro, A.C.
Colectivo Azul
Delirio Azul
Asociación de vecinos de Cerro de San Pedro
Educación y Defensa Ambiental, A.C.
Pro San Luis Ecológico A.C.

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Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

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José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.; Ph.D.
ANNEX C.

San Luis Potosí, 20 de enero del 2005

CP MARCELO DE LOS SANTOS FRAGA
GOBERNADOR CONSTITUCIONAL
DEL ESTADO DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ
PRESENTE.

De nueva cuenta nos presentamos ante el Poder Ejecutivo del Estado que Usted representa para denunciar a la empresa canadiense Minera San Xavier quien desde hace 10 años viene violentando el estado de derecho en el Estado de San Luis Potosí, sin embargo la respuesta que hemos tenido por parte suya desde que asumió la gubernatura de la entidad ha sido de total apoyo a la instalación y explotación del mineral en el municipio de Cerro de San Pedro, sin importarle los impactos ambientales a los que será sometido el Valle de San Luis Potosí, el daño al patrimonio histórico y cultural del estado que goberna, así como la violación sistematizada a los preceptos legales que han cometido desde 1995 al tratar de engañar a las autoridades agrarias e inventar supuestos ejidatarios para hacerse de manera por demás ilegal de los terrenos donde pretenden llevar a cabo su devastador proyecto, así mismo cometiendo desacatos judiciales que les prohíben continuar con sus trabajos al desconocerles los permisos ambientales con los que contaban, esto por atentar con la flora y la fauna de la zona, los mantos freáticos que abastecen en gran medida a los municipios de Cerro de San Pedro, Soledad y San Luis Potosí, teniendo como base el decreto de SEPTIEMBRE DE 1993 que protege esta zona contra cualquier tipo de agresión. Al mismo tiempo la SEDENA canceló los permisos de uso de explosivos al darse cuenta del descontento social provocado por la emisión de los mismos, y por último el INAH interpone hace unos días demanda penal contra los directivos de esta trasnacional al percatarse de la destrucción de la Finca Guadalupe, que estaba en pie desde el siglo XVIII y que fue derrumbada por ordenes de Minera San Xavier sin explicación alguna, dando un duro golpe al patrimonio histórico de la nación.

En resumen es inaceptable que el Gobierno del Estado continúe haciendo oídos sordos a los reclamos de la sociedad civil que día a día se inconforma cada vez más contra la permanencia de Minera San Xavier en la zona poniendo como pretexto que el conflicto “es un asunto entre particulares”.

¿Es un asunto entre particulares el agua potable de los potosinos, es un asunto entre particulares el patrimonio histórico de la Nación que esta devastando hoy en día Minera San Xavier, es un asunto entre particulares el hecho de que un grupo de extranjeros estén cercando los caminos aledaños a Cerro de San Pedro impidiendo el paso a los habitantes del Estado, es un asunto entre particulares la violación al Estado de Derecho?

Señor Gobernador, el conflicto generado por Minera San Xavier en el valle de San Luis Potosí ha llegado al límite, le exigimos su pronta intervención ya que el...
Co– operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

continuar haciendo caso omiso a nuestros planteamientos no coadyuvara en ningún sentido a la solución del conflicto.

Existen diversas indagatorias judiciales contra integrantes de la Minera San Xavier ante la Procuraduría de Justicia. Exigimos perfeccionamiento y consignación.

La Minera San Xavier interpuso un amparo contra el Decreto de Septiembre de 1993, que definió el carácter de zona protegida, preservación y restauración de la vida Silvestre en Cerro de San Pedro. La autoridad responsable es usted Marcelo de los Santos Fraga y casi le podemos asegurar que se trata de un plan concertado, un objetivo común de la trasnacional con Usted. Defina públicamente cual será su posición en dicho juicio.

La MSX se va a ir de San Pedro, de San Luis y de México. La Minera demandara seguramente ante el Panel de controversias del TLC al Gobierno de México, al Gobierno del Estado y al del Municipio de San Pedro. Sus acciones y omisiones traicionan a la patria. En ese litigio el Frente Amplio Opositor se declarara coadyuvante de México, e inclusive estamos generando información y documentación ante la instancia internacional, sobre el desarrollo de los acontecimientos, haciendo hincapié desde luego en los fallos jurisdiccionales, los acuerdos administrativos de INAH y SEDENA y las denuncias de carácter penal contra los integrantes de la delictuosa MSX. Se debe iniciar la defensa ya, de inmediato. Si no es así usted será el responsable de un fallo contrario a los intereses de la Nación.

Usted tiene la palabra, y le recordamos que esto no es un asunto entre particulares, es mas bien un asunto en el que el futuro de la entidad esta en juego, le toca defender la vida del Valle de San Luis Potosí y nada más. Para eso fue electo Gobernador de San Luis Potosí.

ATENTAMENTE

FAO FRENTE AMPLIO OPpositor A LA MINERA SAN XAVIER
Co-operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

ANNEX D

This message is forwarded to you by the editors of the Chiapas95 newslists. To contact the editors or to submit material for posting send to: <chiapas-i@eco.utexas.edu>.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
Date: Mon, 12 Apr 2004 22:33:10 -0500 (CDT)
From: fzln <fzln@fzln.org.mx>
To: chiapas@eco.utexas.edu
Subject: Es;FZLN News Summary,Solicitud de firmas por Cerro de San Pedro

Cuando lleguen a ser cerca de 200 personas por favor envien un correo a: mynos2001@hotmail.com

Buenas Tardes, Buenas Noches, Buenos días.

(SI ESTAS DE ACUERDO, FIRMA LA SIGUIENTE CARTA Y MANDALA A TUS DIRECCIO'NES.

SAN PEDRO ESTA A PUNTO DE DESAPARECER.

NO LO PERMITAS.

ESTA MISIVA LA HAREMOS LLEGAR A SU DESTINATARIO, PON TU NOMBRE AL FINAL Y MANDALA A MAS DIRECCIO'NES)

San Luis Potosí, marzo del 2004

CP. MARCELO DE LOS SANTOS FRAGA
GOBERNADOR CONSTITUCIONAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, MÉXICO.

PRESENTE

Señor Gobernador:

Los abajo firmantes, queremos expresarle a Ud. nuestro criterio en relación a los acontecimientos relacionados con la instalación de la compañía extranjera minera San Xavier en la población de Cerro de San Pedro, San Luis Potosí, origen centenario del Estado que Ud. gobierna.

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Declaramos que no estamos de acuerdo con la postura que actualmente tiene el Gobierno del Estado sobre el inicio de la explotación minera en la zona por parte de la compañía de origen norteamericano y canadiense, San Xavier, la cual en más de 7 años solo se ha dedicado a violar sistemáticamente las leyes que nos rigen para poder instalarse como dueños y señores de esas tierras, además de no cumplir siquiera con los compromisos que ellos firmaron, donde aseguraban que no habría deterioro ambiental, ni contaminación de nuestros mantos freáticos, y que además respetarían la decisión última de los pobladores (todos) de San Pedro, cosa que nunca se ha dado. Al contrario de lo que ellos pensaban, los habitantes de la cabecera municipal, los que ahí viven, tienen determinado, así lo han dicho, no abandonar sus hogares, aduciendo el amor a las raíces y a la cultura de la que son poseedores.

Esto es muestra de que el descontento social sobre el proyecto minero es real, y que por lo tanto no puede ni debe darse autorización alguna a la empresa minera San Xavier para explotar el mineral, ya que esto, todos lo sabemos, significaría un deterioro ambiental de graves consecuencias, además de que el trazo urbano original del poblado, el cual data de 1412 y las fincas que aun están en pie, desaparecerán en cuestión de semanas, víctimas de las detonaciones que diariamente efectuaran, en donde toneladas de explosivos volarán en pedazos nuestro querido Cerro de San Pedro. El mismo cerro donde se alberga infinidad de especies tanto de fauna como flora, amenazado con desaparecer y convertirse en "El Cráter de San Pedro".

Para nosotros es de más valor el respeto a nuestro Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural, que incluso viene representado en el Escudo de Armas de la ciudad Capital, y por extensión al escudo de nuestro querido Estado Potosino.

Existen actualmente otros proyectos, los cuales nada tienen que ver con la deforestación de la naturaleza, ni tampoco con la destrucción de nuestro patrimonio Histórico, realizados por diferentes organismos a lo largo de muchos años, San Pedro se niega a desaparecer.

Por lo tanto:

No aceptamos ni aceptaremos la instalación de esta compañía minera San Xavier, ya que lo que representa Cerro de San Pedro, es superior al oro y plata que puedan extraer de sus entrañas, además de estar en contra de la contaminación que representa para los potosinos.

Apoyamos al Pueblo y Autoridades de Cerro de San Pedro en esta lucha. No están solos.

Hoy decimos todos:

NO A LA MINERA SAN XAVIER.

SI A CERRO DE SAN PEDRO.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

¿Y usted Señor Gobernador, lo va a permitir?
La sociedad civil esta observándolo.

Muchas gracias.

ATENTAMENTE.

1.- MARTA SIERRA CONTRERAS/ Barrio de San Miguelito, SLP/ Me'xico.
2.- Gloria Rivera/ Potosina en Chicago, Ills. /USA
3.- Joel Rami'rez/ Jacarandas/ SLP
4.- Alejandro Nava/Centro Histo'rico/ SLP
5.- Guillermo Vega/ Centro Histo'rico/ SLP
6.- Enrique Rivera/ San Miguelito/ SLP
7.- Gerardo Lo'pez/ San Luis Potosi'
8.- Rosalba Herna'ndez Pe'rez/ San Luis Potosi'
9.- Gabriela Salazar Barro'n/San Luis Potosi'
10.- Tonantzin Mendoza Rocha/ Cerro de San Pedro
11- Alicia Beatri'z Cruz Camarena por el FZLN-SLP

*****************************************************************

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Visita las pa'ginas del Frente Zapatista de Liberacio'n Nacional:

www.fzln.org.mx (espa--ol)

http://www.ezln.org/fzln/index.html (english)

José G. Vargas-Hernández, M.B.A.;Ph.D.
Co – operation and conflict between firms, communities, New Social Movements and the role of government

http://www.angelfire.com/ak4/FZLN (portuguese)

Site Arquivo EZLN-BR: http://www.chiapas.hpg.com.br

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http://www.laneta.apc.org/mailman/listinfo/fzln-l

Respuesta a algunas preguntas frecuentes las puedes encontrar en:

MIMETITE: What we saw near San Luis Potosi would absolutely take your breath away: specimens of a type that I have never seen for sale--blood-red mimetite in balls (some as large as marbles) on matrix. We found these at a little gold camp called [Cerro de] San Pedro [perhaps 20 kilometers east of the city of San Luis Potosi]. When Mary Lou (who spoke fluent Spanish, was a permanent resident of Mexico, and knew the ways of the miners) went on a buying trip, she would go to the bar or restaurant in the hotel of whatever town she was in, tell the bartender or waiter to tell the men who were supposed to be at work in the mines, but weren't, that she was there and ready to do business. And then she simply would wait. If no one showed up after awhile, she would move on. Well, we sat there for an hour or so, until this guy showed up and began a long conversation with Mary Lou. After some time she told us this was the man who had all the "good stuff." He had a sizeable lot, but he would only sell it as a lot, and he wanted $200 (he might as well have said $2 million). He would not allow us to select only one or two pieces. She said that it was at least worth looking at. We walked on and on, down these little alleyways until we finally got to an old wooden door with a big lock on it. He unlocked the door and opened it, and we saw the entire floor (about 10 x 12 feet) completely covered with the most incredible mimetites. They were dark orange to blood-red balls, both individuals and groups on matrix, with no wulfenite. We tried and tried to get the guy to sell us just a few pieces, but he would not. We had essentially no money at all--in fact, we had left home with less than $100.
Title: POPULATION OF CHORNOBYL EXCLUSION ZONE AS THE MODEL FOR HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF TECHNOGENIC AND NATURAL CATASTROPHES

Authors: Sergiy Volovik*, Konstantin Loganovsky#, Dimitry Bazyka#, Victor Sushko#, Volodymyr Bebeshko#, Kenneth Land*

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According to the Report of ICRP Task Group, 2004, after the events of 11 September 2001 there has been increasing worldwide public apprehension about the use of radioactive materials that could be employed in a malevolent act. Those events generated heightened levels of awareness regarding security of installations, facilities and apparatuses holding radioactive materials. Members of the public, the media and political representatives have become particularly concerned about the possibility of sources and devices containing radioactive materials being turned into a malevolent tool, for instance by dispersing their radioactive content into the community and threatening the public health and welfare of inhabitants. There is also concern about the possibility of sabotage attacks on nuclear facilities, where the malevolent aim might be to trigger uncontrolled releases of radioactive materials. The potential diversion of nuclear weapon material and its use in improvised nuclear devices has also been considered feasible.

These speculations on the possibility of what has been termed a ‘radiological attack’ have triggered a widespread request for professional advice, not only on radiation and nuclear security measures aimed at preventing successful attacks occurring, but also on radiological protection measures to be undertaken should such an event actually take place. In particular, it has been recognized that existing radiological emergency contingency plans have mainly focused on unintended accident scenarios, which sometimes can be forecasted in advance, rather than on malevolent, deliberate and ingenious attacks designed to maximize harm or anxiety and fear.

Possible attacks are ranging from malevolent uses of radioactive materials, such as employing the so-called ‘radiological dispersion devices’, or RDD, sabotaging nuclear facilities to cause a nuclear accident or, in extreme cases, detonating improvised nuclear devices, or IND. In a large variety of the anticipated potential scenarios, the expected doses incurred by the majority of victims will probably be low, e.g. of the order of tens of millisieverts or less. As indicated before, while low radiation doses have the potential for inducing delayed health effects (termed ‘stochastic’ effects), such as cancer and hereditable effects, the probability of occurrence of these effects is very small though it increases with dose. Conversely, at high doses, e.g.: of the order of thousands of millisieverts, early health effects (termed ‘deterministic’ effects) are almost certain to occur, affecting the function of tissues and organs with a severity that increases with dose and, in severe cases, even leading to the death of the exposed individuals. In radiological attacks with RDDs, the perpetrators and victims closer to the event may incur such high doses if substantial
activity is involved. People affected by the detonation of an IND or by the radiological consequences of a sabotage leading to a catastrophic nuclear accident are more likely to be subject to high doses.

Following a radiological attack, the aim of radiological protection actions must be to prevent deterministic effects and restrict the likelihood of stochastic effects. In addition to protecting people against the unpredictable exposure situations that will be created by the attack, the objectives include minimizing the overall radiological impact in terms of environmental contamination and general disruption and attempting to restore normality quickly. The response must essentially be to identify and characterize the emergency situation, to provide medical care for the victims, to attempt to avoid further exposures, to gain control of the situation, to prevent the spread of radioactive materials, to provide accurate and timely information to the public, and to institute a process for returning to normality, while dealing with psychological issues, such as distress and misattribution and fear of illness, which will be a major concern.

A radiological attack will create uncertainty, fear, and most probably panic, just as any other malevolent act would. The possibilities of radiation exposure add to the stresses associated with physical trauma, forced dislocation, uncertainty about safety, loss of homes, jobs, friends, and other factors. The fundamental questions that must be addressed that are unique to radiation would be: Am I and my family safe? Was I exposed? How much radiation did I get? Am I still contaminated? How will this affect me, my family, etc? What will happen next? The acute and delayed psychological and behavioural effects, including stigmatization, are likely to be at least as important and challenging as radiation-related biological injuries and illnesses. The fear and preoccupation surrounding the radiation exposure, and the possibility of cancer, will be a significant psychological effect and can remain high for decades. This may also result in the misattribution of any illness to radiation exposure. As a result clear, understandable, and empathetic communications will be required, both immediately following the event, and for extended periods of time.

In the aftermath of an event, the public must rely on health care providers and scientists to determine who has been affected through external exposure or/and internal contamination. Since the effects of radiation exposure can be manifested years after the causative exposure and may have consequences for future generations, those who have been exposed or anticipate possible exposure may experience feelings of vulnerability, anxiety, and lack of control. Affected individuals presenting psychological effect can be characterized in three groups: those who are distressed; those who manifest behavioural changes; and those who may develop psychiatric illness.

As time passes an important issue is to be able to quantify the level of illness attributable to radiation exposure. A prerequisite for such quantification is to have a good knowledge of the health situation before or at the moment of the radiological attack (i.e. baseline health data). The second condition is to have an accurate follow-up of the exposed or potentially exposed individuals. This second condition requires the accurate recording and updating of relevant information. Post-accident epidemiology guidelines were developed to take into account the difficulties faced after the Chernobyl accident. The lack of baseline health data in exposed
populations and the lack of a good follow-up after the exposure event may lead to the misattribution of illness to radiation exposure by individuals and communities.

In response to these events and demands, using of unique experience and research results of health consequences of Chernobyl accident will be of great importance. The population of Chernobyl Exclusion Zone (EZ), the region with a radius of 30 kilometers from the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, is unique plausible model for research and prediction of biopsychosocial and health consequences of technogenic accidents and natural disasters. Persons who violated the prohibition to live in the Chernobyl EZ (unsanctioned self-returners or those who never left) represent nowhere else existed, unique cohort for this goal, exposed to combination of different extreme environmental stresses (psychological, socio-economic, external and internal (radionuclides – Sr, Cs, Pu, Am, etc - via inhalation, contaminated land, water, and natural food) irradiation, heavy metals (Pb, etc), chemicals, psychological response-disposition to anxiety, alcohol and smoking, etc..

The main motivation to return to the native villages situated in the Chernobyl 30-km EZ, was a socially unsettled state in the places of evacuation as well as unsolved socio-economic problems (80%), nostalgia was less meaningful. In 1988–1989 ~4000 persons lived in the Chernobyl EZ, in 1993–1994 — 828, at present — ~500. Calculated thyroid doses of ionizing radiation exposure were from 0.28 to 2.36 Sv, and effective doses – 0.06 – 0.82 Sv. Average percent of death cases among self-settlers (relatively to all habitants ) is 12.8%, mainly among old persons. The main reasons of death were heart and vascular diseases and oncology pathology. In a specific psychoneurologic study 250 self-returned (70% — females; mainly 65–74 years old) were examined. Brain function disorders were characterized by organic injuries dominated by brainstem-diencephalic irritation related to age and ionizing radiation. Endogenous organic mental disorders dominated by apathy-abulia changes were found with affective flattening and introversion. 68% of neuropsychiatric disorders, especially schizophrenia spectrum, were due to ionizing radiation.

In a specific prospective clinical, lab, instrumental and field studies for ~400 persons (men and women) from Chernobyl EZ on the base of integral analysis of the changes in all organism systems under multiple extreme stresses exposure (that is a characteristic feature of technogenic or nature catastrophes and potential radiological and nuclear terrorist attack) the high prevalence of cerebro- and cardiovascular diseases, endocrine, digestive and respiratory system pathologies, neuropsychiatric (were registered in 97%) and chronic fatigue syndrome spectrum disorders, weakening immune potential, and accelerated aging pathologies, especially for brain /central nervous system were revealed. This research is important for socio-psychological and health prognosis and determining ways of intervention and countermeasures under different scenarios of man-made accidents, natural disasters, radiological and nuclear terrorist attack.
A technique package for desertification control and poverty release in arid and semi-arid northwestern China

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Abstract

This paper introduces a new technique for sand stabilization and re-vegetation by use of “Lignin Sand Stabilizing Material (LSSM)”. LSSM is a reconstructed organic compound with lignin as the most dominant component from the extracts of black-liquor issued by straw pulp paper mills. Unlike the polyvinyl acetate or foamed asphalt commonly used for dune stabilization, the new material is plant-friendly and can be used with virescence actions simultaneously. The field experimental study was conducted since 2001 in China’s Northwest Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and has proved that LSSM is effective in stabilizing the fugitive dunes, making the arenaceous plants survive and the bare dune vegetative. The advisable solution concentration is 2% and the optimum field spraying quantity is 2.5 l/m². The soil nutrients of the stabilized and greened dune, such as organic matter, available phosphorous and total nitrogen are all increased as compared with the control treatment, which is certainly helpful to the growth of arenaceous plants. The technique is worthwhile to be popularized because it is provide not only a new method for desertification control but also an outlet for cleaning contaminations issued from the straw paper mills.

1. Introduction

China is one of the countries facing serious problems of desertification in the world. Because of the increasingly desertified land, the sand storm happened more frequently in recent years; it has already disturbed the daily life of ordinary people, national economy as well as the state sustainability. How to effectively and economically protect the arable land from desertification has become one of the first order issues of the Chinese government (Wang, H. 2001; Wang T. 1998a; 1998b).

On the other hand, the paper making industry is the basic national source industry that plays stanchion function on national economy. Because of the shortness of pulpwood, the straw pulp are dominant
resources for paper industry in agricultural China. Unlike the wood pulp mills, the alkali recycling for straw pulp is very difficult and ineffective (Li et al, 2001; Zhao et al, 2000; Liu D. 2000). Most straw-pulp mills in China issue the black-liquid directly to streams and lakes and cause seriously water contamination. As the voice of environment protection is getting larger and larger, these paper mills face an embarrassing situation, the enterprise does not have enough money and necessary technique to solve the contamination problem and keep production as required by the Environment Protection Bureau, and neither do they want to close the factory immediately and stand in the line of unemployed troop.

Lignin collected from paper industry has been widely used around the world, the world's leading and largest manufacturer of lignin, Borregaard LignoTech (see http://www.ltus.com/) is an international supplier of over 150 different binding and dispersing agents derived from lignin, the wide variety of markets with product specialties include: animal bypass protein, gypsum board additives, ceramic additives, industrial dust suppressant, dyestuff, agro chemicals, water treatment dispersants, and many more other applications. Unfortunately, few studies are on the lignin utilization to desertification control. There are, however, some research attempts on chemical modification of lignin for purpose of desertification control (Liu 2000; Wei et al, 2000; Wu et al, 1998) but such studies are mostly at the stage of laboratory test.

There are plenty of studies on the polymers (Lbrahim et al, 2002; Gong et al, 2001; Pakparvar, 1998) and their function in sand fixation, known as chemical sand controlling technique; the commonly used materials include emulsified asphalt, emulsified crude oil, synthetic rubber, synthetic resin etc. These materials are effective in fixing the mobile sand immediately, but they are not environmental-friendly materials, neither can these materials be used with plantations. As a matter of fact, we do not know so far whether these materials cause second-hand environmental pollution or not in the future.

Unlike the polyvinyl acetate or foamed asphalt commonly used for dune stabilization, the proposed LSSM is plant-friendly material and can be used with virescence actions simultaneously. This technique not only creates a new method for desertification control but also protects straw paper mill from issuing lignin to contaminate valuable fresh water.

2 Techniques and Methodology

2.1 Production line of LSSM and the general manufacture methodology

The macromolecular structure of the lignin from the black liquor of straw pulp paper mill can be modified
through necessary chemical reaction so that it can concrete a shell with proper strength to stabilize the fugitive dunes, and it is also biodegradable, harmless to vegetations, water and atmosphere. It is permeable and can be used in virescence of desertification lands. The manufacturing procedure of LSSM and its field experiment are outlined in Fig. 1

Fig. 1 Production line of LSSM and the general manufacture methodology

2.2 Field Experiment
2.2.1 Site description

The experimental site was conducted on the windward slope of a fugitive dune located in Qianjing Reclamation farm of Pingluo County (Fig. 2); it is 56km northwest to Yinchuan, the provincial capital city of China’s northwest Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. The geographic center of the experimental site is at 38.75N, and 106.22E and the altitude is 1100m above the see level. With a maximum of 23.3°C in July and a minimum of -11.9°C in January, the annual average temperature is 8.2°C. The annual averaged rainfall is 172.5 mm, of which 67% happens in July, August and September. Since the evaporation in this area can reach 1800 mm annually, it is in an arid climate zone and the desertification problem is getting worse because of the climate warming and the intense human activity.

![Fig. 2 The original vegetation-free fugitive dunes, researchers are spraying the LSSM liquor after Agriophylium squarrosum (L.) Moq was seeded](image)

The field sand stabilization was conducted since 2001 by LSSM spraying and arenaceous plants seeding simultaneously. In the seeding season of later April of early May, cross-planting herbaceous plants and shrubs together, the selected spices includes: *Agriophylium squarrosum* (L.) Moq., *Artemisia desertorum* Spreng., *Tamarix chinensis* Lour., *Salix psammophila* C. Wang et Ch.Y. Yang, *Haloxylon ammodenfron* (C.A.Mey) Bunge, *Caragana korshinskii* Korn., and *Atypiex canexcens* (Pursh) Nutt. etc. After seeding and planting, the LSSM liquor with different solution concentrations was sprayed. The sprayed quantity and the concentration varied correspondingly according to on the physical structure of the sand and species of the plant. A concrete shell could be formed immediately, which protect the sand from severe wind blowing and keep the fugitive dune stable. The seeds sprouted a week later (Fig.3). LSSM
shell forms in such a structure that it is softened whenever the precipitation is available and shelled again under the sunshine. In this way, the valuable rainfall can be kept under the LSSM shell and be used by plant. After 120-150 days (Fig. 3), the plants survive and LSSM becomes components of the soil organism, which could be used as soil nutrition late by plants.

Fig. 3 A vegetation-free fugitive dune is greened gradually after LSSM utilization (photographed in 2% sprayed strips)

2.2.2 Field experimental design

The field experiment design focused on the following objectives: 1) to find out the optimum solution concentration of LSSM liquor with proper strength that can stabilize the fugitive sand and with highest sprouting rate of arenaceous plant such as Agriophyllum squarrosum (L.) Moq., one of the most popular plants used for stabilizing dunes; 2) soil nutrients variation after the successful dune stabilization by spraying LSSM and growing arenaceous plants.

For this purpose, the field experimental design was arranged as shown in Figure 4. There are two groups to test the necessary spraying amount of LSSM, in group one, the spray amount is 2.5L/m² and in
group two it is doubled of 5.0 L/m². In each group, 5 repeats were set to test the difference of sprayed solution concentration. From left to right, the stripes represent sprayed solution concentration of 4%, 2% and 1% respectively (Figure 4). Five stripes with same area are intentionally used to separate group I and group II, with which no SLLM solution being used but spraying same amount of clear water. Around the experimental area, a protection belt of 1 meter width was set to protect the blowing in sand, with which 2% LSSM solution was sprayed.

Figure 4 The field experiment design for sprouting rate accounting and soil nutrition comparison

2.2.3 Sprouting rate test

Wang et al (2005) had studied the sprouting rate of Agriophyllum squarrosum (L.) Moq for different treatments by use of Tukey’s quick nonparametric test (Neave, 1966; Boyett, 1977) and proved that LSSM did affect the sprouting rate. But the problem here is not how much seeds sprouted out but how much can survive longer to meet the next time rain. One month later, all the seedlings in the clear watered strips died because the sandy soil is dried up without protection of LSSM shell. Even in the sprayed strips, most of the new sprouts died because of the after soil water competition, so we understand that the density of arenaceous plants must be in a proper scope and never be very dense. Tukey’s quick test shows that there
is no significant difference between group I and group II because it is difficult to control the spraying quantity accurately in the field. So it does not matter if one wants to spray more water in seeding as long as the water acquiring is convenient.

During the following 5-month growth monitoring, the sprouts in the clear water strips died all gradually, while those in the LSSM sprayed strips grow very well, particularly in the 2% sprayed strips. In general, there are more sprouts in the 1% strips and less in the 4% sprayed strips during the sprouting stage. Later on, sprouts in the 1% strips do not grow very well because the thinner LSSM shell was broken earlier. In the 2% sprayed strips, however, the sprouts grow well and the vegetation cover is larger than that in the 4% strips. This is because LSSM shell in the 4% strips is too thick to let seed sprout out. During the last stage of growing season, the extra sprouts in the 2% strips were died because of the water competition and there is no big difference between the vegetation cover in 2% and 4% strips. We prefer the 2% concentration because it is good enough to stabilize the fugitive dune and green it with less LSSM consumption.

2.2.4 Soil nutrient variation

In order to test the soil nutrient variation after the fugitive dune was stabilized and became vegetative, the soil was sampled two years later in April, 2003 when the plant coverage is more than 60% in average. Soil samples are collected from all the clear watered strips, 2% and 4% LSSM sprayed strips as well as the original vegetation-free fugitive dune. The soil section was separated into 4 layers marked as layer A, B, C and D, which represent a soil layer of 0-10cm, 10-30cm, 30-60cm and 60-100cm respectively.

The laboratory analyzing components include the organic matter, available phosphorus and total nitrogen content of the soil, which were finished in the Key Laboratory of Ecology of the State Forest Bureau according to the national standardized process of P.R. China. The results were then used to test the soil nutrient variation after LSSM utilization and the fugitive dune being stabilized. Table 1,2 and 3 listed the averaged values of organic matter, available phosphorus and total nitrogen content of the soil samples. As compared with the soil chemical properties detected by pedologists (Wang and Cheng, 1999), the organic matter, available phosphorous and total nitrogen content are all much more less than the ordinary soil in this experimental site because it is not soil at all but sand. This proves again the actual function of LSSM as one considered the well-growing plants and the extreme severe soil and climate conditions.

Still using Tukey’s quick nonparametric test (Neave, 1966; Boyett, 1977), we compared the data set of LSSM sprayed strips with that of original vegetation-free dunes (Table 1). It shows that LSSM spraying
increases the soil organic matter significantly, which is helpful to improve the soil conditions of the sand dunes. As comparing the dataset of LSSM sprayed strips with those from the clear watered strips, again, there is a significant difference of soil organic matter content. In average, the soil organic matter content in the LSSM sprayed strips increased 28% and 89%, respectively, as compared with original vegetation-free dune and with clear watered strips (Table 1).

Unlike the organic matter content, most comparisons about available phosphorus (table 2) and total nitrogen content (table 3) of the soil sample can not through Tukey’s quick test except the available phosphorus of clear watered strips and of LSSM sprayed strips, with which the T-value =10 and implies a significance level of p-value =0.01. The data in Table 2 shows that in average, available phosphorus content in the LSSM sprayed strips is greater than that in the clear watered strips in all layers; the averaged value is 160% more, there is no extra phosphorus in LSSM that added to the soil but the plant litterfall might be the main reason of the higher phosphorus content in spring strips. The available phosphorus in the original vegetation-free dune shows an abnormal high value, which might be attributed to the sampling error since the sampling plots are out of the fence where nomad imprints are clear and both cattle and sheep feces are found.

### Table 1 Organic matter content (%) comparison table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soil sampling location</th>
<th>Layer A</th>
<th>Layer B</th>
<th>Layer C</th>
<th>Layer D</th>
<th>average</th>
<th>Sampling plots number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original vegetation-free dune</td>
<td>0.0580</td>
<td>0.0258</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0493</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear watered strips</td>
<td>0.0258</td>
<td>0.0435</td>
<td>0.0413</td>
<td>0.0225</td>
<td>0.0333</td>
<td>5 x 5=25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSSM sprayed strips</td>
<td>0.0607</td>
<td>0.0650</td>
<td>0.0587</td>
<td>0.0674</td>
<td>0.0630</td>
<td>5 x 20=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We had expected some difference of total nitrogen between the sprayed strips and clear watered or original vegetation-free dunes, but the data in Table 3 shows there is no significant difference of total nitrogen content among the different treatments. The total nitrogen content in LSSM sprayed strips is larger than that in the clear watered strips, but it failed to pass Tukey’s Quick test. The averaged total nitrogen content in the original vegetation-free dune also shows an abnormal larger value; it is clearly caused by the
sampling errors that the nomad animals actually changed soil component.

Table 2 Available phosphorus content (%) comparison table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soil sampling location</th>
<th>Layer A</th>
<th>Layer B</th>
<th>Layer C</th>
<th>Layer D</th>
<th>average</th>
<th>Sampling plots number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original vegetation-free dune</td>
<td>0.0587</td>
<td>0.0903</td>
<td>0.0546</td>
<td>0.0546</td>
<td>0.0645</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear watered strips</td>
<td>0.0421</td>
<td>0.00802</td>
<td>0.0502</td>
<td>0.0015</td>
<td>0.0255</td>
<td>5 X 5=25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSSM sprayed strips</td>
<td>0.0516</td>
<td>0.0585</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0660</td>
<td>5 X 20=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Total Nitrogen content (%) comparison table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soil sampling location</th>
<th>Layer A</th>
<th>Layer B</th>
<th>Layer C</th>
<th>Layer D</th>
<th>average</th>
<th>Sampling plots number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original vegetation-free dune</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0695</td>
<td>0.0753</td>
<td>0.0753</td>
<td>0.0753</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear watered strips</td>
<td>0.0753</td>
<td>0.0695</td>
<td>0.0638</td>
<td>0.0753</td>
<td>0.0710</td>
<td>5 X 5=25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSSM sprayed strips</td>
<td>0.0915</td>
<td>0.0683</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0683</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>5X 20=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Conclusion and Discussions

China is one of the countries facing the most serious problem of desertification, which has become a bottleneck in resisting social and economic development and the improvement of people’s living standard in the affected regions. Despite the great progress in combating desertification in recent years, great challenges are envisaged. The overall trend of desertification in China is that, despite the partial improvement and effective control, desertification is expanding and land is deteriorating on the whole. As a matter of fact, in the most seriously desertified areas, the problem of food and shelter for local residents remains unsolved.

Our preliminary field experiment shows that there is a bilateral-benefit technique of manufacturing sand stabilizing material using lignin from the black-liquid of straw pulp paper mills. The field experiment study
conducted since 2001 has proved that LSSM is effective in stabilizing the fugitive dunes and make the arenaceous plants survive and the bare dune green. The soil nutrients of the stabilized and greened dune, such as organic matter, available phosphorous and total nitrogen are all increased two years later as compared with the control treatment, which is certainly helpful to the growth of arenaceous plants.

Unlike the polyvinyl acetate or foamed asphalt commonly used for dune stabilization, the new material is plant-friendly material and can be used with virescence actions simultaneously. This technique not only creates a new method for desertification control but also protects straw paper mill from issuing lignin to contaminate valuable fresh water. We propose to popularize LSSM utilization as there are more than 2000 straw paper pulp mills being forced to close because of the water pollution problem and there are some 3400 km² valuable lands being destroyed or degraded due to the desertification around China.

A traditional sand control method called “straw-grid” are prevailing in China, with which local wheat hay and rice straw are chosen as the main material supplies for making the straw grid sand barrier (checkerboards) to fix the mobile dunes and shifting sands. This technique was recognized as the environment-friendly method that can be used with plantations, which was awarded by UNDP in China and widely used along the transportation lines. By comparing the new LSSM method with the “straw grid” method, both are environmentally harmless but the cost of LSSM method is only 1/5 to 1/4 of the straw grid method because of its lower price and less labor consumption.

References


1. Stability, Democracy, and Reform: Determining the Stakes of the Lord's Resistance Army Conflict

2. Keith R. Weghorst

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For the last two decades, Uganda has enjoyed the support of much of the world, serving as a shining example to its neighbors of how economy, civil society, and political reform may work effectively with and for one another. Praised for his rule as a successful President of a ‘no-party’ democracy, President Yoweri Museveni rests on the throne of sustained economic progress, Universal Primary Education (UPE), and stability unrivaled by Uganda’s tumultuous neighbors. As Museveni’s 2006 campaign seeks more than 20 years in office, the rest of the world has begun to scrutinize the peculiar situation of Uganda. Why does the Lord’s Resistance Army in the country’s North continue to fight in spite of government offers for peace that have stopped twenty other rebel groups?¹

This ‘current star pupil of international financial institutions,’” recently considered for the Millennium Challenge Corporation² and host of the first investigation of the standing United Nations court, has foiled international organizations in resistance to institutional reforms and fully democratic governance. As Uganda’s economic gains slowed,³ international criticism grew,⁴ and the Lord’s Resistance Army conflict intensified, I sought to understand the stakes involved with the rebel activities. Was it

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¹ Uganda Amnesty Commission. See Appendix A.
² Millenium Challenge Corporation. “Uganda”
³ See USAID Africa: Uganda
⁴ Henry Mukasa. “Aid Cuts OK for now, says Government.”
simply a resource drain based on senseless violence or could it have implications on governance? Could the conflict risk the tenuous nationhood that characterizes African states\(^5\) with democracy ultimately at stake? Such an assertion would suggest leaders may allow violence to prevail in a smoke and mirrors effort to assure international support in spite of institutional failures. In order to answer these questions, I employed a multiple-method study using opinions of citizens geographically associated with conflict, supported by interviews of important political, academic, and social figures regarding conflict, democracy, and the State of Uganda.

Literature Review

Generally, research concerning African politics relies on qualitative claims and conclusions. More specifically, western scholars who study failed states\(^6\), war and nationalism\(^7\), civil society\(^8\), and democratization\(^9\) in sub-Saharan Africa overwhelmingly use document analysis and interviews of elites as their primary means of research. This holds true for both Uganda's own researchers\(^10\) and those from the West.\(^11\) While these methods are vital for analyzing political phenomenon, it is also necessary to account for the opinions of civilians and use this research to create generalizable statistical data.

\(^5\) Jeffrey Herbst. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*
\(^6\) See William S. Reno “African Weak States and Commercial Alliances”
\(^7\) See Jeffery Herbst “War and the State in Africa”
\(^8\) See Nelson Kasfir *Civil Society and Democracy in Africa: Critical Perspectives* and Tracey Kuperus *Building Democracy: An Examination of Religious Associations…”*
\(^11\) See Ellen Hauser “Ugandan Relations with Western Donors in the 1990s: What Impact on Democratization?”
Researchers often cite problems of using quantitative methods in Africa and for many decades have questioned the validity of data collection in developing countries around the world.\textsuperscript{12} Some attribute this disparity to the unique cultural contexts necessary for constructing surveys and other measures of political and economic phenomenon. In spite of these claims, numerous scholars of sub-Saharan Africa have conducted accurate and successful research.

Perhaps the most notable quantitative analyses of African political and economic factors is Michael Bratten’s Afrobaromter. This ongoing research project, studying public opinion of African citizens measured through surveys, utilizes a strictly designed research protocol completed by cultural ‘coaching’ for interviewers to ensure accurate results. The fifteen countries in their most recent round of investigations include ‘liberalizing regimes’ like Uganda and employ extensive financial and human resources in the execution of the studies. While Bratten’s inclusion of 2400 citizens in 47 of 56 Uganda districts covers most of the pertinent political, economic, and social issues of Uganda, the overall task of the project looks into overarching issues for all of sub-Saharan Africa and does not study conflict dynamics at all. Such a survey may be appropriate for the aim of Afrobaromter, but does not provide a holistic picture of the factors of conflict.

Similarly, studies of conflict in sub-Saharan Africa do not provide an in-depth account of the specific nature of the Lord’s Resistance Army conflict. Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg\textsuperscript{13} analyze the presence of conflict in Uganda and how it has intensified over two decades. However, their investigation dedicates little focus on which groups actually drive the conflict. Further research of Western scholars analyzes peace,

\textsuperscript{12} DJ Casey and DA Lury, \textit{Data Collection in Developing Countries}.

\textsuperscript{13} Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg, “Armed Conflict, 1989-2000”
conflict, and government efficacy. These reports have failed to classify the conflict in their methodological frame, noting that the LRA conflict “defies conventional analysis.” The unique nature of the rebels in Uganda’s North and the conflict’s effects throughout the country render previous studies inapplicable and necessitate specific research designed to grasp the depth of its results.

Civil society organizations have attempted to formulate statistical data to measure the affects and the stakes of the Lord’s Resistance Army conflict. Some approach the conflict from an economic standpoint, while others attempt to determine the psycho-social needs generated by the violence. A report commissioned by the Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda assessed the financial costs of the war in terms of direct loss, derailed development and production, and lost human capital through violence and disease. While the report provides vital information concerning economic implications of conflict and strives to include other factors, it does not quantify its substantial implications outside finance. The same holds true for reports that analyze the prevalence of health related problems in the North. Studies that measure the presence of HIV/AIDS in Northern Uganda note how the disease is spread to the 1.6 million Ugandan citizens in Uganda’s Internally Displaced Persons camps by rebels and soldiers through sexual servitude. These reports give little acknowledgement to the epidemic which has plagued the country for years and the fact that its decline across the nation as a whole is mostly attributed to AIDS related deaths. Data showing the psychological needs

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generated by the conflict, especially of the children forcibly conscripted into the LRA,\textsuperscript{17} provides equally limited analysis. These projects, rather than look to the results of the conflict, search for ways to “patch-up” the problems and focus solely on the issue of children in the war.\textsuperscript{18} However, there are three dominant qualitative analyses that provide a more holistic picture of the Lord’s Resistance Army conflict.

While they are few, reports discussing the underlying factors and causes of the rebel activities of the Lord’s Resistance Army offer a clear conceptual understanding of the conflict’s origins. The most notable historical account looks at the development of the rebel ideology and structure, using this to determine the incentives of the Lord’s Resistance Army. In particular, Doom and Vlassenroot’s reliance on a North-South divide in Uganda and its relation to militarization of politics under Amin and Obote is persuasive. Furthermore, their construction of Joseph Kony’s fear-driven ideologies in terms of circumstantial and psychological factors in his formative phase\textsuperscript{19} fits common Ugandan perceptions of the LRA and is accepted by Kampalan scholars and political figures.\textsuperscript{20} However, they offer little in understanding implications of the conflict and its stakes. A USAID commissioned report picks up where Doom and Vlassenroot leave off and discusses costs of the conflict and possible solutions. While this report advances knowledge of the conflict, Gersony’s account most pervasively appears to have “outsider” perspective. His methods, composed of approximately 300 interviews, do not grasp the conflict in the eyes of a Northerner, or even a Ugandan, but from the institution that commissioned it. Furthermore, as Museveni’s government and its leaders are accused of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Human Rights Watch estimates 20,000 thousand children have been abducted from 1986-2003. See “Stolen Children: Abduction and Recruitment in Northern Uganda.” March 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{18} See Tom Barton “Northern Uganda Psycho-Social Needs Assessment (NUPSNA)”
\item \textsuperscript{19} See Koen Vlassenroot and Rudy Doom. “Kony’s Message: A New Koine?”
\item \textsuperscript{20} Interview. Zachary Lomo. June 27, 2005. Kampala.
\end{itemize}
having a hand in the conflict's duration, he demonstrates an underlying association and appreciation of the National Resistance Movement government. Most recently, the Refugee Law Project of Makerere University produced a paper looking from the underlying causes of the LRA conflict forward to the current situation and the possibility of resolution in the future. This report, because it is based on subjects interviewed in group settings, has methodological flaws which prevent the acquiring of completely valid data. In my own experience, interviews conducted in large group settings only attained responses from a few individuals who appeared to be social leaders of the group. Both studies interview primarily politicians and ex-combatants, giving little credence to the voice of citizens as a whole and many other aspects of Ugandan civil society. Their report advances little new information or propositions concerning the conflict and relies significantly on past writings.

The shortcomings of the lack of depth of the quantitative studies, combined with the problems of making progress with qualitative results based on nearly identical techniques demonstrate the necessity for a new approach. A dual methodology, which offers both generalizable statistical data and qualitative means of supporting the quantitative work, is needed. With this type of measure, one may achieve a complete understanding of the current conflict and its affects on governance.

Methodology

Quantitative Section

21 The study uses 257 individual interviews, combined with group interviews including approximately 650 citizens.
Given the goal of producing a statistical index to measure the implications of the conflict and its affect on governance, survey methods were used. The survey, which initially contained sixty-two questions, tested the relationship between the presence of the conflict in the lives of Northern Ugandans and various factors of political affiliation, satisfaction with the government, individual needs, and democracy. Additionally, respondents were asked in the survey to respond with respect to themselves, their families, their communities, the government, and the country as a whole. The survey combined questions with “Yes/No” responses, open-ended answers, gradient rankings in response to “how much,” and basic personal data for coding and classification purposes. There were also three follow-up questions following the survey about whether or not they wished to participate in future studies and if so, how they may be contacted.

Surveys were conducted in Gulu, Uganda. Gulu has been an ongoing site of Lord's Resistance Army violence throughout the twenty year conflict and has been attacked as recently as October 2005. Participants were sought within a five block radius of the town center in five distinct locations. All surveys were conducted within a one hundred foot vicinity of the following locations: The Gulu Bus Park, the entry of Hotel Roma, Stanbic Bank, the Resident District Commissioner's office, and a MTN top-up cellular store. While conducting a completely representative sample of the population may have provided more accurate results, restraints on financial resources and time prevented this. Additionally, it is quite difficult to create a statistically representative sample of a town whose residents mostly live in Internally Displaced Person's camps.

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22 For survey, See Appendix B
23 IRINnews.org. “Concerns over renewed attacks on civilians”
more than ten kilometers from the center. Subjects sought were males ranging in age
from 18-65, as men dominate most of Uganda's civil and political circles.

Prospective respondents were approached for casual conversation regarding topics
irrelevant to the study. Following rapport building, which typically consumed between
five and fifteen minutes, the citizen was asked if he would like to participate in a research
study concerning the Lord's Resistance Army and its affects on the lives of Ugandans. If
this individual accepted the offer, the researcher sought verbal consent, as required by the
Institutional Review Board. The consent script explained to the subject that the survey
would ask for responses to a number of questions related their economic and political
situation, the well-being of Uganda, and the activities of the Lord's Resistance Army. It
further explained that the survey would take approximately one hour of their time and
that they could choose not to answer any question if they feared repercussions for
politically sensitive responses. Additionally, they were informed they could terminate
the study at any time and request the records be destroyed. 24 After the script was
finished, the subject was asked to clarify that he understood the study and that he
consented to participate.

Thirty-Five surveys were conducted from August 3rd until August 12th from 7am-
3pm. As the script noted, each survey averaged fifty minutes to one hour, depending on
the level of English proficiency of the subject. The respondent was informed that he
would be asked a number of questions asking “how much,” to which he should verbally
estimate the presence of a phenomenon. Dialogue other than the scripted survey was not
continued until the conclusion of the study, unless the subject asked for clarification on a
certain question. With the conclusion of the survey, the participant was given the

24 See Appendix C.
opportunity to review the study and to answer the final three questions, inquiring whether or not they could be contacted for studies in the future.

**Qualitative Section**

Interviews of Ugandan citizens for the qualitative section followed more relaxed restraints in terms of administration, format, geographical and interview location, and subjects. These interviews, conducted over the months of June, July, and August of 2005 focused on broader issues of politics and the conflict in Uganda. During the time period, subjects were sought in central Uganda in Kampala, southern Uganda in Mbabara, eastern Jinja, and northern Masindi, Gulu, Pader, and Kitgum. Attempts to reach Juba, Sudan to interview individuals living near LRA camps in the south of the country were derailed, as the untimely death of Sudanese Vice-President John Garang resulted in a US Travel advisory and an arduous visa procedure. Participants sought in these interviews included Makerere University scholars and students; local, regional, and national political figures, members of Parliament, staff from Central and Northern based non-governmental organizations, merchants, transportation workers, religious leaders, military officials, LRA ex-combatants, and residents of Uganda's many Internally Displaced Persons camps. Additional resources included lectures conducted through the School for International Training program on 'Peace and Conflict Studies in the Lake Victoria Basin’ and participation in a conference jointly hosted by Save the Children Uganda and the Uganda People’s Defense Forces-the national military- concerning the engagement of child soldiers and their transition from capture to children’s centers.
Throughout the three months, 143 subjects were interviewed. The interviews were conducted individually excepting a group interview of forty-one school children in Kitgum. The interview subject matter, while it generally pertained to the same topics, varied from individual to individual and from one organization of another. However, the questions broadly centered around the underlying causes of the northern Ugandan conflict, the current political situation of Uganda and its President, and the potential for peace building through local, national, and international institutions. Interviews with public officials covered the topics of economic development, Uganda’s nationhood, and potential schisms throughout the country. Unlike the quantitative section, these interviews included men and women and were significantly more ethnically heterogeneous. These interviews ranged greatly in length, although the typical interview took twenty to thirty minutes. Arrangements with public figures were through the School for International Training’s institutional resources, personal contacts, the Makerere Institute for Social Research, the Center for Basic Research, and through research clearance with the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. Interviews were documented through written notes in addition to the charts and graphs provided by various figures and offices.

Results

Quantitative Section
From August 3rd to August 12th, a total of thirty-five surveys were conducted. Of these, fifteen were screened and eliminated for irregularities. Reasons for discarding a survey included incompleteness, conflicting responses that demonstrated a clear lack of understanding of the questions, and a subject's failure to answer the questions in the proper, instructed manner. The remaining surveys were coded into a spreadsheet, along with the questionnaire. Using a standard rubric, those questions asking a subject to measure “how much” of a factor was present were coded into numerical representations of their responses. The resulting numbers were placed with the other Yes/No and short answer responses and formed a large composite database. The responses to questions of “how much” were used to test for a relationship of statistical significance.

Regression analysis was used to compare every permutation of independent and dependant variables in order to determine if there was a relation between factors included in the survey. After the initial results were calculated, those producing a p-value of less than .1 were removed from the spreadsheet and the regression was run again to confirm the relationships. The results were then limited by the restraints of a p-value of .1 and an r-square of .50. Because this is modeling of social science phenomenon with a relatively small subject pool, these cutoffs are stringent enough to produce reasonable results with validity.

These methods produced three significant results that met the criteria discussed above. Where I, W, U and D represent the columns used in the regression, the statistically significant results of the regression tests are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regression Statistics</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>IU</th>
<th>DU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

25 Database is available upon request.
Multiple R | 0.823073266 | 0.721025995 | 0.725882793  
R Square  | 0.677449602 | 0.519878486 | 0.52690583  
Adjusted R Square | 0.659530135 | 0.493205069 | 0.50062282  
Standard Error  | 1.219188153 | 1.944468288 | 1.405874216  
Observations  | 20 | 20 | 20  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficients</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>t Stat</th>
<th>P-value</th>
<th>Lower 95%</th>
<th>Upper 95%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>0.557598439</td>
<td>1.899681178</td>
<td>0.073618592</td>
<td>-0.112212497</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.10240218</td>
<td>6.148595983</td>
<td>8.32E-06</td>
<td>0.414490467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most significant results showed that Ugandans who saw the Lord's Resistance Army conflict as a serious problem for their country reciprocally found the democracy that Uganda provides lacking. This was supported by the analysis of the Y/N and short response questions, which showed of those measured by the complete surveys, only 15% demonstrated support for the National Resistance Movement in the 2006 election. This

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26 Column I corresponds with “How much of a problem does the Lord’s Resistance Army present for Uganda as a whole?”  
27 Column O corresponds with the question “How democratic is Uganda currently?”  
28 Column U correspond with the question “How do you find Ugandan democracy’s ability to serve the needs of governance?.”  
29 As the spreadsheet shows, Column D corresponds with the question “How well has the current government of Uganda served your needs as a citizen?”  
30 Column U correspond with the question “How do you find Ugandan democracy’s ability to serve the needs of governance?.”
may seem like an under-representative sample, but according the Ugandan Electoral Commission, only 8% of citizens in Gulu supported Museveni in 2001.29

While some researchers have noted a lack of understanding of terms related to governance and democracy in Uganda,30 subjects in this study demonstrated a general understanding of democracy in terms of typical Western tenets. In fact, of the 35 individuals initially contacted to participate in the study, 100% of the individuals recognized the English word “democracy.” Furthermore, when asked to describe what it meant to them, 80% of the responses included conceptions like “freedom,” “government of representation,” and “government of the people, by the people, and for the people.” Only one subject noted that democracy to him meant “peace.” When asked to determine the most important factor of democracy, while responses were more varied than the previous question, the most frequent responses were “minority voice,” “lack of corruption of law and finances,” “human rights,” and national “unity.” These responses accounted for 75% of the total number measured in the twenty complete surveys. Finally, the orientation of the respondents towards democracy and reform seemed to support the preservation of the Western definition of democracy. While the turnout of the summer referendum to allow multiple party elections was notably low throughout the country31, this has been attributed to boycotts called by opposition parties in the North32 and lack of interest

30 See Michael Bratten. “Round III Uganda Survey Summary of Results”
31 Annet Nakawungu “EC explains Referendum Low Turn Out.”
32 The Electoral Commission used symbols for voting in the Referendum. Initially, an elephant was used to symbolize the response “No.” Amidst suspicion that Museveni did not want the referendum to pass, it was criticized as attempting to skew rural votes, as the elephant is a symbol of the Acholi tribe. The voting symbol was then changed to a House to represent “yes” and a tree to represent “no.” This too received criticism, as an speech delivered by Museveni in 1996 claimed he was taking them from the trees and putting them into houses. The Forum for Democratic Change then called for a widespread boycott.
because "it was not a heated event." The northerners surveyed generally understood the importance of the multiple party system, and if they did not vote in the referendum or voted against multiple parties, cited the political clout surrounding it as the main cause. The referendum passed nationally with, as reported by the electoral commission, over 98% percent support from the balloting citizens. Furthermore, when asked if he supported "kisanja," only 10% of the subjects said they supported the change. "Kisanja" is a constitutional reform that included removing the two-term limit of the Presidency and thus allowed Museveni to seek his third electoral term. This motion passed with the support of more than 220 MPs, while garnering negative votes and abstentions totaling just over 50. Following the amendment, there were conspicuous arrests and detainment of military and government representatives in the Parliament who voted against or abstained in the "kisanja" vote. There were also government funds directed towards supporters of the amendment.

While the survey responses provide a wealth of other data that is both significant and notable, it shows some information directly relevant to this study. While no general consensus of the Lord's Resistance Army conflicts was noted through the surveys or the other 135 interviews, there were a number of elements that were recurring in open ended questions about the LRA. First of all, within the survey area, respondents demonstrated the most clarity in their responses. In Kampala, when asking individuals how the LRA was started, one interviewee claimed that Joseph Kony and Yoweri Museveni "fought

33 Annet Nakawungu "EC explains Referendum Low Turn Out."
35 Emma Mutaizibwa and Richard Mutumba. "The Long Road to Third Term."
together in the bush to overthrow the Tito Okello regime. Nearly all of the surveyed subjects—over 90%—knew that the Lord's Resistance Army were “Rebels,” “Acholi,” and “Northerners.” This relationship in itself may seem intuitive, as the rebels are led by members of the Acholi tribe and is stocked with soldiers who are taken from the citizens. However, subjects also presented some consensus on the underlying causes of the actions of the rebels. Again, their responses were centered on the clear divide between Northern Uganda and its Central and Southern regions. Reflecting this schism of development, economic progress, and political presence, over 80% of the survey respondents noted that the Lord's Resistance Army was initially inspired to fight because of “National Resistance Movement dissatisfaction,” “Poverty,” “Distrust of the government demands,” and the “hopelessness” of the Ugandan governmental system. Finally, when asked to describe the success or failure of government efforts to build peace more than 70% of the respondents noted the role of militarism as an agitator of the conflict, rather than an a peace-builder.

**Qualitative Sections**

Although the quantitative surveys shed some light on the conflict, interviews solved another mystery of the conflict: its astonishing duration. These open-ended interviews supported by primary document research created a context of differences rooted in history and power-seeking behavior. The Lord's Resistance Army's violence

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37 Following his rise to power, Idi Amin requested soldiers from the Luwero Triangle to assemble, after which they were brutally murdered. When the Obote’s Uganda National Liberation Army took power, they made a similar request of the Northern soldiers. Some attribute the emergence of the Lord’s Resistance Army as a direct result of Acholi resistance organization created in fear of this request.
appears to have continued for so long because, in addition to using shrewd military
tactics, they are offered little incentive to rationally choose otherwise. Citizens discussed
the role the government has played in permitting, albeit encouraging the Northern rebels,
accusations to which politicians offered little rebuttal. Finally, an analysis of Uganda and
its stability in terms of East African regional dynamics provides further support of these
claims.

Looking first to the Lord’s Resistance Army, their use of smart military maneuvers
and arrangements appear to greatly influence the longevity of instability in Northern
Uganda. For a military organization made of at least 80% abducted children, the
successes of their attacks are astounding. Most recently, these rebels fought and killed
eight UN Peacekeepers and members of the Guatemalan Special Forces over the
Congolese/Sudanese border, while only sustaining a loss of fifteen soldiers. A
combination of different factors has made the LRA an effective force. First of all, the
actual design and the hierarchy of the organization are very well planned and can quickly
accommodate rapid changes in membership and loss of top officials. Even Joseph Kony’s
chief military advisor, a rebel of nineteen years, was replaced “rapidly in a number of
days” upon his surrender. To fully show dynamism within the organization, a list of the
high positions in the Lord’s Resistance Army created in August of 2005 has been
included, noting important figures and personnel changes occurring between August and
December of 2005.

38 Figures range between 80 and 90%, see: Rory E. Anderson, Fortunate Sewankambo, and Kathy
39 BBC News. “Peacekeepers killed in DR Congo.”
41 See Appendix D
Such transitions are both regimented and mechanical, and are carried out with such consistency that soldiers and media can predict such promotions based on the recent fighting patterns of the LRA. Recounting one such occurrence following a skirmish in the Pader district, a journalist noted 'the fighting has intensified and is nearer to the towns. This is because they will be promoting {rebels} soon.' Further reports have demonstrated despite the pervasive image that they are always on the run 'the LRA have excellent internal organization and management. They keep records when they abduct children, who their parents are, etc.' In addition to managing the hierarchy and information of the Lord's Resistance Army, the pursuit and attack tactics are similarly effective.

Although Kony's general inability to appeal to Acholi's as a whole necessitates the abduction of child soldiers, it also creates an army of young, energetic, impressionable, and expendable soldiers. The rebels, because they are natives of the area, have a better understanding of the complex terrain and geographical factors allowing them to constantly vary travel patterns and plan escape routes. Even with knowledge of these routes, demonstrated by mappings of LRA displayed by the Former Minister of External Security('Intelligence'), the UPDF has effectively contained and engaged all rebel units excepting the Lord's Resistance Army. Additional charts show the range of mobility in actual attacks of the LRA. The Lord's Resistance Army operates out of base camps located along and over the Southern Sudanese border and has been able to maintain these through unique geopolitical factors to be discussed later.

44 See Appendix E.
45 See Appendix F.
LRA tactics focus primarily on surprise attacks of key supply points and village areas that take advantage of the efficacy of using small, mobile units. Specifically, the Lord's Resistance Army, “infiltrates into assigned area in units of 100 to 160, breaks into smaller groups of approximately twenty, and again into yet smaller groups to undertake ambushes and other operations.”46 Commanders were prioritized when under attack, as abductees were told “that if anything happened, we could scatter into the bush to distract the soldiers.”47 Others have noted that LRA commanders “avoid government Mi-24 Helicopter gunship attacks by passing uniforms over to child abductees and immediately dispersing into groups of 2-3.”48 In addition to the unique terrain and small units of the rebels, they also use hidden reserves and anti-personal mines to hinder pursuing UPDF soldiers. In one soldier’s account, rebels laid a road in the Northern district of Pader with five anti-personnel fragmentation mines that were linked to five anti-tank mines. The soldier noted the sophistication of this arrangement, which reportedly took several hours to dismantle before his kerosene filled transport could pass.49 Furthermore, soldiers have recovered munitions from armed skirmishes that include mines and other explosives and positioning devices such as radios and GPS coordinates systems.50 The tactical strategies only carry the LRA to a certain extent, after which the depth of the pseudo-prophetic vision which Kony purveys takes over.51 Accounts from abductees discuss the psychological pressure placed upon children:

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51 There is extensive writing done concerning the religious element behind the psychological strategy of the LRA. However, because there is generally consensus amongst scholars concerning the dynamics, for the sake of brevity it will not be discussed. For more information see “Refugee Law Project: Working Paper
“If a child’s load is too heavy or if he is clumsy and falls with it, he would be beaten and killed. If you get out of line or have swollen feet as a result of walking long distances, you could be killed. I saw a number of children killed with bayonets, clubs, and guns. I was forced to participate once. On our way from abducting children in Pabo, one of the boys attempted to escape but he was arrested. All the children were given a big stick and were ordered to beat him till he died. I had a lot of fear that the spirit of the dead boy will follow me and haunt me.”

The culture of fear Kony and the LRA created by hacking people with machetes, raiding hospitals for potentially wounded escapees, and disfiguring abductees with amputated breasts, lips, and limbs is quite clear. However, the conflict cannot be attributed to simply the tactics of the Lord’s Resistance Army. In fact, citizens strongly emphasize that the government has a hand in the longevity of the conflict.

Dating to colonial times, a divide between the Northern and Southern regions has developed into ethnic polarizations between different tribes. The Northern region of Uganda has been ravaged by conflict since Yoweri Museveni emerged from the bush and took power. However, in light of all of the conflicts that have permeated the country’s North, Uganda has remained economically prosperous. From the years 1987-1997, the nation’s annual growth was above 5% and reached peaks of 8.4 and 10%. This may seem puzzling, as there have been fourteen rebel groups operating in the North of the

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53 BBC News. “Uganda Rebels Massacre Villagers”
country since 1986. This regional instability stems from a colonial structure that utilized the taller and stronger Acholi as soldiers and directed economic and agricultural development towards the central lands along Lake Victoria and the eastern region where the Nile originates from. “Colonists gave Baganda and Magandans special status through power and jobs in the government, which consequently brought problems related to jealousy.” This continued as a trend throughout colonialism and into the first presidency of Milton Obote. The transition of these soldiers into anti-governmental rebels during Idi Amin’s rule caused them to remain a large portion of the national army of subsequent regimes. During Obote II, for example, Northerners accounted for 30-40% of the military. Naturally, the role of Northern Ugandans as soldiers focused political and economic opportunities elsewhere. Interviews with citizens have emphasized that this economic problem still exists. When Museveni came to power, he came to take away the cattle and little money we had. They left us with nothing.” The conflict itself has cost $1,332,972,846 in total expenditures and lost capital. This has substantially drained national resources by occupying up to 3% of Uganda’s economy, funds that otherwise could have been directed towards the economic development of the North. A recent article has suggested that this will remain the case in the future of Uganda until Museveni is out of office. “We shall continue to have two countries in one - the north and the south. This is true politically and economically.”

60 Ibid.
63 United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network "Uganda: War ravaged North rues Museveni Win"
As personally experienced in Uganda, roads between the Eastern border between Uganda and Kenya, which are paved and generally maintained, cannot be compared in any way to the dirt roads between Gulu and Pader and Pader and Kitgum. As one Acholi emigrant to Sweden remarked, the roads were so impassible she will “always pay the $180 to take Eagle Air {from Gulu to Kitgum} so {she} won't die on the charter bus.”\(^{64}\) Efforts to boost infrastructure in the North of the country are viewed skeptically, as the “limited efforts to reform the socio-economic environment have failed dismally.”\(^{65}\) Northern civilians who “can't trust Museveni because the money that is supposed to go to help does not come”\(^ {66}\) echo suspicions that this under-development is linked to the government. Because 70-80% percent of Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader's residents\(^ {67}\) are forcibly maintained in government Internally Displaced Persons camps, “there is nothing {they} can do to make money to pay for anything.”\(^ {68}\) The role the conflict plays in this has continued to economically erode the North, as some Ugandans claim to the pleasure of Museveni.

At the Unyama Camp in Gulu, which hosts 18,500 Ugandans,\(^ {69}\) citizens suffer from lethargy, health ailments, and direct violence. Such is the norm for Northern Uganda, which has an estimated 1.3 million people living in IDP camps.\(^ {70}\) Individuals that live in the countries North and especially those in IDP camps do not support Museveni's actions because they see “the continuation of the conflict as punishment for their refusal to endorse Museveni's leadership.”\(^ {71}\) This is further supported by electoral results in 1996 and 2001 that show overwhelming disfavor for him, gaining between 8.5% and 21.3%

\(^ {65}\) International Crisis Group. “Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict.”
\(^ {67}\) According to the 2002 Ugandan Census.
\(^ {70}\) Mortern Boås and Anne Hatley. *Northern Uganda Internally Displaced Persons Profiling Study.*
\(^ {71}\) International Crisis Group. “Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict.” P 11
votes in Northern areas.\textsuperscript{72} The location of civilians in Northern Uganda's IDP camps is driving the economic division of the North and South further and has essentially disabled the Acholi from achieving any substantive economic gain. \textsuperscript{64%} of people living in the camps record no monthly income, while only \textsuperscript{6\%} have an income in excess of \textsuperscript{30,000} shillings, approximately eighteen US dollars.\textsuperscript{73}

The primary economic activities in the camp are herding and cultivating land. However, fewer than 10\% of people living in IDP camps have any livestock at all, most lacking any means of improving their economic prospects. One resident of the Unyama camp, who sells firewood, walks in excess of seven kilometers each way to retrieve his product. However, the military will no longer allow him to gather wood in the nearby forest because of security concerns.\textsuperscript{74} Northerners are restricted from moving outside the camps; one fifth of individuals living in the Northern camps say they are permitted to travel no more than three kilometers from their huts.\textsuperscript{75} Northern residents acknowledge such limitations of movement and the difficulties of gathering resources. One interview noted that in the time they are outside the confines of the camp, even “a few hundred meters down the road’ they can be ‘raped and stabbed.’ This interviewee also expressed suspicion that the military had a hand in this particular incident.\textsuperscript{76} When movement restrictions were put in place, civilians noted the lack of consideration of their own well-being. “When the soldiers were brought in, they consulted with the local leaders and asked what time and where to restrict without asking the population. People look for

\textsuperscript{73} Morten Bøås and Anne Hatløy. \textit{Northern Uganda Internally Displaced Persons Profiling Study}.
\textsuperscript{74} Interview. Subject 77, Internally Displaced Person, Unyama Camp. August 7, 2005. Gulu.
\textsuperscript{75} Morten Bøås and Anne Hatløy. \textit{Northern Uganda Internally Displaced Persons Profiling Study}.
\textsuperscript{76} Interview. Subject 85, Internally Displaced Person, Unyama Camp. August 7, 2005. Gulu.
ways to survive and go their own ways, but some may work until 5:30 and are harassed by the soldiers when they return from work.77 Another remarked, “There is nothing people can do. I go to dig on the weekends, but we cannot go far enough where there is any land to find the things we need to make money.”78 Overwhelmingly, IDPs were not only concerned for their own economic situation, but for the inability to change it. “From our assessment, the government wants us to stay poor and doesn’t want the conflict to end. That is because of the business of economics and foreign aid. They want us to stay the way we are in the camps.”79 In addition to economics and idleness, inability to raise money for their children’s schooling was cited as a dominant reason why the government wants to conflict to continue.

An IDP described the current situation in Gulu: “As youth, we are at a crossroads. They {the government} see nothing good. They kill, cause displacement, and do nothing good. There is no program to help the youth so they are stuck in the middle of the conflict.”80 A group interview of school children in Kitgum showed a strong desire to pursue future studies in fields of science and arts, but understanding that “there are no materials for schooling and the government does not provide them.”81 School children note that the government is “trying to segregate us because they think we are murderers. If they do not educate us and our families are killed, they think we will go away.”82 Sadly, the children are most affected by the conflict, not only because they are abducted to compose most of the rebel army, but also because “the government doesn’t care about

them. They want the Acholi population to go away. Of current adults living in IDP camps, less than 50% have completed Primary schooling. The students felt this was exacerbated by the conflict and that this served to benefit the leaders of the country. “In the North, we have promise. But because we do not support the Movement, they want to keep education down. Because 85% of our people are concentrated in the camps, it is very easy to do that as long as the conflict keeps going.” With centralized populations, the schools in the areas outside the camps are currently useless. The conflict has affected these schools anyway; in 1997 seventy-five schools were destroyed in Gulu and 50 were burned in Kitgum. The school I visited in Kitgum had 48 students in a house approximately 100 square feet, with only one teacher who could not be located during my time there. But, as one student noted, “This war will come to an end. Leaders that want to the conflict to go on will come to an end. No war has continued for all of history. Everything has its morning and every sun sets. When we come to an understanding of the world and understand why we are still here, the leaders will go away, their sun will set, and there will be peace.” Clearly, Ugandans feel that the conflict has been an ongoing factor in the erosion of Northern Uganda in terms of economics and potential future and that the government has a hand in the conflict. However, they cite examples of how it is particularly advantageous to the government.

Overwhelmingly, the Movement strategy towards the Lord's Resistance Army conflict has been military action. Most recently with ‘Operation Iron Fist,’ Museveni has used his large and forceful military in an attempt to end the rebel war in the North of

84 Morten Boås and Anne Hatløy. Northern Uganda Internally Displaced Persons Profiling Study.
86 Tom Barton “Northern Uganda Psycho-Social Needs Assessment (NUPSNA).” P 39.
Uganda and parts of southern Sudan where LRA are bases are located, as permitted by the Khartoum government through this operation. This reliance on military muscle corresponds with the $367,185,904 of direct combat expenditures aimed towards the engagement of the Northern Rebels. With military expenditures that have repeatedly drawn criticism from International Finance Institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have placed restraints on the military budget at 2% of the Annual GDP. Museveni has attempted to raise this percentage and in the past has diverted 23% of the ‘non-priority’ budget to support the military as recently as 2003. In addition to the relatively high level of military funding and a force of more than 50,000 soldiers, some of the funding can be traced to elicit networks of soldiers and supply. For example, during the idle 1990s, some 4,000 Rwandans who left in the Kagame led Rwandan Patriotic Front were maintained on the payrolls of the 4th division of the UPDF. Additionally, when visiting the Unyama camp in Gulu, one wonders why the nation’s coffers would be used to purchase a Soviet tank to guard an IDP camp from rebels that use guerilla, ambush techniques.

Citizens thought that the military, of such significant size and economic backing, could effectively deal with the rebel problem. “The UPDF are quite clearly capable. Our military went thousands of kilometers into Congo and had skirmishes with the Rwandan military there. It is puzzling that they could be so ineffective in the North. It suggests that the military strategy may indeed not be to succeed.” Furthermore, despite the fact that the Internally Displaced Person’s camps were populated to ‘enable the Ugandan

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Army to bring a swift conclusion to the war; by clearing out the countryside one would cut off rebel resources and give free rein to UPDF units; the military has not achieved these aspirations. Furthermore, the 5th division of the UPDF, now covering Pader and Kitgum, was created specifically to deal with the LRA problem. However, despite the pervasive imagery that the conflict is dying out and the rebels are almost finished, the conflict continues. The military leadership structure points to Museveni’s interest in maintaining an ethnically homogeneous leadership corps. Creating a hierarchy dominated by the Bayankole people, concentrated in the area of Mbarara where Museveni was born, he appears to be creating an insular military structure and centralized power base. This is clearly a strategy of personalist rule, as noted by scholars such as Fredrick Cooper and Alex S. Thomson. Such acknowledgements are quite important, as they indicate the military strategy in the countries North is intrinsically linked to politics in the country’s capital.

In direct military engagement, the UPDF appear to be involved at least in part in the detriment of Acholis. “Museveni may criticize Kony for using child soldiers, but isn’t that how his army took the capital? Don't his soldiers commit the same crimes the LRA do?” The accounts of violence perpetrated by the Uganda People’s Defense Forces demonstrate a level of disregard for the well-being of the Acholi people. Although there is simple indiscipline, such as the Marijuana plants grown in the Masindi IDP camps to “make some money from the soldiers,” both domestic and Western institutions allege human rights abuses far more serious. Former UN Under-Secretary-General Olara

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93 Morten Boås and Anne Hatløy. *Northern Uganda Internally Displaced Persons Profiling Study.*
94 See Fredrick Cooper “Africa Since 1940” and Alex Thomson “Introduction to African Politics.”
Otunnu has recently accused the UPDF themselves of carrying out a genocide against Northern Ugandans, saying they “indiscriminately rape and defile women and girls in the internally displaced persons’ (IDP) camps.” Additionally, western researchers have noted the ways in which the LRA and the UPDF are similar, claiming “the Uganda military and the rebel Lord's Resistance Army continue to kill, rape and uproot civilians in northern Uganda with brazen impunity.” Despite well publicized accusations, including a two page layout in the Daily Monitor during June of 2005 detailing abuses in Gulu, the government response is to discredit the organizations that publish these facts, in this case Human Rights Watch. Women are not only subjected to the violence, but men as well. “When I finish work, if I am late I am fearful. I fear the rebels and I fear the military will stop me, thinking I am and treating me like I am a rebel.” Particular elements of the military appear to be especially involved in the detriment of the Northern Ugandans.

Known as LDUs, the Ugandan military has established community level organizations called local defense units. Essentially paramilitary operations, these defense units are popular in the North and instilled with the task of protecting roads and the citizens of the IDP camps. There has been some success in Lira, but far less in Gulu and Kitgum because “the government is afraid to arm the population because of opposition to Museveni.” Setting aside the problematic element of recruiting for the LDUs, they have the least training of soldiers in the North and are often the recipient of criticisms. At the conference attended between the 4th and 5th divisions of the UPDF and Save the

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97 Emmy Allio. “Army Blasts Olara Otunnu Over Northern Genocide Comments.”
98 Amama Mbabazi. “Is Human Rights Watch a Mouthpiece for the Opposition?”
Children, problems of recruiting children into the military were noted. However, despite avid criticism of the LRA’s use of child soldiers, the UPDF expressed a level of ambivalence in their response, saying “Local leaders complain that through recruitment, children are drawn into the LDU and UPDF. We have an opportunity to refuse these children, but can’t always know. Also, for the LDU, when the leaders must meet a membership quota, it is very difficult for us to make sure that it is not met with the use of children.” This highlights only a portion of issues the conflict presents for the Ugandan military and their commitment to the Northern citizens. More interesting is the way in which they respond to prospects of peace.

A central element of the conference concerned the treatment of children when they are engaged and captured in combat. Often, reports in the New Vision and Daily Monitor detail LRA engagements and the number of rebels killed, but seldom does it note that many of these fallen rebels are adolescent and teenage children who have taken up arms only by force. A central focus of the conference at the Acholi Inn was the role of Child Protection Units when extracting child-combatants from the bush and transitioning them to the children’s rehabilitation centers run by Save the Children and World Vision. Their stated objective is “protecting children when they have come from the bush and ensuring short term physical and psychosocial needs.” These centers, in Gulu, Kitgum, Pader, and Lira serve as a transport center that holds children for 48 hours after they have been removed from combat. However, non-governmental participants in the conference have cited numerous examples of delay in the process, improper provision of basic needs, and grueling interrogations of ex-combatants to extract intelligence.

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wants to get the intelligence information out of the children. The CPUs are essentially barren. They have no female officers to provide for the needs of girls who have been taken as wives of the LRA. Additionally, the CPUs keep poor or no written records that ensure that individuals are sent out within the 48 hour period.

During the conference, participants noted numerous flaws in the UPDF run CPUs, including “no written records, adults permitted in close quarters with the children, no visible minimal standard of Children’s rights, and actions that appear to be outside the best interests of the child.” It appears that vital funds dedicated to the Human Rights desk of the military has been diverted to direct military build-up, as the CPUs in some towns lack running water, permanent sleeping structures, and trained staff and counselors. However, excluding those from the Human Rights Desk who were generally responsive, military officials and leaders of the 4th and 5th divisions expressed a level of frustration with the requests of the NGOs and dismissed their validity. When asked about the meaning of the criticisms of Save the Children, one soldier remarked “what they don’t understand is that we don’t have to talk to them. We will listen and then we will act in the way we see as most appropriate. They do not realize that we are facilitating them as we are the controllers of the situation and of the power.” I repeatedly tried to arrange visits to the CPUs in Gulu and Kitgum, a request members of the UPDF acquiesced to, only to later deny their ability to provide such a visit. It was quite clear from the soldiers interacted with during this study that they were at least partially indifferent to the conditions of the CPUs, as long as they provided the vital

intelligence which they need from child ex-combatants. Indeed, those who enter the CPUs are some times ‘lost’ and promoted into the ranks of the UPDF. These children are usually the ones who have been identified by former LRA commanders, now working for the UPDF, as skillful fighters. Military actions linked directly to the government only demonstrate one portion of the role of continuing the conflict, the other being peace processes.

The government institutionally has a number of instruments that promote peaceful resolution to the conflict. Most notably, the Amnesty Commission specifies that

“Any Ugandan who has at any time since the 26th day of January, 1986 engaged in or is engaging in war or armed rebellion against the government of the Republic of Uganda shall not be prosecuted or subjected to any form of punishment for the participation in the war or rebellion for any crime committed in the cause of the war or armed rebellion.”

However, even in the Amnesty act there exist problematic elements. First of all, numbers of seekers produced by the Amnesty Commission differs from those cited by other agencies of the Government. Setting aside logistical errors, citizens note that the government may be using Amnesty as a trick to prosecute rebels or otherwise dictate their actions. “How can the rebels come out to seek Amnesty?” wondered a Northern citizen, “How can they trust the government if they have never been trustworthy before?”

A number of individuals that have left the Lord's Resistance Army and sought Amnesty

109 For example, The figures noted in Appendix A conflict with “Your Rights,” a publication produced by the Ugandan Human Rights Commission, with the assistance of the Austrian Government.
have conspicuously become employed in the UPDF. While this may initially seem like a noble desire to "right one's wrongs," Ugandan citizens feel differently. One remarked that the Amnesty act is "to integrate {former rebels} into the UPDF so they can use them and send them to fight." Personal experience confirmed this. Of the high profile LRA members who have recently surrendered, including Sam Kolo and Kenneth Banya, most have been integrated into the UPDF infrastructure and, in my observation, were closely monitored in interactions with outsiders. In conducting personal interviews of these ex-combatants, they were carried out only in the presence of a 4th division officer.

Furthermore, it appears that the Amnesty Act is designed to create legal ambiguity that allows rebels to be prosecuted and discourages peaceful resolution to the conflict. In the past, Museveni has attempted to link the Lord's Resistance Army to middle-eastern terrorist groups, possibly to accrue political support from the west and draw ties to the Anti-Terrorism Act. There is a minute difference between it and the Amnesty Act, encompassing individuals who use violence indiscriminately and without consideration of surrounding factors. While the Amnesty Act provides for purveyors of violence that is directed towards the government, the LRA is often described as indiscriminate and callous. The invocation of the International Criminal Court by President Museveni discussed in a prior paper, can be debated at length but notably does not correspond with the mission of the Amnesty Act in providing resolution to the conflict through forgiveness. Such a contradiction demonstrates a lack of commitment to such initiatives and suggests that, in line with what many Northern Ugandans think, the ICC

112 See Keith Weghorst. “Political and Legal Means of Conflict Resolution: The International Criminal Court in Uganda.”
investigation could have been invoked to create further instability and be another attempt of the government to thwart the peace process.\textsuperscript{113}

Interestingly, it appears the most effective means of solving the conflict has been reached through ceasefires and peace negotiations. Betty Bigombe, the chief peace negotiator in the 1994 peace talks has had relative success mapping out the desires of the LRA and what is to be accomplished to gain peace. However, in light of this progress, Museveni has taken military action during peace talks including military attacks and capture of key negotiators of the LRA during cease-fires.\textsuperscript{114} Furthermore, governmental actions and personal requests of President Museveni seem to lack rationality if the goal is creating peace. “He set a cease-fire and said the rebels would need to surrender within a number of days or he would squash them. How can a rebel army which is so decentralized and lacks consistent communication resources be expected to make such a rapid decision?\textsuperscript{115} One individual compared these actions to telling your child to get honey and then throwing stones at the bee hive.\textsuperscript{116} The peace is supported by community organizations and of the survey pool 90% stated that peace had promise for the resolution of the conflict. The peace processes have struggled in part because of the regional dynamism between the Ugandan and Sudanese government as well, which in its growing stability has been pushing peace further forward. However, with the death of Sudanese Vice-President and SPLA leader John Garang, this gain is again jeopardized. Suspicion still surrounds the circumstances of this event; an investigation is being conducted to determine whether or not the Ugandan president, whose helicopter Garang died in, or

\textsuperscript{113} Interview Zachary Lomo.  
\textsuperscript{114} Frank Nyakairu "Captured Brig was on LRA Peace Team." January 24, 2005.  
\textsuperscript{115} Interview.  David Pulkol.  
other players could have been involved in foul play.\textsuperscript{117} Regardless of whether or not the Ugandan government was directly involved in the crash, it appears to have provided little gain in the successful resolution of the conflict.

\textbf{Implications:}

Looking through these results, one discovers a conundrum. President Museveni has systematically made decisions that have allowed the LRA conflict to continue. Furthermore, it appears that at least in part, these decisions have been made with knowledge of their implications and results. At the same time, the conflict has eroded perceptions of democratic governance in the country's North. If a government is pursuing a strategy that continues a conflict and this conflict erodes how its own citizens perceive its efficacy and its ability to provide democracy, how does this occur? Assuming that individuals act rationally, it is unclear that the actions of the government are optimal or sound if they "erode the very sense of nationhood that is already tenuous in Uganda."\textsuperscript{118} Few things may explain this occurrence as a product of optimizing behavior and rational choice behavior. It first could be that Uganda's citizens do not prefer democracy. This study was initially designed to address some alteration in preference towards democracy and how it had changed, albeit how small, to favor more authoritarian governments.\textsuperscript{119} However, in recent polls on Multiple-Party elections, even with the FDC boycott, 92.5%

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\textsuperscript{117} New Vision Staff. "Bashir Team Goes to New Site."
\textsuperscript{118} Interview. David Pulkol.
\textsuperscript{119} Michael Brattern's study of Uganda noted that between September of 2002 and April 2005, Ugandans noted they supported removing term limits.
\end{flushright}
of initial multi-party referendum results supported democracy.\textsuperscript{120} Furthermore, as previously explored, Ugandans demonstrated a general understanding of the tenets of democracy and its implications. The more likely reason is that eroding the perception of democracy in the country's North is not irrational. The benefits of the conflict tremendously outweigh what the government loses by it continuing, in addition to ways the conflicts continually relegates Northerners to an irrelevant political force.

Evidence collected through interviews during the summer of 2005 paired with document analysis demonstrate that actions of Museveni to permit the conflict to continue are in fact based on rational decision-making processes. First of all, a personal bias of Museveni against Northerners as a Southerner is clear. "Museveni hates the Acholi and does not care whether we are killed by Kony, abducted, or raped."\textsuperscript{121} His particular responses to political opposition have demonstrated that he prefers, rather than accepting criticism, to present counter action. Perhaps the conflict may then be attributed to the Acholi's ongoing lack of support for the Movement. In an interview, one of Museveni's former minister explained how "being at his side for more than a decade still does not make me fear any less my and my family's safety now being in the opposition."\textsuperscript{122} That defeated presidential candidate Dr. Besigye, once Museveni's personal physician, has been accused by Museveni himself of committing rape and treason despite while the country's high court has not confirmed these claims further shows Museveni's response to opposition. During Besigye's trial, a militia guard linked to the president- the Black Mambas Urban Hit Squad- surrounded the courthouse, to which

\textsuperscript{120} The Electoral Commission. “National Results: Referendum 2005 on Change of Political System July 2005: National Results.”
\textsuperscript{121} Zachary Lomo and Lucy Hovil. “Behind the Violence: The War in the Northern Uganda” P. 36.
\textsuperscript{122} Interview. David Pulkol.
the High Court's judge responded by calling it "a rape of the judiciary." This again demonstrates the way in which the government has resisted opposition through unjustified means.

Setting aside personal motivations in having the conflict continue there exists certain payoffs that are very beneficial to Museveni. Throughout his presidency, he has been repeatedly criticized for maintaining a large military budget. Indeed, to western donors it may seem strange to maintain a military of 55,000 troops despite there existing no large scale operations outside of its borders since Museveni's presidency. Despite adhering to the World Bank stringent requirement that military spending must equal no more than 2% of its GDP, Museveni continues to push to have this alleviated and uses the Lord's Resistance Army conflict as his primary reasoning. If the conflict continues, Museveni is enabled to at least maintain his military force, if not ensure its expansion. In a presidency where opposition is progressively gaining support, these actions are essentially text book characteristics of patrimonial rule. According to William Reno, "It is not democracy or the regime itself that is the basis of legitimacy, but people's calculation of personal gain from allegiance. But if their gains stop, they are not personally committed to the regime." Museveni has a rational strategy in allowing the conflict to continue because, whether or not he cannot maintain political support from the North or they think there is democracy in Uganda, he can keep a close military elite to uphold his sovereignty. This holds true in the Great Lakes region as well.

The LRA conflict is allegedly related to two factors in the Great Lakes region: The geo-politics of the Nile River and instability in Southern Sudan. It is alleged that

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124 According to Colonel Ocheka. UPDF Fourth Division, Gulu District.
part of the National Islamic Front, led by Omar Al-Bashir strategy is related to the radicalization of Islam in Black Africa, with Uganda a potential point of beginning. While the government of Sudan alleges to be on board with the Western-promoted war on global terrorism, it still remains as a haven for Middle Eastern radicals. Sudan was once the host of Osama Bid Laden and while "the number of al Qaeda members slowly dwindled after the terrorist leader departed, terrorists continue to use Sudan as a safe haven. These include people from al Qaeda, Egyptian and Palestinian terrorist." Furthermore, struggles for resources between Sudan and Uganda have forged stronger links to regional instability that can benefit the Ugandan government. For example, Sudan and Egypt were part of a colonial and post-independence strategy to control the Nile River through "puppet" governments in Uganda. Additionally, Southern Sudan controls a number of mineral resources, including petroleum. Because of this regional tension, the Ugandan government has consistently supported the SPLA in their abilities to forge instability in Sudan. While Sudan's President has outwardly criticized Kony for his actions, it is clear that Bashir and the Khartoum government are responding to Museveni's actions quid pro quo in providing arms and equipment to the LRA. Whether or not potential links to Garang's death challenge the link to SPLA, the fact remains that the LRA stands to benefit from the instability of Sudan, even despite Operation Iron Fist. Furthermore, the actions of the Ugandan government seem to support, through the SPLA, maintaining this instability, illustrating interest in the NRM to continue the conflict.

126 Linda D. Kozaryn. "Horn of Africa Holds Terrorist Threat."
127 Interview. David Pulkol.
128 For an illustration, see Appendix G.
129 Alfred Wasike “Bashir Declares Kony a Terrorist.”
Internationally, the requirements placed by western financial institutions on Uganda are reciprocal for monetary aid. Over 50% of Uganda's annual operating budget and income are based on aid that comes predominantly from the World Bank, as well as United Nations Development Program, UNAIDS, United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, and the European Union. The country has received in excess of $11 billion since 1987. Furthermore, direct aid to resolve the conflict from non-governmental organizations is siphoned by the central government; some say the government keeps as much as 90% of humanitarian aid. However, once heralded as the 'new-breed' of African presidents, more recently Museveni has been seen as a leader "whose halo has slipped." Lately, more attention has been drawn to the precarious rights of Ugandan citizens. The Freedom House ranks Ugandans' political rights at four and five in the provision of civil rights, where one represents the most rights and seven the least. Furthermore, annual analyses of the transparency of the Ugandan political and economic sector place Uganda outside the most transparent one hundred in the world. It is clear that, in spite of massive amounts of donor support, that Uganda has evaded the goals of donor institutions to drive institutionalized political reform. ‘Kisanja,’ the parliamentary amendment allowing Museveni to seek election this February has been described by Ugandans as ‘an insult to democracy here and in the world.’ However, it was not until the fall of 2005 that governments threatened to halt aid and of those, most did not follow

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101 USAID. Budget
102 Mary Crane. “Q&A: Uganda’s Presidential Elections.”
105 See Freedomhouse.org
106 Transparency International scores Uganda as a 2.6, where 10 is the most transparent, ranking it as the 102nd most transparent country in the World.
through. Museveni’s attempts to link the Lord’s Resistance Army to the “War on Terror”\textsuperscript{138} and in particular to win the support of the George W. Bush administration\textsuperscript{139} show how the conflict may be used to garner international support for a regime that is not adhering to international norms of governance. It seems that, as long as the Lord’s Resistance Army is continuing to battle the international community will remain mute about the flaws in Museveni’s governance, continue to send aid, and increase debt relief beyond the billions already granted.\textsuperscript{140}

Based on the results of the February polls\textsuperscript{141}, Yoweri Museveni has been elected to a third term. Maintaining the office based on political maneuvers and constitutional alterations, it is difficult to predict if attention derived by the February polls will equate to international pressures for reform of the political system. The LRA is continuing to wage war and does not appear to be moving towards peace. As warrants for arrests from the International Criminal Court are being enacted and utilized, resolution seems even more likely. Because Museveni and the NRM have lost political support in the most recent elections from his own citizens and the international community,\textsuperscript{142} his interest in the conflict may change and he may have a more rational strategy in seeing its rapid closure. However, barring this, Museveni may seek further patronage strategies, investing more in the military and attempting to isolate himself from demands of the civil society and international community. What is clear is that the unfortunate plight of Northern Ugandans, be it the conflict or its economic and political effects, is likely to continue in

\textsuperscript{138} Interview. Zachary Lomo.
\textsuperscript{139} See Blake Lambert. “An ‘African Success Story’ Gone Sour”
\textsuperscript{140} See the World Bank “Highly Indebted Poor Countries: Uganda.”
\textsuperscript{141} See Appendix H.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
the short term as Yoweri Museveni moves into his third term and into the future of Uganda.

Appendix A
Reporters seeking government granted Amnesty from the Amnesty Commission

Appendix B
What is Your Age?
What is your Occupation?
What is your first language?
What is your ethnicity?
What is your religion?
How pleased are you With the current State of Uganda?
How much do you see yourself better/worse off than other Ugandans?
Do you take interest in Politics?
How well has the current government satisfied your needs as a citizen?
Did you vote to allow multiple parties in the 2006 election?
Do you agree with the Removal of term limits?
Do you plan on voting in the 2006 election?
If so, who do you plan on voting for?
What community do you most consider yourself a part of?
How well has the current government satisfied the needs of these communities?
What are the biggest personal problems you currently face?
What are the biggest problems your family currently faces?
What are the biggest problems your community currently faces?
What are the biggest problems the government currently faces?
What are the biggest problems Uganda as a whole faces?
How much of a problem does the Lord's Resistance Army present for you personally?
How much of a problem does the Lord's Resistance Army present for your family?
How much of a problem does the Lord's Resistance Army present for your community?
How much of a problem does the Lord's Resistance Army present for Uganda as a whole?
How well has the government dealt with the problems you personally face?
How well has the government dealt with the problems your family faces?
How well has the government dealt with the problems your community faces?
How well has the government dealt with the problems it faces?
How well has the government dealt with the problems Uganda faces?
What does democracy mean to you?
What is the most important factor of democracy?
How democratic was Uganda 1996-2001?
How democracy is Uganda Currently?
How strong are the democratic institutions of Uganda?

How do you find Ugandan democracy's ability to serve your personal needs?
How do you find Ugandan democracy's ability to serve your family's needs?
How do you find Ugandan democracy's ability to serve your community’s needs?
How do you find Ugandan democracy's ability to serve the needs of governance?
How do you find Ugandan democracy's ability to serve the needs of Uganda?
How could Ugandan democracy improve?
Did you vote in 1996?
How fairly were the 1996 elections conducted?
Did you vote in 2001?
How fairly were the 2001 elections conducted?
If President Museveni Is elected to a third term, rate his ability to provide your personal needs in the future
If President Museveni Is elected to a third term, rate his ability to provide your family's needs in the future
If President Museveni is elected to a third term, rate his ability to provide your community's needs in the future
If President Museveni is elected to a third term, rate his ability to provide for good governance in the future
If President Museveni is elected to a third term, rate his ability to providing for the needs of Uganda in the future

Who is the LRA
What do they want
What are the causes of the conflict
How have the attempts succeed
How have they failed?
What needs to be done to stop the LRA?

Appendix C
Introduction and Survey Information and Consent Letter

The purpose of this letter is to inform your rights in connection with my project, “Multi-Party Democratic Transitions and Civilian Preference in Uganda”

My name is Keith Weghorst. I am political science and legal studies student at Northwestern University. I would like to involve you in research for my senior thesis. The only way that I do so is with your consent. You have the ability and power to give me your consent and take it away at any point. You may make this decision without the influence of any other individual(s), including myself. I will explain the nature and purpose of the project so that you may understand your involvement and how it may affect you and my project. Please read this entire form before you give me your decision.

My project:

I am trying to analyze what Ugandan citizens consider their most preferred priorities of governance. I am assessing whether or not citizens think Yoweri Museveni has provided for these priorities and if Ugandans prefer his rule in the next term. I am also determining what Ugandans think of democracy and what potential positive and negative outcomes may occur after the institution of Multi-Party elections in 2006.

Your potential role in this project if you agree to participate in an interview:

You, as a Ugandan citizen, represent civil society. I would like to speak with you and give you this survey so that I may understand what you think of democracy and the government of Uganda. The survey questions will focus on these subjects. Depending on what you say, I may ask some follow up questions. I will use the information that you give to write part of my study of Uganda and how they are satisfied with the fulfillment of their preferences related to governance. Whether you agree to be interviewed or not, I will not identify you in any way whatsoever that other people could discover who you are or that I have spoke with you. I will write a number in my notebook that will correspond to your situation and responses. When I return to the United States I will use the information that I collect here and in other countries to publish the thesis. I will return to Uganda in March of 2006 and September-August 2006-2007. After the completion of the study, if you would like to participate further during these time periods, I would like to record your name. If you would prefer that I did not, but would like to participate to, that is completely acceptable.

Your rights:

If you would like to participate, the survey will take an hour and can take less if you would like. If you would like to not participate or end the survey at any time you may. You can invite anyone else that you wish to sit in this interview with us. I will not record anything on cassette or camera. I will only write about what we say and record the survey responses into an electronic database. At the end of the interview, or at any time during it, you may read anything I write or have anyone else do the same. You may also review your responses to the survey. You can have any one else that you wish look at them too. If you would like to change anything you said in the survey, you may also do so. If you would like to stop the survey and destroy the records of the survey, you may request for me to do so. If you need to contact me for any reason or have any questions, you may reach me at the locations provided below.

If you would like to contact me in Uganda or in the United States:

I can be reached in Uganda through:

Keith Weghorst
c/o Program Director Daniel Lumonya
School for International Training
Kampala, Uganda PO BOX9007

I can be reached in the United States at:

Keith Weghorst
Northwestern University
1619 Ridge Ave
Evanston, IL 60208 USA

You also can reach me at my email address: k-weghorst@northwestern.edu. If you prefer Yahoo, I keep an address at Segundulla22@yahoo.com and can be reached there too. You also may contact our Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at irb@northwestern.edu. Their web site is found at http://www.northwestern.edu/research/OPRS/index.html.
### Hierarchy of LRA Generals

By ranking member status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Joseph Kony</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Chairman of the LRA/LRM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vincent Otti</td>
<td>Lt. General</td>
<td>Deputy Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Okot Odhiambo</td>
<td>Major General</td>
<td>LRA Army Commander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Raska Lukwiya</td>
<td>Major General</td>
<td>Chief of Staff of LRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ben Accela Ceasar</td>
<td>Major General</td>
<td>Director of Military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Abonga Papa</td>
<td>Brigadier(Killed 8.17.05)</td>
<td>Chief Priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ocan Bunia</td>
<td>Brigadier</td>
<td>Commander of Gilver Brigade</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dominic Ongwen</td>
<td>Brigadier(Killed 10.6.05)</td>
<td>Commander of Stockree Brigade</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Abudema Buk Oringa</td>
<td>Brigadier</td>
<td>Commander of Sinia Brigade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Joseph Kapere</td>
<td>Brigadier(Killed 1.03.06)</td>
<td>Chief of Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Opio Joseph</td>
<td>Brigadier(Surr. 11.16.05)</td>
<td>Commander of Trinkle Brigade</td>
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Appendix E

Figure provided by David Pulkol, Former Minister of External Security for the Government of Uganda.

Appendix F
Attacks, Killings and Abductions

July 02 – June 04

Affected Communities

Attacks and Killings July 02 – June 04

Each dot represents one UPA attack, size of dot proportional to number of killed.

Figure provided by the International Criminal Court Office of the Prosecutor
Appendix G
Figure Provided by USAID.

Appendix H
Appendix I

Provided by the Democracy Monitoring Group.

Provided by BBC News.
Performance of Dr. Kizza Besigye in 2001 and 2006 in the four regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2006</th>
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<td>North</td>
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Nakasongola ------4% -----------------------9%
Total-------- 2m -------------------2.5m


Bratten, Michael. “Round III Uganda Survey Summary of Results” Afrobarometer.


Claude Ake. ‘The Unique Case of African Democracy’ International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 69, No. 2. (Apr., 1993), pp. 239-244.


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elite interviewees/lecturers:

moses draku. the amnesty commission, press secretary. august 18, 2005.
zachary lomo. refugee law project of makerere university, kampala; director. june 27, 2005.
david pulkol. africa leadership institute, founder and former minister of external security. june 28, 2005.
colonel ocheka. updf fourth division, gulu district. august 8, 2005.
brigadier sam kolo. updf fourth division, gulu district. former lra army commander. august 8, 2005.
brigadier kenneth banya. updf fourth division, gulu district. former lra army commander. august 8, 2005.
justin moro. reporter for new vision. writer for gulu, pader, and kitgum districts. august 3, 2005.
lt. colonel frank okello. updf fifth division, kitgum district. august 7, 2005.
mwambutsya ndebesa. lecturer of history and development studies at makerere university. june 20, 2005.
cynthie grace. ugandan ex-patriat, swedish national. august 9, 2005.
martin wandera. parliament member, special interest representative: workers. june 24, 2005.
lt. paddy ankunda. updf fourth division, gulu district. august 7 2005.
dan lumonya. makerere university, lecturer of development studies. june 29, 2005.
richard oneka. gulu united to save the children organization. august 6, 2005.
oling olang gabriel. save the children in uganda. august 8, 2005.
lt. p c ocira. updf fourth division, gulu district. august 8, 2005
christopher acire. lc3 for gulu town. august 2, 2005.
samuel oduny. chief campaigner for peace negotiator betty bigombe. august 2, 2005.
jacob oulanyah. parliament member, gulu. july 28, 2005.
james odong. ama.net coordinator, world vision. june 20, 2005.
hillary onek. parliament member, kitgum. august 12, 2005.
Title of the submission:
Cultivated Plots and Administrative Fields in Ancient Babylonia

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Abstract:
The rural landscape has been a neglected aspect of studies of the administration and economy of ancient Mesopotamia. The focus of many scholars of ancient Iraq has traditionally been placed on cities rather than on the countryside, and useful archaeological or epigraphic data on ancient landscapes has not always been readily available and/or easily interpreted. The recent declassification of high-resolution satellite imagery from the Corona Program of the 1960s and 70s, offers new opportunities to recreate the rural landscapes of the ancient Near East. An enhanced conception of the organization of field and irrigation systems is important for our understanding of the social, economic and administrative structure of the Mesopotamian society.

This paper examines epigraphic sources from the Ur III period (2111-2003 BC) and compares them to agricultural studies as well as new data made available through remote sensing techniques. The epigraphic material offers details that are crucial to our reconstruction of rural space while remote sensing data provides an overall and more comprehensive picture that complements the detailed epigraphic material. By combining these sources, this paper attempts to reconstruct the physical arrangement of the rural units and irrigation systems along the levee systems of southern Mesopotamia.
The paper argues that agricultural plots in the highly centralized Ur III period were “standard” family plots measuring 1-3 ha. The administration consolidated several plots into administrative units for their records. These large units were referred to as “fields” in the texts, but the individual plots of cultivation within the units resembled any other Mesopotamian field plots used before or after the Ur III period. The shape of the plots were determined, not as previously argued by plowing techniques organized by the state administration, but rather to enable and facilitate irrigation in the flat landscape of southern Mesopotamia.
Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities:
Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries

Psychotherapy for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Problems and Solutions
Patricia A. Wisocki
University of Massachusetts/Amherst
169 Browning St.
Wakefield, RI 02879
wisocki@psych.umass.edu

Providing individual psychotherapy services to adults with developmental disabilities has proven to be both a viable option and a successful one. In this paper I address the adaptations necessary for the provision of services and the ethical challenges to service with this population. I present descriptions of the therapy employed with six adults with developmental disabilities and the behavioral data on collateral problems that were assessed concurrently with the therapy. Substantial gains were recorded for all clients.

Teaching Self Control to Adults with Developmental Disabilities:
Relaxation and Imagery Procedures
Jacqueline Rastella
Cove Center
610 Manton Ave.
Providence, RI 02904

Stress and anxiety are barriers to many daily activities important to adults with developmental disabilities such as learning new skills, socializing with others, and working productively at a job site. In this presentation I will be discussing the innovative techniques of relaxation and imagery to help these adults reduce the anxiety associated with these activities. I will consider ways to assess the situations that may cause anxiety, the typical efficient buffers to daily stressors, and the behavioral responses to stress. I will conclude the presentation by discussing the adaptations made in teaching both relaxation and imagery procedures to individuals with developmental disabilities and ways of applying these procedures on a daily basis to ongoing programs.

Assistance in the Grieving Process for Adults with Developmental Disabilities
Patricia Fiske
Cove Center
610 Manton Ave.
Providence, RI 02904

Our clients experience the loss of people significant in their lives, particularly as they age. Loss of a loved one and the reinforcers associated with that person is difficult for anyone; for a person with a cognitive challenge it is especially challenging. The topic of this presentation is the preparation of a client for loss or helping them deal with loss after it has occurred, using imagery procedures. Case examples will be provided for illustration.

Barriers to Medical Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities
Dolores G. Amitrano
Cove Center
610 Manton Ave.
Providence, RI 02904

Adults with developmental disabilities, such as autism and mental retardation have difficulty preventing illness and maintaining wellness, due to a number of barriers to prompt and efficient medical attention. In this paper I will discuss some of these barriers. Barriers include the client’s inability to communicate and unusual response to pain. Other barriers are also raised by medical personnel who are unfamiliar with persons with developmental disabilities and the lack of accessible low cost facilities. Other factors are attributable to the quality of the client’s nutrition and personal hygiene, both of which may affect wellness.
Strategic Urban Management and Collaborative Planning: Application in China

Siu-wai Wong, Milton Chi-hong Lau, Bo-sin Tang

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Abstract

In response to the rising social and environmental problems caused by an unprecedented rate of urbanization over the past two decades, Chinese decision makers and planners are searching for appropriate management framework and tools in sustaining urban growth whilst maintaining social harmony. Under such circumstances, the idea of strategic urban management, which is widely considered to be more adaptive and flexible than traditional master planning, has received increasing recognition. Nonetheless, there is still a lot of confusion in China about the actual substance and dynamic concept of urban management, and such misunderstanding has impeded its effective implementation. This paper highlights the importance of a holistic and strategic model for enhancing urban management capacities in Chinese cities. It examines some possible barriers to two of its key components, namely, collaborative planning and public participation, in effective urban governance in the Chinese context.
1. Introduction

Comprising a quarter of the world’s population, China has entered into an unprecedented rate of urbanization which generates numerous opportunities and challenges to planners. While rapid urbanization has brought about significant economic improvement, it has also led to many problems such as urban sprawl, resources depletion, environmental degradation and social conflicts in Chinese cities. Public oppositions, open protests and social tensions, especially associated with land disputes, are presenting threats to urban development in China. Under such circumstances, the importance of effective urban management to achieve sustainable urbanization has been increasingly recognized. In 2001, strengthening urban management capacities at municipal level was highlighted as a fundamental policy in the State Development Planning Commission’s plan for the future of China. The importance of urban management is increasingly known. Policy makers and planners at various government levels are searching for an appropriate model to enhance effective governance of their cities.

The main purposes of this paper are to: (1) highlight the importance of a holistic and a strategic model for enhancing urban management capacities in Chinese cities; and (2) examine possible barriers to two key components, namely, collaborative planning and public participation, in achieving effective urban governance in the Chinese context. After this introduction, this paper is divided into four sections. Section 2 elucidates some key problems and conceptual elusiveness encountered in urban management practices in Chinese cities. Section 3 outlines the conceptual framework of strategic urban management by presenting a set of measurable criteria that address all aspects of public well-being (including physical, economic, social, cultural, environmental and institutional dimensions) for assessing urban management performance in China. Section 4 examines possible barriers to two key components, collaborative planning and public participation, in the Chinese context that may impede effective implementation of strategic urban management in Chinese cities. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Urban Management in China: Some Misconceptions

Many Chinese leaders have now put great emphasis on effective urban management. However, quality urban management practices at present still remain an aspiration in many Chinese cities as there is a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding about the actual substance of urban management. For example, some local officials tend to consider that urban management is equivalent to the management of municipal facilities and urban services. It is also a general perception of the Chinese citizens that urban management should all be guided and implemented by government bureaucracy. Such
limited understandings have resulted in the fact that urban management in China has mainly been organized along sectoral lines and was thus focused on public services delivery only (Wang, 1994). Moreover, the Chinese governments tend to put too much emphasis on construction rather than management at local levels. As a result, investment in soft infrastructure (management and maintenance) has generally lagged behind that in hard infrastructure. Even in some of the more advanced cities such as Shanghai, lack of management is one of the core problems in public infrastructural development (Zhu and Zhou, 2004). Inadequate management and maintenance of infrastructure usually result in pre-mature depreciation and functional obsolescence which have hampered overall quality of the urban investment environment.

In addition, it is a common phenomenon that local Chinese governments attempt to strengthen urban management capacities by way of legislation (Xin, 1995; Zhu and Zhou, 2004). China is never short of laws and regulations in managing society. However, it often turns out that many regulations cannot be enforced effectively in practice due to limited institutional capacities. Even worse is that putting urban management within a rigid legislative framework tends to undermine responsive ability of the local governments to cope with unforeseeable changes in urban development affairs.

Apart from the above, insufficient government responsiveness and inadequate public participation are major problems in many Chinese cities. As You and Chen (2004) argue, public participation in urban management in China is still at an initial stage, which is characterized by informing the public rather than collecting feedback on improving urban policy making. With the lack of public involvement, urban management in China is still following a top-down model in which government departments are responsible for planning, implementing and monitoring the entire process of urban development. Urban management plans are thus easily abused as a means to enhance personal ambitions and career performance of local officials rather than for the purpose of public interest.

Urban management is a multidimensional, integrative and dynamic process. In China, however, misconceptions about urban management by Chinese officials can be attributed to the residual influence of orthodox planning ideology which dominated the Chinese planning system from the 1950s to the 1980s. Following the First Five-Year Plan for National Development, master plans were formulated by the central government under a top-down approach that rigidly outlined the centrally planned policies to guide social and economic development in China. Under this orthodox planning system which was essentially inflexible, normative and blueprint, the traditional role of urban managers in Chinese cities was merely a “policy implementation agent” rather than “a driving force” to integrate all stakeholders in urban development process in order to attain sustainable
urban growth. Therefore, it is not surprising that urban management practitioners in Chinese cities lack knowledge and experience about key substance, principles and approaches of managing cities in an open market economy. While urban development in China is entering into a fast lane and shifting from a centrally-planed system to a market-led one, urban managers in Chinese cities begin to encounter many difficulties related to land resource allocation, environmental deterioration, and provision of social security within an increasingly unpredictable and uncertain environment (Wong & Tang, 2005).

The complexity of urban growth and the ambiguity about effective urban management are not unique to China. The western literature has underscored that a holistic understanding of urban management is necessary. Pugh (2000) suggests that managing urban development for sustainability is about providing a range of patterns of growth and change that are environmentally, economically and socially better than alternative patterns. Stren (1993) advocates an inter-sectoral approach and a more conceptually diverse concept to urban management. Werna (1995) also suggests that the lack of a thoroughly developed concept leads urban management into the risk of developing scattered interventions. Davidson (1996) suggests that urban management is a broad concept, and that urban planning is a tool of urban management. Rakodi (2001) supports this view and argues that urban management involves policy formation, resources allocation, implementation and operation, which means that planning is only one function of urban management. Urban management is more likely to succeed if it is seen in a holistic and integrated way and institutional capacity building should form part of the urban management process (McGill, 2001).

Some literature has made an attempt to clarify what urban management is about. Amos (1989) defines urban management as the responsibility of municipal government and suggests that it is concerned with all aspects of urban development, both public and private. Rakodi (1991) suggests that urban management aims to ensure effective functioning of a city to promote economic and social well being, and to ensure provision of essential public utilities and services. McGill (1998) further suggests that urban management has a twin objective including both a strategic (to plan) function and an operational (to provide and maintain) function.

3. Urban Management in China: From Orthodox Approach to Strategic Model

Given that deep-rooted confusion and misunderstanding about the essence of urban management have led many Chinese cities into problems, if urban management is hoped to make a greater contribution to sustainable development of Chinese cities, a proper and
systematic understanding of the concept and its substance by urban managers as well as the general public is essential. Strategic management provides a more adaptive alternative than the orthodox approach to cope with the dynamics and uncertainties of urban development and to address the current problems in urban planning and management practice in Chinese cities. Such similar views have also been advocated among Chinese planners and social scientists. For instance, Yeh and Wu (1999) suggest the present planning system of China should be streamlined and the utopian vision of ‘comprehensive control’ should be discarded. Zhang (2001) advocates that master planning work in China should be reformed so as to adapt itself to the rapidly changing economy and society. Lin (2004) urges Chinese planners to engage more actively in mainstream theoretical debates and knowledge advancement.

Several important themes about effective urban management have emerged from the literature. First, the ultimate purpose of urban management is to enhance urban competitiveness and sustainability. Second, urban management requires an integrated approach as it is concerned with all sectors associated with urban development, and that these sectors are all interactive. Third, it is concerned with strategic and operational interventions. Moreover, it requires a strong commitment from a robust government supported by active involvement of the private sector and the community. That means governments should play a role as a driving force to integrate all players by promoting a fair environment in which competition is encouraged.

Urban management needs to be able to manage rapid changes and volatility associated with urban development. In so far as China is concerned, it is difficult for urban management to succeed if it is to operate within a rigid statutory framework. Under certain circumstances, action strategies may be required to translate into statutory planning instruments. However, with a changing global urban context in which greater emphasis has been placed on a market-led approach, traditional statutory-based planning has been subject to extensive criticism because of its inflexibility and rigidity, and thus there is a strong call for a more flexible approach to urban planning and management. Traditional master plans have to give way to a dynamic planning process in developing countries (Clarke, 1992). An adaptive approach based on the concept of strategic planning should be explored to cope with, and to direct, changing conditions under which development activities must be implemented (Rondinelli, 1993). The quality of urban planning and management should be improved by a stronger conceptualization, by moving away from inflexible blueprint plans toward a combination of strategic and detailed action plans and programmes (Rakodi, 2001).
The above set of principles highlight two key elements for a strategic model to manage cities. First, it emphasizes the importance of engaging all key stakeholders, including the community, the corporate sector and the implementation agencies to get involved in all stages of planning. Planners are made responsive to the community needs and values. Second, it emphasizes that a proper measurement of the effectiveness of strategies and actions in achieving urban development objectives should focus on the progress of all aspects of public well-beings including physical, economic, social, environmental and institutional dimensions.

A strategic management approach to guide urban planning and urban management would involve several key elements. First, the strategic management process involves a set of decisions and actions about what to do, why to do it and who should do it. Thus, it encourages transparency and accountability. Second, strategic management takes into account the circumstances of internal and external factors influencing urban development and requires a clear understanding of external, environmental, and internal strengths to enable decision makers to handle changes and volatility in urban development. Third, strategic management allows effective (internal) monitoring and (external) evaluation. It is essentially an iterative process where the basic steps are repeated in the same order until further possible improvement in the plan is not significant. Such a process can facilitate setting realistic goals based on resources available and then ensure that available resources are fully utilized to achieve the goals and objectives identified. Finally, strategic management recognises that the successful implementation of strategies requires a supportive framework of governance institutions which includes cooperation among all levels of government, the private sector and the community. It encourages and facilitates the involvement of all key stakeholders and interest groups in all stages of urban planning and management. As a result, urban development policies are more responsive to community values and therefore have a greater chance to succeed.

Strategic urban management requires a set of criteria for measuring the qualitative and quantitative outcomes. This is a key step to facilitate monitoring and evaluating outcomes so that the process can be revised in order to ensure matching between development objectives identification and available resource allocation. In addition, if urban management performance is assessed with reference to a set of generally accepted criteria, decision making for urban development can be objectively reached and will be less influenced by subjective personal judgement of local officials (Wong et al., forthcoming). An example of these criteria is set out in Table 1.

[Table 1 here]
4. **Collaborative Planning and Public Participation in China**

Strategic urban management emphasizes the importance of involving all key stakeholders, including community and implementation agencies in all stages of planning in order to make plans responsive to the community needs and values. Therefore, successful implementation of strategic urban management model in the Chinese context cannot afford to ignore two key elements, collaborative planning and public participation, which are of great importance in supporting transparency and accountability in managing urban development.

Collaborative planning extends conventional democratic process by opening up decision making process and making it more transparent and accountable to the people affected by the decision. The fundamental support required for this approach is a democratic environment in which public participation and open monitoring are allowed and encouraged. Originated in the western world, collaborative planning have been influenced substantially by the western philosophies that are heavily biased towards the principles including applications of logic, search for evidence, dependence on experience and rationale for improvement. While collaborative planning approach has gained wide acceptance and credibility in the western world, its applicability is questionable in China where the social, cultural and political traditions are different.

The applicability of collaborative planning and public participation in China’s development planning is subject to the influence of two sets of philosophical principles. First, it is a series of socialist theories which synthesize Marxism, Mao Zedong’s Thought and Deng Xiaoping’s Theory. The other set of principles comprises the traditional Chinese philosophies which are derived from Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism.

*China’s Contemporary Development Planning Ideology*

Contemporary development planning ideology in China evolved from the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) since 1949. China’s development ideology during the 1950s to the 1970s was dominated by a socialist ideology underpinned by Marxism and Mao Zedong’s Thoughts which put great emphasis on autonomy, dependency and dictatorship of proletariats. Drawing upon the experience from the colonist age at the end of the 19th century, Chinese people attributed their poverty and underdevelopment to the exploitation by western colonialists. Following the establishment of the PRC, the Chinese government decided to segregate the country from the capitalist world and reconstruct the economy and society on socialist principles. This
self-reliance development model successfully led China to achieve national autonomy and dependency. However, the centrally planned system underpinned by the self-reliance planning ideology failed to encourage economic growth and kept China away from learning the experience of the capitalist world.

After moving into the 1980s, Marxism and Mao’s Thought were gradually replaced by Deng Xiaoping’s Theory. Deng’s Theory advocates the construction of a socialist system with Chinese Characteristics. Under the instructions of Deng’s Theory, China’s development planning policy shifted from being politically-oriented to being economically-oriented. Deng’s Theory has become the fundamental ideology guiding national development planning since the 1980s. Entering into the 1990s, the dominant development philosophy in China was related to a pursuit in establishing a socialist market-economic system with Chinese Characteristics.

**China’s Ancient Philosophical Traditions**

The influence of traditional Chinese philosophies has been downplayed in contemporary China due to a wide range of changes in societal ideology and social system. Their influences have no longer been formally and explicitly presented in China’s development planning, especially in official national planning under the socialist regime. However, they have still substantially affected Chinese thoughts and behaviors even in the younger generations. Such influences are intangible but not unimportant.

The origin of Chinese philosophical traditions can be traced back to the late Spring and Autumn and early Warring States periods (about 2,500 years ago) when the era was often known as the Hundred Schools of Thought. During that period, Hundred Schools of Thought developed the great classical writings on which Chinese practices were to be based on. Among these hundred schools of thought, Confucianism and Daoism have evolved to become the two most influential traditions in Chinese philosophies for the next two and one-half millennium (Liu, 1999). These two major philosophical traditions have deeply penetrated into the Chinese minds and thus exerted strong impact on Chinese ideology.

Confucianism puts emphasis on civilization, loyalty to the emperor, universal love and equality among people. It is concerned with the harmony and unification of body and soul, nature and humanity, sensuality and rationality, material life and spiritual life, and believes in the conception of goodness of human nature and the development of human nature through education. Under the influence of Confucianism, an ethical system of social relations governed by the rules of propriety was developed in ancient China’s
dynasties. Within such a system, each person's place in society was carefully defined to ensure harmony of social relations rather than individual rights.

Confucianism is fundamental to but does not monopolise the Chinese philosophies. The Chinese philosophical traditions are also substantially shaped by Daoism which is a belief of simplicity and the nature of universe. Daoism emphasizes that every thing is always changing and ‘stability’ can be achieved when a balance is reached between ‘yin’ and ‘yang’. It teaches people to merge themselves into the environment as a whole and there is no self at all. The immortality of human beings exists precisely in their harmony, stability and warm emotional relationship with nature in this one world. With the influence of Daoism, human being, although important, is never the controller and dominance of nature in traditional Chinese philosophies.

Confucianism and Daoism are fundamental to the general foundation of Chinese culture and value. Buddhism, as a major religion of China, also has impacted substantially on the Chinese philosophical traditions. Buddhism was transferred into China from India in Han Dynasty (about 2000 years ago). It believes that desires are the origins of pain. Therefore, by overcoming desires, pain can be eliminated accordingly.

Owing to the fact that Chinese traditional philosophies are fostered and cultivated by Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, they are ethical and aesthetical as opposed to the logical and scientific culture of the West. Chinese traditional philosophies do not clearly resist democratic development, but most Chinese people are used to believe that a strong centralized government is essential to protect their welfare. With the influence of such a belief, a community structure that has the willingness and capacity to participate in governmental decision making was absent in China’s development history. In recent years, China’s development planning has been working towards a collective planning approach. However, the essence of such approach is not the same as those in the western countries. As suggested by Meissner (1999), the Chinese are looking for foreign models in order to make the existing political system look more liberal and effective, not necessarily more democratic in a western sense. Such a limited participatory model is underlined by the assumption that the Chinese public still lacks capacity in terms of knowledge to participate in managing their cities. This is completely different from the western assumption that no one can know better about the needs of citizens than the citizens themselves, and that local people can make a valuable contribution to development planning if they are given adequate opportunity to do so.
5. Conclusions

Strategic management provides a more adaptive alternative to cope with the dynamics and uncertainties of urban development and to address the current problems in the urban management practice in Chinese cities. A systematic and proper understanding about the essence, substance and benefits of strategic urban management does not mean that its implementation in China is unproblematic. Any attempt to apply this model to urban management in Chinese cities cannot afford to ignore some structural and practical difficulties in promoting public consultation to accommodate transparency and accountability in the process of implementing urban development policies. However, having considered the constraints imposed by the socialist planning ideology and traditional Chinese philosophical traditions, it is difficult to see how collaborative planning and public participation in urban development can be implemented effectively in China in the near future. The current participatory model in China is still underlined by the assumption that the general public is excluded from policy making as they lack sufficient knowledge and adequate capacity to do so. Nonetheless, one incentive for local leaders to allow more public involvement in urban development policy making is that public participation can enhance their popularity and may enable their policies to have a greater chance to succeed.

Acknowledgement:

The authors acknowledge the support of the Policy Research Department of the Guangzhou Development District and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University Research Grant to the study work of this paper. The usual disclaimers apply.
Table 1: Evaluative Criteria for Urban Planning and Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors</th>
<th>Evaluative Criteria/Indicators</th>
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| Improvement in Physical Conditions | ✦ Housing conditions are satisfactory.  
   (a) construction quality;  
   (b) good quality building materials;  
   (c) adequate average living space per person  
   ✦ Services such as water and electricity supply, sewage and drainage and garbage removal are available and well maintained.  
   (a) length of water pipe, cable and drainage  
   (b) at available ratio for household  
   (c) at available ratio for business requirements  
   (d) frequency of breakdowns  
   (e) adequate maintenance plans/programmes available  
   ✦ Access for pedestrians and vehicles is satisfactory.  
   (a) Length of roads, vehicle per km of road (limited congestion)  
   (b) Average time spent travelling between home and working places  
   ✦ Recreational facilities and community facilities are satisfactory.  
   (a) number of playground/stadium/public library/parks;  
   (b) landscaping area per person;  
   (c) percentage of people living within walking distance of recreational facilities  
   ✦ Health facilities are satisfactory.  
   (a) hospital beds/medical staff per thousand population;  
   (b) life expectancy;  
   (c) infant mortality;  
   (d) expenditure on health facilities as a percentage of GDP  
   ✦ Educational facilities are satisfactory.  
   (a) number of students enrolled  
   (b) student to teacher ratio  
   (c) expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP  
   ✦ Adequate sites, premises and basic services are available for investors.  
   (a) volume of land granted to business use per annum  |
| Economically Viable            | ✦ Economy is growing.  
   (a) GDP and GDP per capita  
   ✦ Gross domestic fixed capital formulation is increasing.  
   (b) Percentage to GDP  
   ✦ Economic structures (industries) are at an acceptable level.  
   (a) ratio between the secondary and tertiary industries;  
   (b) the share of core industries in GDP  
   ✦ Employment opportunities are enhanced.  
   (a) Employment rate  
   (b) underemployment rate  
   ✦ A stable, welcoming and regulatory business environment is provided.  
   (a) number of investors  
   (b) number of new enterprises per annum  
   (c) total utilized foreign capital  
   ✦ Taxation system base is effective.  
   (a) Profit and income tax revenue  
   ✦ Consumption costs are fully recovered  
   ✦ Consumption costs and charges are affordable to the public. |
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Socially Equitable</strong></th>
<th><strong>Culturally Sustainable</strong></th>
<th><strong>Environmentally Sustainable</strong></th>
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</table>
| Public fiscal conditions are maintained in good status.  
(a) fiscal surplus per annum | Traditions and customs are respected.  
(a) number of major programmes/activities related to the promotion of traditional culture  
(b) number of public holidays for celebrating traditional festivals | Clear water resources are available.  
(a) volume of fresh water supplied per capita |
| Community has access to adequate and affordable housing.  
(a) Affordability ratio: monthly expenditure on housing/monthly household income | Cultural assets are protected.  
(a) Number of designated cultural and historical sites; and  
(b) number of projects for historical building refurbishments and protection | Air quality is improved.  
(a) air pollution Index |
| Low income households and special social groups (e.g. female-headed households and the elderly) can gain access to adequate and affordable housing.  
(a) Average waiting time for public housing  
(b) median rent to income ratio for public housing | Cultural diversity is promoted.  
(a) Annual ticket sales for major cultural events | Energy consumptions are efficient.  
(a) consumption of energy per unit of GDP output |
| The interests of disabled people are properly addressed.  
(a) facilities and services available for the disabled  
(b) anti-discrimination laws are in place | | Waste disposal systems are effective.  
(a) solid waste discharged per capita per day;  
(b) sewage discharged per capita per day |
| Society is in good order.  
(a) Overall criminal rate is low. | | Reuse and recycle programmes are implemented.  
(a) tons of waste material reused or recycled per month |
| Policy making and plans are responsive to community views and value.  
(a) Policy information is accessible to the general public  
(b) Code/Regulations on access to information are in place  
(c) public consultation put into legal framework and special governmental department responsible for dealing with opinions and complaints from the public;  
(d) conflict resolution mechanism in place | | Public transportation is convenient.  
(a) number of bus/train passengers per annum;  
(b) average occupancy rates) |
| Adequate educational opportunities are provided.  
(a) number of student members of civic education;  
(b) number of vocational training opportunities provided | | Polluter pay principle is implemented. |
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<tr>
<th>Institutionally viable</th>
<th>Planning and Commitment for Implementation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) <strong>Pollutant charge/Taxation</strong></td>
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<td>(a) <strong>Biodiversity is promoted.</strong></td>
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<td>(a) <strong>Area of high ecological importance</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) <strong>Safeguarding the environment for present and future generations.</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) <strong>Number of EIAs/SIAs done for projects</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) <strong>Public awareness of health environmental protection is improved.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) <strong>Number of people participated in environmental protection programmes/activities</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>Institutionally viable</th>
<th>Planning and Commitment for Implementation</th>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) A holistic long term vision is defined based on inputs and general agreement of all key stakeholders in government and civil society;</td>
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<td>(b) Strategic plan is in place. This includes implementation plan, and measurable indicators to monitor urban management performance.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(c) Government is committed to a time-frame for the implementation of some major strategies and policies</td>
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<td><strong>Supportive Resources</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) Planning and management process designed to tailor organizational structure rather than the reverse;</td>
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<td>(b) Local policy framework at national and provincial levels is supportive;</td>
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<td>(c) Policy at national, provincial and local levels is coordinated and compatible;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(d) Local government has the technical and financial capacity to implement planned programmes and projects.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(e) Local government has resources to maintain infrastructure on an ongoing basis.</td>
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<td><strong>Management</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(a) The contestability principle is applied;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) All stakeholders are meaningfully involved in decision-making;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(c) Roles of public sector, private sector and NGO are specified;</td>
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<td>(d) The principle of subsidiarity is adopted;</td>
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<td>(e) Conflict resolution mechanism is in place;</td>
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<td>(f) Decision making is transparent and accountable;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(g) Effective monitoring and evaluation system is in place.</td>
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</table>

**Source:** (Wong et al, forthcoming)
References


Clarke, G 1992. ‘Towards appropriate forms of urban spatial planning.’ Habitat International, 16(2), 149-165.


The Perceived Importance of Student Computer Usage in Higher Education:

Faculty and Student Response to CSU Technology Surveys

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Gilbert and Green (1997) reported that institutions of higher education are confronted with the evolution of computers from mere *personal desktop tools* to *communication gateways* and *information-rich networks*. The use of computers in the world today has become commonplace. From accessing money from an Automated Teller Machine to programming a home Video Camera Recorder, technology enhances everyday life. Discussing technology applications, Heterick (1993) suggested that technology in higher education is not only inevitable; it is welcome from the standpoint of an educational tool. He said, “There is nothing in our technology forecasts that suggests that we are technologically constrained from reaching for the holy grail of scholarship—anything, anytime, anywhere” (p. 8).

The Integrated Technology Strategy (ITS) was launched by the California State University in 1994. According to the CSU, “The ITS is the overall vision and planning framework for moving the CSU into the information age” ([http://tii.calstate.edu/StatusandDirections/Status/PRECIS.pdf](http://tii.calstate.edu/StatusandDirections/Status/PRECIS.pdf)). ITS was designed to build on previous efforts and integrate technology to improve four areas in the CSUs. Daigle (1997) categorized the areas as: “...the quality of learning and teaching; the quality of the students experience; administrative productivity and quality; and the personal productivity of students, faculty and staff” (p. 5). The ITS entered into an agreement with the California State Legislature and began collecting data to submit an annual report outlining results. These reports will continue until 2008, and will be presented to the Legislature in documents known as the *Integrated Technology Strategy Measures of Success* (MOS) (ITS website).

The purpose of this study was to determine if CSU faculty and students are prepared to use technology, if technology is available to them, and if they use technology for the enhancement of education. This study examined the views of faculty and students using ITS surveys of the CSU system. Also scrutinized in this study were data from
post-hoc focus groups conducted at a university in the central valley of California.

Based on faculty and student responses to the ITS surveys, and faculty and student focus group comments, it would appear that the CSU is meeting the needs of faculty and students regarding preparedness and availability of technology in higher education. It would also seem that faculty and students of the CUS use technology on a nearly daily basis for the enhancement of education.

Reference


Abstract

This study examined the associations between 79 couples' self-reported expressive communication behaviors and their marital satisfaction. One affective communication behavior,
they can “tell their spouse almost anything,” was associated with both husbands’ or wives’ marital satisfaction. Four other affective expressive communication behaviors were found to be significantly associated with either husbands' or wives' marital satisfaction. And one cognitive communication behavior, “My spouse encourages me to challenge his/her ideas and beliefs,” was a significant (positive) indicator of husbands' marital satisfaction, but this same communication behavior was a significant (negative) indicator of wives' marital satisfaction.
Achieving high levels of satisfaction between married persons—is it an illusion, a mythical state, a fantasy destination, or a co-educational process of spouses learning ways to appropriately communicate their complex thoughts and feelings to each other? Whichever perception is chosen, marital satisfaction remains the metaphorical “golden ring” that most couples hope to attain, many couples ideally strive to preserve, but apparently less than half of the couples in America seem to achieve over the course of their lives. Although hundreds of studies conducted during the last three decades have attempted to link “good communication” with marital satisfaction, researchers from a host of disciplines continue to explore those specific communication behaviors that produce the highest levels of marital satisfaction. Evidence from numerous studies indicates that high levels of marital satisfaction often exist in the beginning of relationships, but these high levels of satisfaction are often difficult for both persons to sustain over long periods of time. The satisfaction of one person or both persons in many marriages appears to decrease relatively soon after they marry, (Vangelisti & Huston, 1994), and once satisfaction has decreased it is relatively difficult to reestablish high levels of satisfaction for those couples who attempt to do so (Gottman, Ryan, Swanson, & Swanson, 2005).

During the last two decades, family studies researchers have focused their attention toward examining couples' abilities to process and effectively express their emotions. Several trends of expressiveness that significantly contribute to happier relationships between most couples have emerged for husbands and wives across different ethnic and cultures samples. Spousal support (Xu & Burleson, 2004), emotional support (Weber, Johson, & Corrigan, 2004), affective disposition (Veroff, Douvan, Orbach, & Acitelli, 1998), expressive personalities (Carson, 1969),
and relationship maintenance behaviors (Weigel & Ballard-Reisch, 1996) have all been identified as attributes of relationship satisfaction. Although spousal support has been identified by House (1981) and Cutrona & Russel (1990) as consisting of five general types of expressive communication, only emotional support (expressions of love, empathy, and concern) seems to emerge as a statistically significant predictor of marital satisfaction (Xu & Burleson, 2004). Other researchers have found positive associations between spouses' abilities to clearly express their own positive emotions and their marital happiness. These expressive abilities of spouses include having good moods during conflict situations (Forgas, 1994; Gottman, 1994), possessing positive affectivity (Beach & Fincham, 1994; Gottman, Coan, Carrere, & Swanson, 1998), having a secure attachment to significant relationships (Feeney, 1999), women performing better than men at accurately encoding and decoding emotions (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002; Noler & Ruzzene, 1991), and avoidance of expression of contempt or counter-productive negative emotions associated with stonewalling (Gottman, 1994).

The theoretical framework guiding the present investigation incorporates Buck’s (1989) developmental/interactionist theory of Social Biofeedback. This theory integrates the cognitive and emotional approaches of communication in relationships suggesting that, as couples communicate with each other, a process of social biofeedback or cross-validation occurs where each person learns what the other person is willing to either understand or accept. Hypothetically, in satisfied marriages a co-educational process occurs where each person learns what to and what not to communicate his/her spouse.

The importance of expressive communication (openness, emotional access, and supportiveness) in close relationships frequently appears to be consistently associated with marital
The importance of continued examination of expressiveness as an attribute of successful marriages is expressed by Fitzpatrick:

“For many years, scholars tried to find predictors of marital success or failure by looking at social/demographic factors such as income, education, age at marriage, and the age difference between husband and wife. But social scientists now believe that these factors are far less important than the communication that occurs between partners” (1988, p. 31).

Planalp (1999) further asserts that the interactive process of husbands and wives sharing their thoughts and feelings through expressive conversation plays a major role in either developing or destroying close relationships. Duck (1999) contends that expressiveness fosters opportunities for self-disclosure reciprocity, receptive climates, and increased information on the state of the relationships, while Hendrick (1981) found a consistent, positive relationship between self-disclosure and marital satisfaction. While these endorsements address the overall value of emotional expressiveness in relationships, the specific types of affective and cognitive expressive communication that influences marital satisfaction remain unknown.

The Multi-faceted Nature of Expressiveness

The construct of expressiveness in relationships is multi-faceted, ranging from sharing factual information through self-disclosure to revealing in-depth emotions with another person. Previous literature often refers to expressiveness as a type of relational maintenance behavior. For example, Canary, Stafford, Weger, and Stafford (1991) identified five communication strategies that contribute to relational maintenance - positivity, assurances, social networks, sharing tasks, and openness. The specific strategy of openness, meaning to discuss the relationship and share...
Expressive Communication and Marital Satisfaction

thoughts and feelings about relational goals, has been identified as a behavior that both maintains a relationship and contributes to its satisfaction, commitment, and liking (Canary & Stafford, 1992; 1994). More recent studies provide further support indicating ways these relational maintenance behaviors support marital satisfaction. For instance, Weigel & Ballard-Reisch (1996) reported that husbands' use of networking, openness, positivity, and assurances were most strongly associated with their marital satisfaction; whereas wives' use of openness, positivity, assurances, and task talks were most strongly associated with their marital satisfaction. Two other research teams (Canary, Stafford, & Semic, 2002; Weigel & Ballard-Reisch, 1996) strongly suggest that satisfied spouses continually engage in relationship maintenance activities. On the darker side of spousal relationships, when either husbands or wives experience difficulties with either identifying or describing their own emotions, their marital satisfaction is impaired (Yelsma & Marrow, 2003). A similar perspective on marital satisfaction impairment is identified when couples engage in avoidance of expression such as contempt or stonewalling (Gottman, 1994).

Although it is widely recognized that emotional expressiveness provides valuable insight on relational satisfaction, our understanding of the specific types of emotional expressiveness remains incomplete. Further investigation of forms of affective or cognitive-related messages will add to our understanding of expressive communication. For example, when a spouse expresses an opinion or fact about plans or goals for the future, the message orientation is cognitive; and when a spouse expresses a feeling or emotional statement about one's self or partner, the message has an affective orientation. Although identification of these message orientations is important, the specific impacts that husbands' expressive behaviors have on their own and their wives' marital satisfaction remain unknown; and the specific impacts that wives' expressive behaviors have on
their own and their husbands’ marital satisfaction remain unknown. Thus, the focus of this study is to identify specific affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors that are significantly associated with husbands’ and wives' marital satisfaction. Accordingly, four research questions are presented:

RQ1) What are the specific affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors husbands perceive to exist within their marriages that significantly influence their own marital satisfaction?

RQ2) What are the specific affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors wives perceive to exist within their marriages that significantly influence the husbands' marital satisfaction?

RQ3) What are the specific affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors wives perceive to exist within their marriages that significantly influence their own marital satisfaction?

RQ4) What are the specific affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors husbands perceive to exist within their marriages that significantly influence the wives' marital satisfaction?

Method

Subjects

The sample consisted of 79 married couples identified and selected for this study through a network sampling procedure. Five contact persons (undergraduate and graduate students) each secured 6 to 10 married couples and requested their participation in a study examining expressive communication behaviors and marital satisfaction. Upon consent to participate, each individual
was administered a self-report measure consisting of one subscale with 10 items from the Family Communication Environment Scale (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1994), the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (Spanier, 1976) and several biographical questions. Participants completed the questionnaires in their own homes. Their responses were placed in envelopes, sealed by each participant, and either mailed to the researchers or given to the contact person who administered them.

After completion of the questionnaires, each couple was then asked for names of other couples they thought would be interested in participating in the research study. This network procedure resulted in 79 couples privately and anonymously completing and returning usable questionnaires. The sample was relatively well-educated: 13% were either enrolled in or had completed graduate school; 12% were either enrolled in or had completed baccalaureate degrees; and 72% had completed high school. The average age of sample was approximately 37 years, ranging from 19 to 58 years and the mean annual household income was 57,000 dollars. Ethnicity was predominately Caucasian (97%) with 3% African American and other ethnic origins represented.

Instrumentation

Marital Adjustment. Questionnaire materials consisted of two instruments that used either a 1-5 or 1-7 Likert-type format. The Dyadic Satisfaction Inventory (Spanier, 1976) was selected because of its continued demonstrable reliability and validity. The 32-item instrument has been widely used to assess marital satisfaction and has also been found to discriminate between distressed and non-distressed couples (Crane, Allgood, Larson, & Griffin, 1990). Spanier (1976) reported the alpha reliability coefficient for the 32-items to be .96. In this study, the Cronbach alphas were .91 for husbands and .92 for wives.
Expressive Communication. The Family Communication Environment Scale (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1994) is the product of empirically-analyzed and conceptually-integrated constructs of two well-established instruments, Fitzpatrick's (1988) Relational Dimensions Inventory (RDI) and Ritchie's (1991) Revised Family Communication Patterns (RFCP). Although the original 25-item Family Communication Environment Scale has a three-factor solution of family interaction patterns, only ten items assessing expressive communication were selected for this study. All ten items were originally employed in either the RDI or RFCP scales and later published as part of the Family Communication Environment Scale (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1994, p. 294). Although couples agree that "good" communication is essential to marital satisfaction, they often have different perspectives of what constitutes "good" expressive behavior (Fitzpatrick, 2004).

The "expressive" factor within this scale reportedly assesses the sharing and receiving of either socio-emotional (affect) or concept-oriented (cognitive) expressive information with one's spouse (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1994; Kosten & Anderson, 2004; Ritchie, 1991). However, the specific affect or cognitive orientations of the ten items have not been determined. Therefore, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on the ten items to determine their affective or cognitive orientations. A generalized least squared model with a varimax rotation was used to examine the factor structures of the ten items for both husbands and wives. An examination of the eigenvalues of both one and two factor solutions revealed that, as expected, a two factor solution (Chi-Square = 37.95, df = 26, p < .05) revealed the best goodness-of-fit for the ten items. The loadings identified from the factor analysis of the ten items revealed two slightly different dimensions of the expressive communication practices of married couples. The first factor, classified as affective expressiveness, consisted of seven items (4, can tell my spouse almost
Expressive Communication and Marital Satisfaction

anything; 5, spouse encourages me to express my feelings; 6, I often talk about our feelings and emotions; 7, I often talk about our plans and hopes for the future; 8, spouse reassures and comforts me; 9, I tell each other how much we love each other, 10, spouse likes to hear my opinion). The second factor, classified as cognitive expressiveness, consisted of three items (1, spouse often asks my opinion; 2, spouse encourages me to challenge his/her ideas; 3, tell my spouse what I am thinking). The factor loadings for the seven affective items ranged from .49 to .79 and the three cognitive items ranged from .66 to .78. Fitzpatrick and Ritchie (1994) reported factor loadings ranging from .40 to .52 across all ten items. The inter-item-total correlations for the present study ranged from .67 to .83 for the affective factor and .83 to .87 for the cognitive factor (Fitzpatrick & Ritchie, 1994, reported that item-total correlations ranged from .40 to .52 for all ten items). In the present study, the Cronbach alphas for the combined husbands' and wives' total affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors were .90, and .87, respectively. The internal consistencies of the ten items used to assess expressive communication behaviors met the normal psychometric standards for basic research.

Results

Two separate, stepwise multiple regression equations were utilized to determine which of the husbands' and wives' seven affective and three cognitive expressive communication behaviors were associated with their own, as well as their partner's marital satisfaction. In the first step-wise regression analysis, RQ1 and RQ2 were addressed. Both husbands and wives' perceptions of affective and cognitive expressive communication behaviors were examined simultaneously. This 10-item regression model was significant $F (4, 74) = 54.09, p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .73$, and accounted for 53% of variance in husbands' marital satisfaction. Two of the four expressive
communication behaviors making a significant positive contribution on the husbands' marital satisfaction emanated from the husbands' perceptions of their own expressive communication. The following items and their standardized beta coefficients were: 1) husbands' responses to item 9, “My spouse and I tell each other how much we love or care about each other” \( B = .480, t = 6.15, p < .001 \); and 2) husbands' responses to item 4, “I can tell my spouse almost anything” \( B = .34, t = 4.49, p < .001 \). The other two expressive communication behaviors having significant positive influences on the husbands' marital satisfaction emanated from the wives' responses. These items were: 3) wives' responses to item 7, “My spouse and I often talk about our plans and hopes for the future” \( B = .179, t = 2.87, p < .005 \); and 4) wives' responses to item 2, “My spouse encourages me to challenge his ideas and beliefs” \( B = .128, t = 2.07, p < .04 \).

A second stepwise, multiple regression analysis was used to examine RQ3 and RQ4. Both the wives' and husbands' perceptions of the seven affective and three cognitive expressive communication behaviors were regressed on the wives' total marital satisfaction scores. This significant equation, \( F(5, 73) = 18.73, p < .001, R^2 = .56 \), accounted for 31% of the variance for wives' marital satisfaction. Two of the five expressive communication behaviors making significant positive contributions on the wives' marital satisfaction emanated from the wives' perceptions of the expressive communication. These two items were: 1) wives' responses to item 5, “My spouse encourages me to express my feelings” \( B = 3.31, t = 3.74, p < .001 \), and 2) wives' responses to item 4, “I can tell my spouse almost anything” \( B = .204, t = 2.36, p < .02 \).

The other three expressive behaviors associated with wives' marital satisfaction within marriages emanated from the husbands' responses to the expressive interaction. They were: 3) husbands' responses to item 7, “I can tell my spouse almost anything” \( B = .358, t = 3.38, p < .001 \);
4) husbands' responses to item 2, “My spouse encourages me to challenge her ideas and beliefs” $B = -0.262, t = -0.281, p < 0.006$; and 5) husbands' responses to item 8, “My spouse reassures and comforts me when I am feeling low” $B = 0.217, t = 2.18, p < 0.03$. When husbands are perceived to challenge their wives' ideas and beliefs, the wives' marital satisfaction is negatively influenced; however, when wives are perceived to challenge their husbands' ideas and beliefs, the husbands' marital satisfaction is positively influenced.

Husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction scores were highly correlated ($r = 0.65$), a finding consistently reported in marital satisfaction research. The marital adjustment of one spouse accounted for slightly less than half (43%) of the self-reported marital adjustment of the other spouse. Husbands' and wives' total affective expressive scores correlated at 0.35 and their total cognitive expressive scores correlated at 0.52. Wives' marital satisfaction scores correlated at 0.44 with their affective expressiveness and at 0.62 with their cognitive expressiveness. In a similar manner, husbands' marital satisfaction scores correlated at 0.62 with their cognitive expressiveness. The mean scores for husbands and wives marital satisfaction were 113.92 and 113.45 (Std. Dev. = 12.95 and 14.38), respectively. The mean scores for the total affective expressiveness scores for husbands and wives were 28.54 and 28.11 (Std. Dev. = 5.24 and 4.72), and the means scores for the total cognitive expressiveness scores for husbands and wives were 11.37 and 11.57 (Std. Dev. = 2.71 and 2.08), respectively.

Discussion

This study provides four insights into the associations between affective and cognitive expressive communication and marital satisfaction. The first insight supports findings from previous studies revealing that affective expressiveness appears to have a greater influence on
marital satisfaction than cognitive expressiveness. Husbands' and wives' self-reported perceptions of five affective expressive communication behaviors were significant indicators of either their own or their partners' marital satisfaction. Only one cognitive expressive communication behavior was a significant, positive indicator of the husbands' marital satisfaction, and a significant negative indicator of wives' satisfaction. When husbands perceive that their wives challenge their ideas and beliefs, husbands appear to like this form of cognitive response. Perhaps, this is one way wives reveal interests in their husbands' thinking and feeling. However, when wives perceive that their husbands challenge their ideas and beliefs, wives report disliking this form of marital socialization. When a husband challenges a wife's ideas and beliefs within the sanctity of marriage, the wife's relationship satisfaction appears to be weakened.

The second insight pertains to one communication behavior associated with both spouses' marital satisfaction. The affective expression, “I can tell my spouse almost anything,” was the only communication behavior that was significant associated with both husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction. When either husbands or wives perceive they can disclose or express “almost anything” to their partners, their relationship satisfaction tends to be enhanced. Perceiving that one can communicate “almost anything” to his/her spouse may be a significant indicator of trust that the receiver will not use the information to hurt the transmitter, a key component of healthy relationships (Kydd 2000). The perception that “almost anything” can be expressed to one's spouse may be a fundamental communication maintenance behavior that underlies positivity and openness, two essential components influencing marital satisfaction. Another possible explanation of why the “almost anything” expressive behavior between wives and husbands contributes to their marital satisfaction scores may be a reflection of similar perceptions achieved through a
co-constructed social reality.

The following provocative questions concomitant with this finding call attention for more research on what issues or concerns can or cannot be understood or accepted by most spouses. Is the “almost anything” form of affective expression established early in relationships, such as in the limerance stage (Noller, 1996); or is it most noticeable in the newlywed stage where positive affect is thought to be a measured predictor of marital happiness? (Gottman et al., 1998). If the “almost anything” practice of expressiveness is not established early in relationships and openness dwindles as expression of positive affect appears to no longer be a feasible form of communication to maintain, how can spouses recreate or establish this positive pattern of expressiveness later in the marriage? Knowing what types of expressive information typically fall within or outside of the “almost anything” category certainly needs further exploration. Perhaps the literal sharing of “almost anything” with each other is a multifactorial attribute of the forgiveness process where a transmitter can tell his/her spouse almost anything and the receiver will be forgiving (Fenell, 1993); or the receiving spouse can adjust the meaningfulness of messages and recover from relational damage (Kelly & Waldron, 2005). The sharing of “almost anything” may also be an attribute of dispositional virtue (Stom, 2003), i.e., some people simply have very positive life-orientations or empathic understanding that influences their effective communication practices in marriages?

The third insight on communication patterns is associated with husbands' relationship satisfaction. Husbands' relationship satisfaction appears to be enhanced when they perceive they can tell their spouses how much they love or care about each other, the two of them often talk about their plans and hopes for the future, and when their wives challenge their ideas and beliefs.
This corroborates with other findings in relational maintenance literature, particularly relevant in later-life marriages, where level of satisfaction is significantly linked to the couples' shared planned goals and visions (Dickson, 1995, 1997, 1999).

The fourth insight pertains to communication patterns associated with wives' relationship satisfaction. Beyond the wives' perceiving that they can tell their spouse almost anything, wives' relationship satisfaction appears to be enhanced when they perceive their husbands reassuring and comforting them when they are feeling low, husbands not challenging their ideas and beliefs, and husbands encouraging them to express their feelings. Reassuring, comforting, and encouraging expression of feeling appear more marriage-sustaining to wives' satisfaction than to husbands' satisfaction.

While these findings are valuable, a few limitations will emphasize the need for further assessment of complex, on-going emotionally expressive communication behaviors of married couples. An obvious limitation of this study is the reliance on self-report data, which yield only information on individual perceptions of their own communication behaviors. Observations and narrative analyses of couples' "live" interactions may provide insights with differing perspectives on the degree to which husbands and wives actually do engage in either affective or cognitive expressive communication behaviors. Narrative analysis may also provide new insights about individuals' unique expressive skills. An additional limitation of this study is the uncertainty around couples' emotional expressiveness histories, such as knowing when and how affective or cognitive expressive communication behaviors began or why they may have dwindled in marriages. Further still, we know very little about the ways couples without good models, workshop training programs or therapeutic intervention experiences can improve their own
expressiveness over time. The length of marriage was not included in this study and no attempt was made to assess whether expressiveness and its impact on satisfaction increases or decreases over length of time married. Longitudinal research is needed to examine the expressive communication behaviors experienced in newlywed marriages which may shift from those experienced in later-life marriages. Also, no attempt was made to determine what kinds or types of information are excluded in the "almost anything" categories which satisfied couples do not disclose with their spouses. Finally, it is important that a study of expressive communication be replicated with populations of greater ethnic and socio-economic diversity than this study utilizes.

The significant impact of specific expressiveness communication behaviors on marital satisfaction attests to the powerful influences that affective and cognitive messages play in marriage. Hopefully, further research will examine additional types of emotional expressiveness contributing to couples' marital satisfaction, why some couples use more affective expressiveness than others, and ways that couples can create climates conducive to expressiveness when one spouse is less than satisfied with the marriage. With additional research expanding the insights on emotional expressiveness, couples who face the "permanent white waters" of the American family (Galvin, 2004) may be more likely to maintain high levels of marital satisfaction.

Reference


Expressive Communication and Marital Satisfaction


Satisfaction
Title – Adaptation and Human Security to Extreme Flood Events in the Ganges – Brahmaputra and Meghna (GBM) River Basins – A Case Study in Bangladesh

M. A. F. YOUNUS, R.D. BEDFORD AND M MORAD

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- M Morad is Head of the Department of Urban, Environment and Leisure Studies, London South Bank University, UK. E-mail: moradm@lsbu.ac.uk

Abstract: During 1988 to 1998 the GBM River basins, particularly in the Bangladesh part, experienced with three extreme floods. Climate change has great implications on these extreme floods (Younus et al., 2005a and 2005b). Climate change literatures over GBM River basins also support this evidence (Warrick and Ahmad, 1996; Lal and Aggarwal, 2000; Lal, 2000; Ahmad and Alam, 1999; Mirza et al., 2003).

Currently, IPCC, UNEP and USCSP have emphasized on adaptation to climate change issues, particularly on the concepts of autonomous adaptation (Carter, 1994 / 1996; Carter et al., 1994; Benioff et al., 1996; UNEP, 1996). After careful reviewing the IPCC, UNEP and USCSP guidelines on vulnerability and adaptation, different kinds of adaptations in response to flooding i.e. autonomous, in-built, routine and tactical have been found from the case study area (Younus et al., 2003 / 2005a/ 2005b). Farmers in the case study area experienced different kinds of extreme floods; and within these extreme flood events they made different kinds of crop adjustments. It is found from the autonomous adaptation that crop adaptations are highly resilient with flooding: farmers manage shorter duration peak floods, and they are capable to produce aman crops though the overall production became severely stressed, but the multi-peak 1998 flood exceeded the capacity of autonomous adaptation and as a result farmers failed to produce local variety aman crops. The crop failure and its cumulative effects on affected marginal farmers are severe; and their food security vis a vis human security were severely threatened.

As a consequence millions of subsistence farmers of GBM River basins in South Asia are highly vulnerable to extreme floods, and their autonomous adaptation need to be emphasised by the international organisations such as, IPCC, UNEP and IHDP.
Women’s Utilization of Maternity Care Services in Egypt

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Women’s Utilization of Maternity Care Services in Egypt

Abstract

Objectives
This study focusses on the use of maternity care services in Egypt, namely antenatal care, delivery care, and postnatal care. Trends are explored. Women who less utilize the services are identified. Provider choice perspective and determinants are also investigated.

Data and Methods
Data on the use of maternity care services in this study is drawn from information collected in the 2000 Egypt Demographic and Health Survey and 2003 Egypt Interim Demographic and Health survey for the births occurring during the five years preceding each of the two surveys. Multivariate techniques are used to further examine the determinants of the type of provider on which Egyptian women rely for both antenatal and delivery care services. The basic model used is a standard utility maximizing model. The binomial logit model is used and the odds ratios are presented for the determinants of the type of provider.

Results
The study confirms the fact that there are marked differences to which Egyptian women use maternity care services and rely on public or private providers for reproductive care depending on the type of services they are seeking. A typical woman who is expected not to be using maternity care services has more children (4 or more), lives in rural areas especially in rural Upper Egypt, is less educated i.e. with no or with some primary education, or is relatively poor. The majority of antenatal care services are provided at private sector facilities, public sector facilities are the source for almost all tetanus toxoid injections, while the provision of delivery services is more evenly divided between public and private facilities.

Carefully designing and integrating reproductive health services within the newly adopted program of health sector reform will help improve the quality of current reproductive health services presented at the primary health care units. This will accordingly increase the utilization of maternity care services and improve equity as well as help Egypt achieve its Millenium Development Goals.
1. Introduction

Maternal mortality rates are still high in Egypt. Estimates range between 60-80 deaths per 100,000 live births during the early 2000s. Formal maternity services (antenatal care, routine delivery and postnatal care, and the management of pregnancy-related complications) are currently being underutilized in Egypt. Rates of use are varying among different risk groups. Those living in rural areas are underserved. 41 percent of births during the five-year period preceding 2003 Egypt Interim Demographic and Health Survey (El-Zanaty et al., 2004) are occurring outside of a health facility (either in the woman’s own home or in another home). Only 69 percent of births are assisted by a medical provider. Egyptian women receive antenatal care from a medical provider for more than half of the births that occurred during the five-year period preceding the survey. Regarding postnatal care, mothers rarely report receiving care when the birth occurred in a noninstitutional setting.

This study focuses on the use of maternity care services in Egypt, namely antenatal care, delivery care, and postnatal care. Trends will be explored. Women who less utilize the services are identified. Provider choice perspective will as well be investigated. In looking at provider choice, a common dichotomy is between public and private providers. The objective of this study is to obtain a more detailed insight into the profile of the use of maternity care in Egypt. Highlighting the patterns of provider choice will be of benefit to program managers and policy makers to improve the low coverage and identify key risk groups. Research related to the use and choice of reproductive health behaviour in Egypt mainly focuses on family planning services (Khalifa, 1995; Zaky, 2003), thus leaving an integral component of reproductive health care services, which is maternity care services, uninvestigated. Although the need for such investigation is essential, research relating to the choice of reproductive health provider in Egypt is limited. Literature addressing aspects of the issue in other developing countries includes Brown (1989), Kemprecos and Boutros
This study will add to the understanding of use of maternity care in Egypt by addressing in detail the following topics:

- Current patterns of use of maternity care services,
- Trends of maternity care use indicators,
- Current patterns of reliance on public and private providers for maternity care services, and
- Consistency in provider choice for delivery care.

2. Data

Data on the use of maternity care services in this study is drawn from information collected in the 2000 Egypt Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS) and 2003 Egypt Interim Demographic and Health Survey (EIDHS) for the births occurring during the five years preceding each of the two surveys. In the 2000 EDHS, information for births was collected on the sources from which the mother received the following services: antenatal care, a tetanus toxoid injection(s), or delivery care. With regard to antenatal or tetanus toxoid services, multiple sources were coded in those cases where the mother had gone to more than one type of provider. For deliveries, the source information refers to the place of delivery. For purposes of the analysis of maternity care services, source data is grouped by sector (public or private).

3. Current patterns of use of Maternity care services

Table 1 shows antenatal and delivery care statistics by various background

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1 A small proportion of respondents received assistance from a medical provider for home deliveries. Because no information is available on the type of provider (i.e., public or private), these respondents are not included in the analysis.
characteristics such as age at birth, birth order, residence, region, education, work status, and wealth index of mothers. The table records various information for 6,314 births in Egypt over a five year period preceding the EIDHS 2003.

Table (1): Antenatal and Delivery Care by Background Characteristics
Among births in the five-year period before the survey, percentage whose mothers received regular antenatal care (four or more visits), one or more tetanus toxoid injections and whose mothers delivered in a health facility according to selected background characteristics, Egypt 2003.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristics</th>
<th>Regular Antenatal Care</th>
<th>One or more TT injections</th>
<th>% delivered in health facility</th>
<th>Number of Births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age at birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>79.6</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>4,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birth order</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>1,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>79.6</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>2,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>1,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6+</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>2,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>3,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban governorates</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Egypt</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>2,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>1,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Egypt</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>2,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>69.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>2,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>2,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some primary</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary completed</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>1,023</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary completed</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>2,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for cash</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working for cash</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>5,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth index</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest quintile</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>1,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second quintile</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>1,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle quintile</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>1,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth quintile</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>1,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest quintile</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>1,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>6,314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EIDHS, 2003
The largest factor in influencing regular antenatal care is shown to be related to wealth, with a discrepancy of 55.7 percent between the lowest quintile and the highest quintile, however all other characteristics show comparable discrepancies including education and work status, as well as birth order and rural urban divide. The age of the mother at birth is shown to have very little to do with the receiving regular antenatal care or not.

In the area of TT injections, the age of the mother at birth, however, represents the highest discrepancy of all the other demographics, with older mothers receiving 59.2 percent and the youngest cross-section (less than 20), receiving 84.7 percent. Perhaps somewhat surprising is the relatively low number of mothers from the highest income bracket who received one or more injections.

Regarding delivery in a health facility, the higher the birth order, as well as the lower the education and income brackets, the less likely percentage wise for the mother to have delivered in a health facility. For instance, a birth of a baby to a mother in rural Upper Egypt, with no education, or in the lowest quintile of the wealth index, shows less than a 40 percent chance of delivery in a health facility.

Table 2 on postnatal care considers the same characteristics for the same data as was presented in table 1 on antenatal and delivery care. This table gives the data in terms of number of births, postnatal checkup within two days of delivery, and any postnatal care received at all. As would be expected, similar trends emerge as were discussed in table 1. Namely, wealth and education have a positive relationship to postnatal care, and as birth order rises, the percentage of care declines. The age of the mother
seems to have less of an influence on whether or not care was received by a medical provider.

Table (2): Postnatal care for mothers by background characteristics
Percentage of births in the five-year period before the survey for the mother had the first checkup within two days of delivery and for the mother who had any postnatal care checkup from a medical provider, Egypt 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background characteristics</th>
<th>Postnatal checkup within two days of delivery</th>
<th>Any postnatal care</th>
<th>Number of Births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age at birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20</td>
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<td>39.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lowest quintile</td>
<td>14.7</td>
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<td>1,366</td>
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<td>Second quintile</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>6,314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EIDHS, 2003
In addition, similar general trends can be observed in both statistics presented on the table: postnatal care within two days and any postnatal care at all. Overall, percentages are relatively low, with only a small sector of the wealthy or the urban population registering figures above the 50 percent mark, and only 42.7 percent of those surveyed receiving any postnatal care at all. Strikingly low is the 14.7 percent of the lowest quintile who receive a postnatal checkup within two days of delivery.

4. Trends in maternal health indicators

The data in table 3 shows healthcare statistics for births occurring in Egypt for select years between 1988 and 2000. The three health statistics given: Regular Antenatal Care, TT Vaccinations, and Medically-assisted deliveries, are organized by Residence (rural/urban) and Region (Urban Governorates, Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt, the later two of which are further subdivided into rural and urban sub-groupings).

Table (3): Trends in maternal health indicators 1988-2003

For births in the five years preceding the survey, the percentage whose mothers had regular antenatal care, the percentage whose mothers had at least one tetanus toxoid injection, and the percentage whose mothers were assisted at delivery by a trained medical provider, by residence and region, Egypt 1988-2003.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Regular Antenatal Care</th>
<th>TT Vaccinations</th>
<th>Medically-assisted deliveries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Governorates</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Egypt</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Egypt</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 shows a rise in both urban and rural areas of the rate of regular antenatal care (defined by four or more visits) received by those surveyed. A rise of 23.5 percent for women living in urban areas is shown, and a rise of 30 percent is shown for women living in rural areas. This significant increase mainly occurred during the period 2000-2003. At a total of 73.5 percent, the rate of urban regular antenatal care slightly more than 160 percent the percentage of regular rural antenatal care which is shown to be 44.9 percent. This trend suggests that although rural antenatal care rose between the given years, the percentage of women receiving regular care still lagged considerably behind the urban percentage. When the same data for regular antenatal care is shown in terms of region, the table shows that all regions experienced significant increases especially during the period 2000-2003.

In the area of TT vaccinations, nearly all regional groupings show a rise in the percentage of births whose mothers received at least one tetanus toxoid injection, and the overall rise from 1988 is a staggering 67 percent, from 11.4 (in 1988), to 78.0 (in 2003). As far as the distribution of TT vaccination percentages over the different regions, the numbers range from 66.2 percent in the urban governorates, to 86.9 percent in the rural areas of Lower Egypt. This rate of TT vaccination follows a general pattern where the percentage of mothers receiving at least one tetanus toxoid injection is greater in the rural areas than the urban areas by 3.8 percent in 2000, but rising to 11 percent in 2003.

On the final statistic on the table, namely, medically-assisted deliveries, where in the final year presented on the table, 2003, the rate of medically assisted deliveries ranged from a low of 47.6 percent in Rural Upper Egypt to a high of 90.2 percent in
the Urban Governorates. This range is the largest represented on the table, however
the overall rate of medically assisted deliveries is on a steady rise from 34.6 percent
in 1988 to 69.4 percent in 2003.

5. Patterns of Reliance on Public and Private Sources for Maternity Care
Services
The 2000 EDHS collected information on the providers from which women received
three types of maternity care services, namely antenatal care, tetanus toxoid
immunization, and delivery care. These data help to expand the understanding of the
choices women make in obtaining reproductive health services. Using these data,
this section attempts to answer three questions:

- How are clients for maternity care services distributed by source?
- How does the source distribution among maternity care clients vary
  according to key background characteristics?
- Do clients appear to be consistent over time in the choice of provider
  for maternity care services?

5.1 Source by Type of Maternity Care Service
Table 4 shows the percentage of births during the five-year period before the survey
for which mothers received various types of maternity care by the source of care
according to the type of care received. The results clearly show that the type of
source is strongly related to the type of care sought. Thus, while mothers of three in
every four births seek antenatal care at private clinics, mothers of more than nine in
every ten births get their tetanus toxoid vaccinations at public sources. In turn,
delivery care is split almost evenly between public and private sources.
Table 4: Source of maternity care
Percentage of births during the five-year period before the survey for which the mothers received various types of maternity care by the source for the care according to the type of care received, Egypt 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of source</th>
<th>Antenatal care</th>
<th>Tetanus toxoid</th>
<th>Medically assisted delivery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private clinical</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and private</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percent</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of births</td>
<td>5,999</td>
<td>8,263</td>
<td>5,475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EDHS, 2000

5.2 Differentials in Maternity Care Sources by Background Characteristics

Tables 5 and 6 present differentials in the distributions of births according to the type of sources from which antenatal care, tetanus toxoid, and delivery care were received by selected background characteristics. Looking first at the information regarding the source of antenatal care shown in Table 5, there is virtually no variation in the patterns of reliance on public or private sources by the age of the mother at birth and urban-rural residence. The likelihood of obtaining antenatal care from public rather than private sources is somewhat greater in the Urban Governorates and the Fronties Governorates than in other areas. Differentials by education are not great except for the secondary or higher level. Private clinical providers are cited as providing antenatal care somewhat more often for births to women who work for cash than other births. Husband’s employment in professional/technical/managerial is strongly related to the likelihood of obtaining antenatal care from private providers. Looking at the wealth index, antenatal care from private providers is much more common among births to women in households in the highest wealth category than births to women in households at other levels of the scale.
Table 5: Source of antenatal care by background characteristics
Percent distribution of births in which the mother received any antenatal care by the type(s) of sources from which the care was received according to selected background characteristics, Egypt 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Antenatal care</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private clinical</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>102.1</td>
<td>1633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>4095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of place of residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>102.2</td>
<td>3077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>2922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Governorates</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>102.9</td>
<td>1342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Egypt</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>2502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Egypt</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>2075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.4</td>
<td>1278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier Governorates</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100.8</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.4</td>
<td>1543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Incomplete</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>102.5</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary complete, some secondary</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Complete, higher</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>102.0</td>
<td>2940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth Index Quintiles</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>1089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.7</td>
<td>1265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>102.1</td>
<td>2220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working for cash</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently working for cash</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>101.4</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working for cash</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.9</td>
<td>5056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partner's Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof./ Tech./ Manag.</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/ Not working</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>4113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of living children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>4675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>101.6</td>
<td>1324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>101.8</td>
<td>5999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6: Source of assistance at delivery by background characteristics

Percent distribution of births in which the mother received assistance at the delivery from medical personnel by the type(s) of sources form which the care was received according to selected background characteristics, Egypt 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private clinical</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>293</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Type of place of residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Governorates</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Egypt</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Egypt</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier Governorates</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Incomplete</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary complete, some secondary</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Complete, higher</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth Index Quintiles</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working for cash</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently working for cash</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working for cash</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partner's Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof./ Tech./ Manag.</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/ Not working</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of living children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EDHS, 2000
Public outlets generally are the source for tetanus toxoid in the case of the majority of births regardless of the mother’s socio-demographic characteristics (Table not shown). However, there is clearly a somewhat greater tendency for private outlets to provide tetanus toxoid in the case of births to women at the upper end of the socio-economic scale (i.e., urban, having a secondary or higher educational level and in households at the highest level of the wealth index).

The differentials in delivery care providers generally parallel those observed for antenatal care (Table 6). There are especially marked variations by education, husband’s occupation and the wealth index. For example, 63 percent of births in households who score 5 at the wealth index were delivered at private clinics, compared to less than 50 percent of the births in any other wealth index quintile.

5.3 Consistency in Choice of Public and Private Providers for Delivery Care

The EDHS collected information on the health provider for all deliveries resulting in a live birth during the five-year period before the survey. The information on the delivery care provider can be used to explore the question of whether women had more than one medically assisted delivery during the five-year period prior to the survey received this care from the same type of provider or whether they made different choices for different births.

Table 7 presents the percent distribution of women having two or more births during the five-year period before the survey in which child was delivered at a health facility according to consistency of the provider of care at delivery. The results clearly show that the consistency in type of provider is relatively high. Only one in every five
women delivered at different facility types. Among consistent women, the majority consistently delivered at private facilities.

Table 7: Consistency of Sources for delivery care
Percent distribution of women having two or more births during the five-year period before the survey in which child was delivered at a facility according to the consistency of the provider of care at delivery, Egypt 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always same type of facility</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public only</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private only</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivered at different facility types</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number

Unweighted number of women 2985

Source: EDHS, 2000

6. Determinants of Choice of Reproductive Health Care Providers

In this section, multivariate techniques are used to further examine the determinants of the type of provider on which Egyptian women rely for both antenatal and delivery care services. The basic model used for exploring this question is a standard utility maximizing model which assumes that provider choice is a function of the age of individual client, her educational status, work status, husband’s occupation, number of living children, future desire for children, place of residence, and household wealth. Results are presented separately for the choice of provider for antenatal care, and delivery services.

Table 8 shows the odds ratios of the binomial logit model analysis of the determinants of the type of antenatal care provider. Education, especially attainment of the secondary level or higher, are important in determining the type of provider from which women receive antenatal care services. As the woman gets older, she also is more likely to seek antenatal
## Table 8: Odds ratios of binomial logit models for choice of antenatal and delivery care providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable Type of antenatal care provider (Private=0; Public=1)</th>
<th>Dependent Variable Type of delivery care provider (Private=0; Public=1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>0.924</td>
<td>0.849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>0.710*</td>
<td>0.805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of living children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-3 children</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 or more children</td>
<td>0.968</td>
<td>0.856**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Governorates</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Lower Egypt</td>
<td>0.802***</td>
<td>0.695***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Lower Egypt</td>
<td>0.518***</td>
<td>0.361***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Upper Egypt</td>
<td>0.711***</td>
<td>1.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Upper Egypt</td>
<td>0.508***</td>
<td>0.848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier Governorates</td>
<td>1.468**</td>
<td>1.495***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary complete</td>
<td>0.844</td>
<td>0.973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary complete/some secondary</td>
<td>0.457***</td>
<td>0.589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/higher</td>
<td>0.195***</td>
<td>0.260***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women’s work status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working for cash</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for cash</td>
<td>1.459***</td>
<td>1.271***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Husband’s occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/ Not working</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/technical/managerial</td>
<td>0.685***</td>
<td>0.565***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Household wealth index score</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rc</td>
<td>Rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>1.122</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.900</td>
<td>0.868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.176</td>
<td>2.721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N(number of last births)</td>
<td>4343</td>
<td>5466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Df</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 Initial Log Likelihood</td>
<td>4478.546</td>
<td>6947.359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Re = reference category for the variable.

***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.10
care at private sources. Similarly, wives who are married to husbands working in managerial/technical/professional jobs are more inclined to private sources than other women. Surprisingly, Upper and Lower Egypt residents tend to go more to private sources when compared to Urban Governorates. Working women are more likely to seek services from public sector providers. Wealth has no significant impact on type of provider from which care is received.

Regarding the results for the type of provider for delivery care shown also in Table 8, births to younger women may be expected to be delivered in private facilities significantly more often births among older women. The number of births a woman has increases the odds she will deliver at a private provider. Births to women with at least secondary education or to women married to husbands working in managerial/technical/professional have a higher chance to be delivered at private providers than other births. Births in rural Lower Egypt have greater odds of being delivered at private facility while births in the Frontier Governorates have higher odds of being delivered in public facilities. Again, employed women are more likely seek services at public than other women.

7. Concluding Remarks

National strategies and programs supporting reproductive health in general and effective maternity care services in particular are considered to be essential and vital for improving the health status of mothers and for reducing fertility levels. This will eventually assist in reaching the the replacement level by the 2017, which the target of Egypt’s population strategy, in achieving the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) related to maternal health. The study has indicated that in spite of the improvement in maternity care use still there is a room for more improvements in different areas.
A number of conclusions can be drawn from this examination of the use of maternity care services and providers' choice. The study confirms the fact that there are marked differences to which Egyptian women use maternity care services and rely on public or private providers for reproductive care depending on the type of services they are seeking. A typical woman who is expected not to be using maternity care services has more children (4 or more), lives in rural areas specifically in rural Upper Egypt, is less educated i.e. with no or with some primary education, or is relatively poor. The majority of antenatal care services are provided at private sector facilities, public sector facilities are the source for almost all tetanus toxoid injections, while the provision of delivery services is more evenly divided between public and private facilities.

It may be necessary, in fact, to understand why women are still not fully using the maternity care services. Additional qualitative studies are needed to answer this question. It is important to understand women’s perceptions of a larger group of RH concepts, including health and morbidity, treatment options, the body, sexuality and even women’s perceptions of the self. Such understanding, when properly used, will help providers to communicate better with women. It is also essential to emphasize the component of RH in the health sector reform program. Carefully designed and integrating RH services within this program will help improve the quality of current RH services presented at the primary health care units and accordingly increase the utilization of maternity care services as well help Egypt achieve its MDGs.
References


“THE EFFECTS OF SEX PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN UPON FERTILITY IN EGYPT, 2000”

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Abstract
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Sex preference will have some dampening effect on future fertility decline, constituting a major obstacle to the achievement of Egypt’s fertility goal. So, it is important to examine the extent and determinants of sex preference in Egypt and its impact on fertility.

The study makes use of the bivariate analysis as well as Multivariable analyses “typically the Discriminant Analysis Technique”. Using Logistic and Multiple regression models, the study examines the effects of sex preference on fertility by estimating how the sex composition of surviving children affects the probability of having another child. The Egypt Demographic and Health Survey, 2000 which interviewed a nationally representative sample of 15,573 ever-married women aged 15-49 is the main source of information for this study.

As might be expected, the study has found that sex preference in Egypt is associated with “modernity” variables which include women’s and husband’s education, place of residence, husband occupation and women’s work status. Women with less modern characteristics (less educated, residing in rural areas, not employed, or working in non-modern sector) appeared to be more likely to prefer sons than their counterparts with more modern characteristics. It implies that the increase in women’s status may decrease their preference for sons.
Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China

Topic area: Psychology

Presentation format: Poster sessions

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Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China

Abstract
As a part of a multinational research on work-family conflict, this study examines the impact factors of work-family conflict in China in terms of work and family roles. The participants are Chinese men and women who are employed in manufacturing companies and are members of dual earner families with a child under the age of 21 living at home. Based on the survey, this study presents the psychological factors and behavioral factors which affect work-family conflict, and analyzes the different extent of the impact factors. The results of this study indicate that work-family conflict is a significant problem for many married professionals in China. Implications of the findings for employees’ coping strategies are also discussed in this paper.

Keywords: work-family conflict, impact factors, China

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Abstract

Currently, participation in snowboarding has been dramatically increasing. For many, snowboarding is an intense winter sport, requiring protective equipment for those who actively participate in this sport. Snowboarding helmets may be one of the most important protective devices for snowboarders; protecting their heads as well as reducing the risk of brain injury. However, although young male participants dominate the snowboarding population that experiences a greater risk of injuries, this young population seems not to be knowledgeable on helmet safety, or they may not be wearing helmets due to dissatisfaction with helmets available in the current market. In the snowboarding community, helmet use is infrequent, even though helmet usage reduces the incidence of head injuries (Machold, Kwasny, Gabler, Kolonja, Reddy, Bauer, & Lehr, 2000; Corra et al., 2004; Levy, Hawkes, Hemminger, & Knight, 2002; US Consumer Product Safety Review, 1999). In addition, there are no regulations on snowboard helmet use for snowboarders (Consumer Product Safety Commission, 1999; Hagel et al., 1999). This lack of regulatory needs maybe cause many snowboarding participants to have negative attitudes or ignorance of the importance of helmet usage. Furthermore, much of the research has focused on identifying the pattern of snowboarding-related injuries for snowboarders, but has not specifically investigated protective equipment in terms of functional design. Consequently, there are no studies directly related to examining design criteria of snowboarding helmets, and very little research has dealt with attitudes towards helmet use among snowboarders. Therefore, determining snowboarder’s attitudes towards helmet use in relation to design criteria, as well as regulatory needs, may shed light on why many snowboarders resist helmet use.

The purpose of this research is to identify design characteristics and attitudes that impact the use of snowboarding helmets and to test statistically a proposed conceptual framework for snowboarders’ helmets to increase helmet use.

The specific objectives of this research are as follows:
Objectives

1. To investigate the level of importance of design characteristics (functional-expressive-aesthetic (FEA) requirements) of snowboarding helmets as defined by user needs;
2. To examine the perceptions and acceptance that snowboarders have concerning regulatory needs;
3. To determine the level of importance of attitudes towards snowboarding helmet use; and
4. To test statistically the relationships in the proposed conceptual framework, adopted from the FEA model with the additional components of regulatory needs (R) for determining the impacts of the FEAR needs on attitudes towards snowboarding helmet use.

The proposed model for this study is an adaptation of the functional-expressive-aesthetic (FEA) consumer needs model developed by Lamb and Kallal (1992). The model will be used to generate an understanding of user needs for snowboarding helmets. An additional regulatory (R) component is integrated into the FEA needs model to see if this additional variable will impact attitudes towards helmet use for snowboarders.

The quantitative approach (i.e., online survey) utilized in conducting this study will be designed to obtain results from a group of people (over 18) who participate in snowboarding. The snowboarders will be selected from current members of the United States of America Snowboard Association (USASA) in the current listing of email addresses. In addition, snowboarding clubs will be informed about this study by posting a direct link on the club’s website bulletin boards (e.g., snowboard.com, etc) so that eligible respondents will be able to participate in the online survey. The special web site (e.g., surveymonkey.com) will be used to create the format of questions for this online survey. In addition, this web survey will control the flow of skipping answers and of participating in this survey only once rather than multiple times by respondents, so that this web survey will eliminate bias.

Expected outcomes of this study might show that there will be a relationship between perceived FEAR needs and attitudes towards helmet use for snowboarders. As a result, the proposed FEAR conceptual framework might be effective to explain the use of
snowboarding helmets as well as useful to improve the special needs of snowboarding helmets; thereby contributing to increase helmet usage among snowboarders.

References


The study of the basic exercising abilities of the students in the tennis elective curriculum

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Abstract

The purpose of the study is to investigate students’ basic exercising abilities in the tennis elective curriculum. The participants include the students who took the tennis course in the De-Lin Institute of Technology. The items tested are basic exercising abilities, which may influence the students’ learning to play tennis. The basic exercising abilities are muscle strength, flexibility and power.

The results of the study are based on the participants’ height. Every five centimeters is designed as a range. The results are as follows: first, both male and female students’ left hand grip strength and backward extension, and the participants’ height have positive relationship. That is, the taller the participant is, the better his/her left hand grip strength and backward extension are. However, the participant’s sit and reach extension has no relationship with his/her height. Second, the taller the male student is, the stronger his back muscle strength is; by contrast, for the female student, the taller ones have weaker back muscle strength. Third, the shorter male student performs better in the push-up item whereas the taller female student performs better in doing push-up. Fourth, the taller male students perform better in doing standing long jump while the opposite is true for the shorter female students. Fifth, the height factor has no impact on male students’ flexed-leg sit-ups but for female students, the factor has some influence on female students’ flexed-leg sit-ups. Sixth, the height factor has some impact on male students’ right hand grip strength while there’s no impact on female students’ right hand grip strength. The findings may provide coaches and teachers some educational implications for tennis teaching and basic tennis technique learning.

Keywords: elective curriculum; basic exercising abilities; tennis teaching
Introduction

The well-known sports scholars in the United States, Jewett, Bain and Ennis (1995) thought that the main goal of physical ability education model is to improve the physical abilities of students, and to help students understand the knowledge of physical ability and to help them cultivate the habit of regular exercise. The basic conceptual structures are physiological factors and the change of social psychological exercise behavior. The main elements of structures include: cardiopulmonary function, flexibility, muscle strength, body components, power and etc. It aimed to develop and maintain the physical ability of each student. Physical exercise is a part of education. Lashuk and Vickers (1987) reported that students, teachers, parents and educators all agree with that “developing physical ability” is one of the top five main objectives that should be cultivated and developed during physical education. Chung, Min-Hua (2004) investigated the effect of fitness education model implementation in a real physical education teaching setting. It further focused on the problems of self-design, implementation of fitness schedule and the regular exercising habit. Teng, Jeng-Jong (1999) recognized that physical exercise is one element of education. From the perspective of education, the physical education should be carried out with goals and plans. Thus, he investigated the effects of three teaching types from Mosston’s reproduction theory, including the practice style, the inclusion style and the reciprocal style. Steinhardt et al., (1993) had reviewed the literature with ideal and formal course perspectives, and the physical courses can be divided into two fields that are physical skill and physical ability. Chou, Hun-Shih (1993) has reported that the physical education is a purposive and systematic interaction between teacher and student. The teacher adequately allocated the series of movement skills according to the principle and practice of learning, and the students’ development, need, ability and their interest. Therefore, the teacher should better understand the actual physical condition of students, and teach them with adequate and effective methods to obtain perfect study results. Yang Chi-Iung (1976) studied that whether eight physical testing items, including 100m race, 1000 race, standing long jump, back and forth run, hand grip strength, sit-ups, upward lifting, and bending upper body, can represent basic body exercising ability.

The teaching of tennis skill should focus on the whole learning process and the tennis skill itself should be taught gradually. The priority is to explore the exercising potential of students by combining with correct concept, skill and method. Due to different basic exercising abilities among individuals, the effects would be different as well. In addition, tennis is a type of exercise that combines with intelligence and physical ability. According to the classification of exercise characteristics, playing tennis further needs high nerve coordination and skill. As a result, the learning effects
depend on not only teaching process but also relate to personal basic exercising ability.

Tennis is regarded as a popular course in most universities around the country and it also ranks in the top three exercise items for students in our school. The teacher is responsible to use the effective way to help students learn tennis skill and to help they regard it as a lifelong leisure exercise. The authors had experienced teaching tennis for a long time, and fully understood that teaching tennis skill is only a part of teaching tennis. Hopefully, it is expected to obtain maximum effects by developing related auxiliary ability and providing key training. The above experiences can be also applied on other types of exercises. This study aims to investigate the basic exercising ability items that are related to tennis playing skills. We further expect to develop the more effective ways that is auxiliary in learning tennis, in order to achieve the goal of effective learning and can be important reference in teaching tennis.

**Methods**

1. Studied subjects
We recruited 82 students as our participants. They were the students in the second or the third grades and took the tennis course in the De-Lin Institute of Technology. Their mean age is 20.8 years. There are 70 males and 12 females.

2. Testing methods
(1) flexed-leg sit-ups
   - Testing equipment: SEIKO timer, and cushioning.
   - Testing procedure: participants lie down on the cushion, and bend their feet to approximate 90 degree. The soles of their feet have to face downward and touch the ground. The assistant holds participants’ ankles with a kneeling position to help them keep balanced. Then the subjects cross both hands in front of their chests. During the testing procedures, they contract their abdomen muscle and bend the upper body until the hands axis touch the knee, and then release the upper body to the initial situation after making a gesture of shape.
   - Recording: recording the number of times the participant has correctly completed the movement in one minute.

(2) Right Hand Grip Strength and Left Hand Grip Strength
   - Testing equipment: Side spring-grip dumbbells
   - Testing procedure: Adjust the solidity of spring-grip dumbbells hand. The idea
solidity is that the center bone of middle finger can buckle up handle. Then, the participant should stand straightly with keeping eyes look straight ahead. Adjust the equipment to zero, and turn the spring-grip dumbbells word outward. Avoid pasting on the thigh. The body should maintain as standing posture with holding the handle in one time.

- Recording: Test twice both in left and right hands. The testing order is once right hand, once left hand, once right hand, once left hand. The unit is kilogram with rounding the number to a decimal point.

(3) Back Muscle Strength

- Testing equipment: back muscle strength measurement
- Testing procedure: Participant stands on the chassis of the back strength meter with straight knees. Bend the upper part of the body with holding the handle tightly. The assistant helps adjusting the length of iron chain and the set the meter to zero. Then the participant makes an effort trying to stiff the upper body with one time.
- Recording: Record the number with the unit of pound on the back strength meter. Test twice for each participant.

(4) Standing Long Jump

- Testing equipment: Adhesive tape, tape measure (皮尺), chalk
- Testing procedure: The participant stands behind the taking off line and adjust their feet with the same width with the shoulders. Bend the knees and suspend the arm to jump forward. After the feet touch the ground, the participant has to stay in the same place until the assistant finishes measuring the distance.
- Recording: The unit is centimeter. To measure the distance between latter foot shoe heels and taking off line for the participant. Test twice for each participant, and taking the best one as the record.

(5) Sit and Reach

- Testing equipment: instrument of measuring curved sitting posture
- Testing procedure: The participant sits on the floor, separating both legs as the same width with shoulders. Keep the knee joints straight, and make the toe face upward. Two soles bases must close and be fasten to the depression of measuring instrument with about 25 cm. Then, the participant matches the palms, and tries to extend slowly forward as far as possible until the middle finger touches the scale of the measuring instrument. Stop at the point for two seconds for recording.
- Recording: The unit is centimeter. Participant practices once, and then be tested
twice. We take the best one as the record.

(6) **Backward extension**

- **Testing equipment:** wood ruler of 50 centimeter
- **Testing procedure:** The participant lies on the floor and avoids feet apart. And then put both hands behind the back waist. The assistant uses both hands to suppress participant’s thighs when the participant raises upwardly the upper part of body as far as possible. In the mean time, the assistant uses tape measure to measure the distance between the floor and down forehead of the participant.
- **Recording:** The unit is centimeter. We record the distance between the down forehead of participant and the ground. We test twice and take the best one as the record.

(7) **Push-up**

- **Testing equipment:** SEIKO So31-4000 code table, chair.
- **Testing procedure:** The participant puts both hands on the floor with setting both legs on the chair and hanging the body. Bend the elbow to the chest and touch the ground lightly. Then the participant supports the elbow joint to extend completely.
- **Recording:** We record the correct times of push-up with in one minute.

**Results and Discussion**

The ranges of height for male student are from 160cm to 185cm in this study. In order to investigate how the height affects each basic exercising ability, we divided the male participants into five groups based on the increase of five centimeters. They are: A1(160cm-165cm), A2(166 cm -170 cm), A3(171 cm -175 cm), A4(176 cm -180 cm), and A5(181 cm-185 cm). However, female students with the range of height from 150cm to 165cm were divided into two groups: B1(155 cm -159 cm) and B2(160 cm -165 cm).

Fig 1 and Fig 2 present the relationship between left hand grip strength, backward extension and height. From these two figures, among both male and female students, their left hand grip strength and backward extension have positive relationship with their height. The difference of left hand grip strength between A1 group, the shortest male students, and A5 group, the tallest students, is about 9 kg, and the difference of backward extension is 5cm. The difference between B1 group and B2 group of female students is about 2 kg, and the difference of backward extension is 8cm. Although the difference within female students in height is only one range, however, the distinguished performance is almost the same with that of male students, whose differences are four ranges. It indicates that among all the flexibility items, the
performance of backward extension ability among female students is more sensitive.

Fig 3 and Fig 4 present the relationship between sit-and-reach and height of male and female students, from these two figures, it could tell that both male and female students’ sit-and-reach and height ability and the participants’ height have no positive relationship. The average length of this item among male students is 23cm, and among female students is 26cm. Consequently, it shows that the performance of sit-and-reach in flexibility item of females is better than males.

Fig 5 and Fig 6 present the relationship between back muscle strength and height for male and female students. From Fig 5, the back muscle strength of male students is in proportion to the increase of their height. The difference of back muscle strength is about 31kg, rising form 112 kg, the A1 group, to 143kg, the A5 range. There is a dramatically change of back muscle strength from the height in A1 group to A3 group. The difference of back muscle strength between the height of male students in A1 range and those in A3 range is about 28kg. In addition, the changes of back muscle strength from male students in A3 group to those in A5 group did not show any extreme difference, and it is only about 3 kg differences. From fig. 6, the back muscle strength of female students decrease when increasing their height. The difference between B1 and B2 groups, which is 5 kg, is not regarded as significant. From Fig 5 and Fig 6, it indicates that the back muscle strength of male students is apparently larger than those of female students. The back muscle strength of male students is twice as high as that of female students by comparing the same range of height level.

Fig 7 and Fig 8 show the relationship between the push up and height of male and female students. From Fig 7, the performance of push up for male students has negative relation with their height. The taller male students have worse performance in the push-up, and there is linear difference. In contrast to fig 7, fig 8 shows that the performance of push-up for female students has a positive relation with height. The taller female student performs better in push-up. By comparing performances between male and female students, we have found that the performance in push-up of male students is apparently better than that of female students. And the results showed that the performance of male students is 2.8 times higher than that of female students.

Fig 9 and Fig 10 present the relationship between standing long jump and height of male and female students. Fig 9 shows that the performance of male in standing long jump is in proportion to the increase of height. For male student, there is no big different in the performance of standing long jump from the height of students in A1 group to the students in A4 group. It increases 8cm, from 196 cm in A1 group to 204cm in A4 group. However, it varies differently from A4 group to A5 group. The difference is 21cm, from 204 cm in A4 group to 225cm in A5 group. Fig 10
shows the contrary to Fig9, the performance of female students in standing long jump has negative relation with height. The taller female students have worse performances. The difference is about 27cm, from B1 group to B2 group. It may be due to the worse transient jumping abilities among taller female students.

Fig 11 and Fig 12 present the relationship between flexed-leg sit-ups and height of male and female students. From Fig11, the performance of male students in flexed-leg sit-ups is not apparently influenced by height. The height has little impact on male students’ performance in flexed-leg sit-ups. From Fig11, it shows that the male students in A2 and A4 groups have better performances in flexed-leg sit-ups. Fig 12 shows that the performance of female in flexed-leg sit-ups has negative relation with height. The taller female students have worse performance. The female students in B1 group can do 33 times of flexed-leg sit-ups per one minute, but those in B2 group can only do 24times. As a result, the difference is 9 times per every minute. Therefore, the taller female students have to spend more time to complete one movement during every test run in flexed-leg sit-ups.

Fig 13 and Fig 14 present the relationship between right hand grip strength and height of male and female students. From Fig13, male students also have positive relation with height in right hand grip strength. The biggest difference of the performance of male students in right hand grip strength is about 9kg, from 41kg in A1 group to 50kg in A5 group. It is interesting to note that the performances of male students in right hand grip strength are the same in A1 group with those in A2 group. The difference of right hand grip strength is very apparent from A2 group to A5 group. Fig 14 shows that there is no obvious difference in the performance of right hand grip strength for female students. However, by comparing Fig 13 and Fig 14, we have found that in the same height range of group, the performance of male students in right hand grip strength is about 1.7 times higher than that of female students.

Conclusion and Recommendation

1. Conclusion

The purpose of the study is to investigate students’ basic exercising abilities in tennis course. The recruited 82 participants, who had taken the tennis course in De-Lin Institute of Technology, had done the 12 basic exercising abilities, which may be regarded as influential factor on learning how to play tennis. The results were base on the increase of five centimeters and we concluded that:

(1) Male and female students’ left hand grip strength and backward extension have positive relation with their height, i.e. the taller participant has better performance in left hand grip strength and backward extension.

(2) Taller male student have stronger back muscle strength. In contrary, taller female
students have weaker back muscle strength.
(3) Male students with shorter height have better performances in the push-up whereas taller female students have better performances in this item.
(4) Taller male students have better performances in standing long jump. However, female students with short height have better performances in this item.
(5) Height has little influences on flexed-leg sit-ups of male students but it influences female students’ performance in the same item.
(6) Height has more significant impact on right hand grip strength among male students.

2. Recommendation
(1) Since the study only focuses on the relationship between the height of the participants and their basic exercising abilities of learning tennis, further studies are recommended to investigate other factors, including weight, shoulder width, bust circumference, waist circumference, hip circumference and other anthropometric data. It is expected to develop more related factors that may affect on learning tennis skill.
(2) The study results can be as reference in teaching tennis. The teacher can classify the students into different groups according to their basic exercising abilities and help them with most effective items to obtain the best learning results.
References


Fig. 1 Left hand grip strength and backward extension for male students

Fig. 2 Left hand grip strength and Backward Extension for female students

Fig. 3 Sit and reach for male students

Fig. 4 Sit and reach for female students

Fig. 5 Back muscle strength for male students

Fig. 6 Back muscle strength for female students
Fig. 7 Push up for male students

Fig. 8 Push up for female students

Fig. 9 Standing long jump for male students

Fig. 10 Standing long jump for female students

Fig. 11 Flexed-leg sit-ups for male students

Fig. 12 Flexed-leg sit-ups for female students
Fig. 13 Right hand grip strength for male students

Fig. 14 Right hand grip strength for female students
Parents Achieving with Collaborative Teams (PACT):  
A Model Program for High Conflict Families.

Social Work, Education, Conflict Resolution, and Community support.

Paper session

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Parents Achieving with Collaborative Teams (PACT)

This presentation will describe Parents Achieving with Collaborative Teams, (PACT), a court-community model program for high conflict, divorced families in Jefferson County Family Court, Louisville, KY. The program is currently funded by a grant from the Department of Justice and is designed to reduce the level of interparental conflict including: (a) child exposure to interparental conflict and (b) the frequency of relitigation over parenting plans, residential arrangements, and parenting plans.

The PACT model is an eight session (two-hours per session) program that is led by a facilitator and combines conflict resolution and group/community support. In the early sessions parents explore the effects of conflict on their ability to parent their children. They then develop a “Plan of Action”, a self-control strategy to control their parental conflict. Additionally, parents are assisted in identifying their “Personal Support Team” to maintain their self-control strategy. Parents learn to develop a “Family Parenting Plan” and utilize their support team to maintain their plan. Finally, in a follow-up session, parents return to discuss their final agreement.

The outline for the presentation includes the following: (a) need for the program, (b) criteria for selection of subjects, (c) goals of the program, (d) outline of the PACT program, (e) evaluation design, (f) current evaluation data, and (g) dissemination of the program.

Brochures and handouts will be made available to participants.
EVOLUTION OF PSYCHE AND NEW FUNDAMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

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Abstract of paper:

I continue to research the Psyche in the Human Organism and to create the new Fundamental Psychology. I evolve the fundamental theory about the Psyche. I want to give you information about the new perfected variant of structure and internal activity of Psyche.

The three organs of Brain are exactly the three divisions of Psyche. According the internal work of Psyche, these divisions could be named as follows: 1. Existence division (Right hemisphere). 2. Cognitive division (Left hemisphere). 3. Zone of Interaction (ZIA, Corpus Callosum).

Consciousness, Speech, Thinking, Imagination, Cognitive Memory, Other cognitive and analytical processes is situated in the Cognitive Division (Left hemisphere, in the Cerebral Cortex). Memory, Perception, Spatial speech, Other existential and spatial processes, Rich reserves of information is situated in the Existence division (Right hemisphere, in the Cerebral Cortex). Besides, Existence division have the functions of relation with
fundamental spiritual processes. Each division has special activity functions. As a whole, they create general work of Psyche. Below, the new perfected variant of Psyche described also in the picture-scheme.

New Fundamental Psychology not a psychological direction (school) in inside Psychology. Generally, it's new Psychology. The New Fundamental
Psychology covers all Psychology and psychological Sciences. New Psychology covers all research fields of Psychology. That's why, I want to renew and improve the Form and Structure of Psychology.

In the future I will continue, to improve and to evolve the determination and researching of Psyche in the Human Organism and to create new real Psychology.
Assessing and Enhancing Critical Thinking Skills
with Student Calibrated Peer Review

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Abstract:
Educational curricula today has begun to move away from memorization only to incorporating lessons with active learning that promote critical thinking. This study encompasses how a critical thinking assessment essay test, the CAT© developed at Tennessee Technological University, was evaluated by a team of students who have participated in student calibrated peer review sessions. Research presented addresses the problems of defining and evaluating critical thinking, and methods and benefits to peer review techniques incorporated into education. The research presented is a study encompassing a pretest/posttest control group design to gauge improvement of critical thinking skills obtained by the experimental group, and also a correlational study to find reliability between faculty and student graders. Results of this study show that a significant improvement in critical thinking skills can be obtained by participation in student calibrated peer review scoring sessions of the CAT (Critical thinking Assessment Test) and transfer questions. A significant correlation exists between faculty and student graders when comparing scores on the same set of tests.

Review of Literature:

Introduction

Assessing critical thinking is a highly controversial topic in educational circles today. Defining critical thinking and developing a tool that evaluates critical thinking is very difficult (Petress, 2004; Rane-Szostak & Robertson, 1996). While there are some that say critical thinking is discipline specific, there are traits of critical thinking that can apply to all disciplines. Citing Paul and Elder of the Foundation for Critical Thinking, Petress presents that critical thinking emphasizes asking “vital questions, gathering relevant information, testing well reasoned conclusions and solutions, thinking open mindedly, recognizing and assessing assumptions, implications and practical consequences, and communicating effectively” (2004, p2). These points raised can carry over and across disciplines. “There are several aspects of the term common to many sources and there are some characteristics unique to various disciplines” (Petress, 2004, p4). The instrument used as a measure of critical thinking in this study has been evaluated by expert faculty across disciplines and around the country. This research focuses on assessing and enhancing critical thinking skills with student calibrated peer review, a modified version of the CPR™ (Calibrated Peer Review) an NSF grant study developed at UCLA, adapted to the CAT (Critical Thinking Skills Assessment Test) instrument. Peer review is a process of collaboration, where students evaluate the work of other
students, and has been found to aid in student’s ability to think critically (Singh-Gupta & Troutt-Ervin, 1996; Trautmann Et Al, 2003; and Russell and Pearson, 2004).

Educational curricula today has begun to move away from memorization only to incorporating lessons with active learning that promote critical thinking. Defining critical thinking is an intricate task. This can also inhibit an accurate measure of critical thinking. There have been many instruments produced to measure critical thinking and most are of the multiple choice format. There are instruments, however, that are of the essay format and these types of instruments can be expensive and time consuming to evaluate. This study encompasses how a critical thinking assessment essay test, CAT, can be evaluated by a team of students who have participated in student calibrated peer review sessions. Research presented addresses the problems of defining and evaluating critical thinking, and methods and benefits to peer review techniques incorporated into education.

Research

Critical Thinking:

Researchers have examined issues related to measuring critical thinking. Rane-Szostak and Robertson point out that in order to appropriately measure critical thinking in their nursing program, critical thinking definitions must reflect the program goals (1996). These researchers state, “Instruments chosen to measure critical thinking must have a definition which matches the school of nursing’s definition of this concept” (Rane-Szostak & Robertson, 1996, p2). Two other issues addressed in this article refer to the reliability and validity of instruments that measure critical thinking. The California Critical Thinking Skills Test: College Level, the ACT Comp writing component, the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal, the Ennis-Wehr Critical Thinking Essay Test, and the Cornell Critical Thinking Test were all included in this analysis and the researchers include the statistical procedures used for providing reliability (Rane-Szostak & Robertson, 1996). Concerning validity, construct validity is one that is often used, and is reliant on the specific definition of the construct ((Rane-Szostak & Robertson, 1996). These researchers state, “Since there is no single definition of critical thinking each program must carefully examine the instrument for congruence with its own program definition” (Rane-Szostak & Robertson, 1996, p4). According to Rane-Szostak & Robertson, in order to select a proper instrument for measuring critical thinking, one must address the instrument’s definition of critical thinking, norm versus criterion measures, sensitivity of test scores to expected growth, validity and reliability, suitability to the program, and usability/feasibility related to resources (Rane-Szostak & Robertson, 1996).

A study was conducted in which Journalism professors were asked about their perceptions of critical thinking. Ruminski and Hanks mailed out four hundred forty-three surveys to members of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), and had a forty percent response rate (1995). Questions were asked to these members, who hold academic positions, concerning (1) number of years teaching and academic rank, (2) whether or not they implemented special instruction about critical thinking into their classroom curricula, (3) how they would define critical thinking, and (4) evaluation procedures of critical thinking (Ruminski & Hanks, 1995). Some of the findings include: “Seventy-nine percent of respondents said they offered instruction to students on how to think critically” (Ruminski & Hanks, 1995, p8); and
concerning the evaluation of critical thinking, “Ninety-one percent of respondents said they measured critical thinking using writing assignments” (Ruminski & Hanks, 1995, p8). These researchers argue that though these respondents include instruction of critical thinking in their classrooms, they are not doing so with uniform or well defined definitions or strategies (Ruminski & Hanks, 1995). Researchers state, “Based on our review of critical thinking literature, we conclude that critical thinking should be explicitly taught and the instruction should be based on some conceptual definition that is comprehensive and measurable” (Ruminski & Hanks, 1995, p10).

Putting theory into practice, A large secondary school in a Southeastern state implemented the Paideia Program (which focuses on intentional academic and non-academic learning, leadership, service-learning, and collaboration) into a treatment group of English and Social Studies curriculum classes (MacPhail-Wilcox, Dreyden, & Eason, 1990). “Among the critical thinking skills analyzed as primary in the program documentation were problem solving, cause and effect relationships, comparison and contrast, application, analysis, synthesis, hypothesizing, deductive and inductive reasoning, drawing conclusions, dealing with paradox, distinguishing fact from opinion, and devising figurative and literal interpretations” (MacPhail-Wilcox, Dreyden, & Eason, 1990, p64). Both the experimental and control groups were required to take the two forms of the Cornell Critical Thinking Skills Tests in the beginning of one school year and at the end of the same school year (MacPhail-Wilcox, Dreyden, & Eason, 1990). A multiple analysis of variance was utilized and included factors such as grade, teacher, and students’ gender (MacPhail-Wilcox, Dreyden, & Eason, 1990). The researchers found that there was no significant difference between the control group and the experimental group. They stated, “…the CCTT (Cornell Critical Thinking Test) may not be a valid measure of the gains imbued by the Paideia Program, or the Paideia Program may not be an effective curriculum for enhancing critical thinking skills” (MacPhail-Wilcox, Dreyden, & Eason, 1990, p65).

Another interesting aspect to assessing critical thinking focuses on time taken to complete a critical thinking test. This research explores three different hypotheses applying to the relationship between time and scores on the California Critical Thinking Skills Test (CCTST) and the California Critical Thinking Dispositions Inventory (CCTDI) (Frisby & Traffanstedt, 2003). The three hypotheses are very contradicting to each other:

The “smart and fast” hypothesis would predict that higher CT [critical thinking] scores are associated with briefer test-taking times. In contrast, the “independence” hypothesis would predict no relationship between CT scores and test-taking times. The “slow and careful” hypothesis would predict that longer test-taking times and higher scores are associated with more optimal CT dispositions (controlling for the effects of mental ability) (Frisby & Traffanstedt, 2003, p3).

The researchers examined to what extent these hypotheses are supported. Frisby & Traffanstedt tested one hundred forty-seven participants, of which one hundred thirty-one were undergraduates of a major Midwestern university, and sixteen high school seniors (2003). In two group format sessions, the CCTST and the CCTDI were given (Frisby &
Traffanstedt, 2003). The sessions were untimed, though time taken to complete the test was logged, and participants were encouraged to take as much time as needed (Frisby & Traffanstedt, 2003).

“Analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were used to analyze the relationship between membership in test-taking time groups (as the independent variable) and CT scores (as the dependent variable)” (Frisby & Traffanstedt, 2003, p5). Results of this study conclude that the “smart and fast” hypothesis was not supported by the data because data suggests on the CCTST users, who finish the test in twenty-five minutes or less, are not likely to achieve high scores (Frisby & Traffanstedt, 2003). Researchers also concluded, “The only way to isolate the effects of slower and more reflective test taking on test scores was to remove the intellect advantage that is afforded to test takers with higher general mental ability” (Frisby & Traffanstedt, 2003, p 7).

Peer Review:

Researchers have examined issues related to peer review as a technique of assessment, in addition to the previously mentioned research on critical thinking. Marcoulides & Simkin studied the consistency in student evaluated projects with the purpose of generalizing the results to the rest of the population (1995). Term papers were assigned to sixty students in two sophomore technology classes with detailed instruction and grading criteria (Marcoulides & Simkin, 1995). Upon completion of the assignment, students were required to evaluate the papers of their peers with the same grading criteria. The researchers analyzed the data with an ANOVA test of reliability of the total rating scores and also the reliability of the three review categories (subject matter, content, and mechanics) (Marcoulides & Simkin, 1995). The researchers came to the conclusion that “…when provided a predefined evaluation form, students are consistent in their overall assignments of grades,” however, reasons for giving low scores varied slightly (Marcoulides & Simkin, 1995, p223).

Another study done suggests that participation in peer review is highly beneficial to students. Trautmann Et Al collaborated with eleven universities in an online peer review program and found that student skills were increased in reading and writing critically (2003). Four hundred eleven science students engaged in a double blind online peer review of research, in which they anonymously assigned numerical scores and guided critiques of two reports of their peers (Trautmann Et Al, 2003). “The faculty rated the project highly in terms of its effect on students’ writing, critical thinking, data analysis, and presentation skills (Trautmann Et Al, 2003, p445). Students also related the same enthusiasm. The researchers concluded that this type of peer review has high potential for encouraging learning (Trautmann Et Al, 2003).

Calibrated Peer Review:

Peer review has evolved into a process of calibrating student scores with scores of experts in the field. Chapman and Fiore have devised a technique of writing and reviewing peer research in a molecular science curriculum and has been found to work well at all levels and disciplines (Chapman and Fiore, 2000). CPR™ (Calibrated Peer Review™), an NSF sponsored grant out of UCLA, has students read an assigned essay, from a library of many, and write up reviews of the content, in which the student will submit electronically. “CPR™ responds by presenting, in random sequence, three
calibration documents,” comprising of expert, average, and unsatisfactory levels (Chapman and Fiore, 2000, p11). The students are required to answer questions and rate each on a scale of one to ten, and then the computer program rates their competence in their individual calibration reports (Chapman and Fiore, 2000). After a series of trial and error sessions, in which the computer program highlights the appropriate text for making valid evaluations, each student can then move on to evaluate the work of his or her peers and finally evaluate the students’ own document for self review (Chapman and Fiore, 2000). These researchers have found that, “CPR™ enables frequent student writing in any discipline at any level without overloading the instructor with the work normally associated with such writing assignments” (Chapman and Fiore, 2000, p12). In implementing this kind of active learning into the curricula of any discipline, “…students encounter engaging ideas and ponder important issues,” and “…through writing and reviewing, students develop critical thinking skills” (Chapman and Fiore, 2000, p12).

Another study presents research about using the CPR™ program mentioned previously. The CPR™ program was implemented in an introductory biology class of three hundred and twenty-five students (Robinson, 2001). Researchers found that if students carefully read the article presented in the first place, they achieved high calibration scores once the calibration procedure began, and those that did not read carefully had a difficult time evaluating the reviews (Robinson, 2001). Robinson also stated, “…as students use the program a second and third time they become familiar with the process...” (2001, p475). Robinson concludes by suggesting that the CPR™ method of peer review be implemented in more curricula in the same school, and students could use the program in more classes thus alleviating the problem of learning the program itself (2001).

In a different school, a non-majors science course was used to study four technology oriented tools for education, one of which was the CPR™ program (Russell & Pearson, 2004). The students in the course were of all four levels of class standings (Russell & Pearson, 2004). Citing a report in Science, Russell and Pearson point out that the CPR program has been implemented to over sixteen thousand students, in various disciplines, at over one hundred institutions, only after four years of being in effect (2004). These researchers state, “The most apparent advantage of CPR™…is its ability to permit instructors to use writing without requiring additional instructional resources” (Russell & Pearson, 2004, p28). The purpose of this study was to make other faculty and institutions aware of the opportunities that technology can bring to instruction in the classroom.

The final research article addresses the effects of writing performance of students who have participated in three different methods of completing and assessing writing assignments. The researchers explored the differences in students’ performance on direct request, goodwill, negative, and persuasive assignments when using faculty review, group review and CPR™ as three methods of completing and evaluating writing assignments (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004). This study was a quasi-experiment using the nonequivalent control group design (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004). Six classes, one hundred forty-eight students in all, comprised the sample of participants for this study (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004). “The participants were administered a pretest, a treatment of four weekly assignments, and then a posttest” (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004, p3). The pretest consisted of instructions to write two types of documents related to the four situations (direct request,
The double blind method was implemented in order to grade the pretests, which were rated on a ten-point scale (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004).

Over a period of four weeks, on Tuesdays, participants would break into three groups and receive the treatment of writing one of the four assignments (direct request, goodwill, negative, or persuasive) (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004). “On Thursdays, each group completed these assignments using a different method: faculty review, group review, or CPR™” (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004, p3). Of the sample size, two-thirds were evaluated by faculty review, two-thirds were evaluated by group review, and two-thirds were evaluated by CPR™. These methods of evaluation were treated as the independent variables, as well as which professor (I or II). Participants were post tested in the same manner as the pretest.

“A 3 X 2 multivariate analysis of covariance between subjects was performed on four dependent variables associated with written business communications: posttests for direct request, goodwill, negative news, and persuasive letters” (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004, p5). Posttest means show that scores are highest for the faculty review method, group posttest means were next highest but not including the goodwill message, CPR™ scores were lowest for direct request, negative news, and persuasive respectively, and in general, posttest scores improved over pretest, except for in the goodwill section (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004). “Next, the effects of method and professor on the posttests (dependent variables) after adjustment for the pretests (covariates) were investigated in univariate tests of between-subject effects” (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004, p6). The researchers found that the faculty review method worked best for one professor, while the CPR method work best for the other professor (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004). Conclusions were made that the faculty review method of evaluation made students scores higher on the posttest and that group reviews ranked higher scores than CPR™ with the exception of the goodwill assignment (Plutsky & Wilson, 2004).

Conclusion

Critical thinking is an important aspect to lifelong learning. This concept should be implemented into educational curricula and defining and evaluating it is an intricate process. Using peer review as a way of analyzing student writing is a way of improving critical thinking skills. Students learn to analyze and effectively evaluate the work of their peers. If students can be taught to critique critical thinking in the same process of peer review, then faculty can assign more analytical writing assignment in their classrooms without the added workload. Most importantly, participation in student calibrated peer review allows students to gain the analytical knowledge and skills (critical thinking) in order to become successful lifelong learners. Assessing critical thinking skills with student calibrated peer review and the CAT instrument can be a cost effective way to measure critical thinking skills.
Methodology:

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to explore three issues: Is there reliability between student and faculty scores on the same set of tests of the Critical Thinking Assessment Test (CAT) developed at TTU? Is there inter-rater reliability among students on the CAT? Is there a difference in students’ performance in critical thinking between those students who participate in the calibrated peer review sessions and those that have not as measured by the CAT instrument?

Significance of the Study

One significant aspect to this study is the possibility of improving student critical thinking skills. Research shows that students who participate in peer review activities practice and obtain critical thinking skills (Singh-Gupta & Troutt-Ervin, 1996; Trautmann Et Al, 2003; and Russell and Pearson, 2004). Students who obtain critical thinking skills are better prepared to succeed in the world (Schaferman, 1991). Schaferman states, “Critical thinking enables an individual to be a responsible citizen who contributes to society, not merely a consumer of society’s distractions” (1991, p3). Another significant aspect is evaluating critical thinking skills. Because critical thinking is a broad and complicated term, it is very hard to evaluate. There are many tools that have been developed to evaluate critical thinking, and most of these instruments use the multiple choice format. Baldwin suggests that multiple choice tests “lack validity…in failing to assess test takers’ ability to develop an individual piece of original writing” (2004, p2). Most objective instruments that measure critical thinking operationally define critical thinking in a constricted fashion, focusing only on verbal, categorical, analogical, and hypothetical-deductive reasoning (Stein, 2002). Using an instrument with subjective and objective questions, allows faculty graders to assess communication skills, and provides opportunities for students to answer questions more creatively (Stein, Haynes, & Unterstein, 2003). In this study, the tool used to evaluate critical thinking is a short answer essay test (CAT: Critical Thinking Assessment Test), which can be very costly to evaluate. If indeed students can be trained to evaluate the CAT instrument by calibrating their scores with faculty, then a significant amount of money can be saved and a more valid measure of critical thinking can be implemented.

Hypotheses

The intention of this study is to explore the following hypotheses:
1. There will be reliability between student and faculty scores on the same set of tests.
2. There will be reliability among student evaluators.
3. There will be a difference in the posttest scores of those that participate in the calibrated peer review sessions of evaluating the CAT, and those that do not participate in the calibrated peer review sessions of evaluating the CAT.
Limitations

Limitations of this study are as follows: Internally, because this is a pretest/posttest control group study, there may be an effect of taking one test upon the scores of the subsequent test. A differential loss of subjects may occur because this study requires attendance to sessions over a period of time. Limitations in the sample may occur because two mean groups randomly drawn from the same population are not necessarily identical, thus any difference that appears at the conclusion of the experiment may be due to sampling error or chance. Externally, interaction of pre-testing with the experimental treatment causes some effect that the results will not generalize to an untested population.

Of course and as stated earlier, critical thinking is very difficult to define. It is almost impossible to narrow down one simple definition of critical thinking, though there are some common traits. “Although there is some disagreement about definitions, there is considerable agreement among experts that critical thinking includes skills in applying, analyzing, and evaluating information” (Ruminski & Hanks, 1995, p5). Another limitation is that the student calibrated peer review sessions in this study are done in a group setting and some participants may achieve calibration with faculty scores more quickly than others; therefore individual instruction will need to be implemented.

Definitions of Terms

1. Critical Thinking: Key areas targeted for assessment as measured by the CAT (Critical Thinking Assessment Test) developed by an interdisciplinary team of faculty at TTU to be used as the instrument for assessment in this study are: the (1) ability to interpret numerical relationships in graphs; (2) ability to identify inappropriate conclusions and understand the limitations of correlational data; (3) ability to identify evidence that might support or contradict a hypothesis; (4) ability to identify new information that is needed to draw conclusions; (5) ability to separate relevant from irrelevant information when solving a problem; (6) ability to learn and understand information in an unfamiliar domain; (7) ability to use elementary mathematics skills in the context of solving a larger real world problem; (8) ability to draw inferences from separate pieces of information and formulate conclusions; (9) ability to recognize how new information might change the solution to a problem; and (10) ability to communicate effectively (Stein 2005, p2).

2. Calibrated Peer Review: a method of evaluating essays in which students calibrate their ratings of essays with faculty ratings, and then evaluate the work of their peers.

Procedures

This study began by pre-testing all participants with the CAT instrument. After being tested with the CAT instrument, participants were placed randomly into a control group or experimental group, in which the experimental group went through treatment (student calibrated peer review training). To control for question difficulty, the test
questions were counterbalanced so that one-half of the group was trained on the first CAT instrument questions, and one-half of the group was trained on the transfer questions. To gauge the transfer of critical thinking skills, all participants were tested and scored on all questions during the posttest. Training (treatment for experimental group) consisted of 3 sessions:

Session I consisted of an introduction to critical thinking, and an introduction to the CAT instrument and scoring guide. The participants (only the experimental group) were trained on how to use the scoring guide with three CAT instruments (low, medium, and high ability) previously scored by expert professors. Participants were trained on how to score each of the three instruments highlighting the faculty’s scores and reasons for their scores.

Session II consisted of subdividing the experimental group into smaller groups of 4-5 members. This enabled more meaningful discussion among these smaller groups. Participants in each group scored a series of six CAT instruments, and were responsible for explaining the scores of faculty for one of the instruments. Participants discussed reasons for faculty scores for assigned questions, on each of the six instruments.

Session III consisted of an actual scoring session where participants scored a series of one hundred CAT instruments previously scored by expert faculty. Assigned questions are scored in a group format where the scoring guide is referred to and explained. The tests were scored by two graders unless there was a discrepancy between the two and then a third grader scored the question. This is done for each question until the end of the instrument.

Participants

This study consisted of thirty-eight college students (Freshmen and Sophomores) at a southeastern university. Participants joined a pool of participants for this study on a volunteer basis. Sixty participants were chosen from this pool to participate in the actual study on the basis of representation from the various colleges on this campus. These sixty participants were assigned randomly to the control group and experimental group. The demographics of the participants are expected to be representative of the various colleges in this university in terms of race, gender, and major.

Design

This is an experimental study of the pretest/posttest control group design. In this pretest/posttest control group design, participants were randomly placed in the control and experimental groups, and were pre-tested. The experimental group received the treatment of student calibrated peer review sessions and both groups were then be post tested.

Materials

The CAT (Critical Thinking Assessment Test) version 4.0P © Tennessee Tech University will be used as the device for grading and calibrating with faculty during the experimental treatment, as well as the instrument for pretest and posttest measures (For
description, see measurement section below). A set of transfer questions analogous to the CAT will also be used for pretest and posttest measures only. Also, the CAT scoring guide was used in the treatment sessions.

**Data Collection**

Data was collected on the pretest of the CAT instrument and transfers questions, as well as on the posttest of the CAT instrument and transfer questions to gauge the difference after treatment, and also to make comparisons between the experimental group and the control group. Data was also collected to gauge the reliability of students’ scores with the previously rated faculty scores. Participants graded a series of previously scored tests, by expert faculty, and these scores were compared to faculty scores to see if there was reliability. Participation in treatment sessions was logged and recorded for a measure of how long participants needed exposure to the treatment sessions. Demographic information was collected in a portion of the CAT instrument during the pretest and posttest that required students to answer questions about gender, race, and major. In order to keep accurate records of the data collected, an excel spreadsheet will be maintained with the following variables listed: faculty scores for questions 1-15 for graders 1, 2, & 3; student scores for questions 1-15 for graders 1, 2, & 3; scores from the pretest and posttest for the experimental and control group for each participant would be listed in a separate spreadsheet, and demographic information on these subjects, such as race, gender, major, and standardized tests scores will also be recorded.

**Measurement and Instrumentation**

The CAT project is a collaborative effort with the National Science Foundation and Tennessee Technological University in which the university was awarded a three-year $499,994 grant to work with six other institutions across the country to refine the instrument (Stein, 2005). The validity of the CAT instrument has been established in three ways: First, a high degree of criterion validity for measuring student performance outcomes has been established for the CAT instrument when compared to other standardized tests like the ACT and the CCTST (California Critical Thinking Skills Test). Explaining 43.4% of variability in the CAT instrument scores, student ACT scores show a correlation of .659 with student scores on the CAT instrument (Stein, 2002). Explaining 41.6% of the variability in the CAT instrument scores, student CCTST scores show a correlation of .645 with scores on the CAT instrument (Stein, 2002). Criterion validity has also been established when compared with performance on the Academic Profile Test (ETS). “…CAT scores are significantly correlated with both the Academic Profile Test scores and the entering ACT scores at approximately the same magnitude,” as shown in table 1 (Stein, 2005, p3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Correlation Matrix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TTU CAT Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Profile Test</td>
<td>.558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTU CAT Instrument</td>
<td>.599</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(All correlations significant, p<.01) (Stein, 2005, p3)
Other correlations have been analyzed with the SAT and GPA of test-takers as additional factors as shown in table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>Correlation Matrix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAT Score</td>
<td>SAT (verbal and math)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.568</td>
<td>.374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAT</td>
<td>.537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(All correlations significant, p<.01) (Stein, 2005, p3)

Second, construct validity has been established with the review of the CAT instrument by renowned critical thinking expert John Bransford, who has studied and written about critical thinking for numerous years, and is also an advisor to the CAT project. John Bransford is one of the most prominent cognitive psychologists in the country, and has published works like *The Ideal Problem Solver*, and other books related to learning. Third, face validity has been established through administration of a survey to interdisciplinary faculty both inside and outside of TTU. For example, faculty scoring participants from University of Memphis, generally think that the questions measure valid components of critical thinking (Stein, 2005).

University of Memphis also provided information as to whether reliability of scoring could be achieved with persons who have had no connection to the project. “The average correlation for all questions was .85 at Memphis and compares favorably with correlations ranging from .83 to .87 observed at TTU” (Stein, 2005, p4). Scoring reliability has been reported from the other schools involved in the grant study as well as shown in table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>Scoring Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Hawaii</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Southern Maine</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Stein, 2005, p8)

Sensitivity of the CAT instrument was analyzed for freshmen and seniors with ANCOVA adjusting for any differences such as entering ACT scores. Researchers state, “The results revealed a significant increase in critical thinking test scores from the freshmen to the senior class” (Stein, Haynes, & Unterstein, 2003, p7).

**Data Analysis/Statistical Procedures**

Data analysis was approached in three ways: First, in order to assess inter-rater reliability, the Pearson’s product-moment correlation was used to evaluate the extent to which the faculty and student scores were consistent in the way that they score the CAT instrument. Second, a 2-way mixed ANOVA analysis (MANOVA) was used to find interaction in both the experimental and control group with pretest and posttest scores, and questions trained and not trained on as variables. In the event that interaction is found to be significant, a complex t-test was conducted to compare the means of the pretest and posttest scores of the experimental and control group. If more than one planned comparison needed to be made, then the Dunn-Sidak modification of the Bonferroni
(multiple comparisons) procedure was administered. If unplanned comparisons needed to be made, then the Scheffé test was used as a post hoc investigation. Third, entering ACT scores were compared between the experimental and control group. When differences in entering ACT scores were found, then an ANCOVA analysis was conducted to remove the effect of entering ACT scores.

**Results:**

Results show that when assessing inter-rater reliability between faculty and student assessments of the same set of tests, a substantial relationship was proven as student scores had a .75 correlation with faculty scores. This correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Inter-rater reliability among students was .83, showing a high relationship also at the 0.01 level.

Results show that the treatment group improved significantly on their posttest scores on not only the CAT instrument (which they were trained to scored during the treatment sessions), but also on the transfer questions (in which they were not trained to score during the treatment sessions and did not have any exposure to other than the pretest). For the control group, the mean pretest CAT mean score was 16.68, and moved to a mean of 18.84 on the posttest of the CAT instrument. The experimental group had a mean score of 17.00 on the pretest of the CAT instrument and the improved mean score after treatment was 29.53 on the posttest of the CAT instrument. (See Figure 1)

![Figure 1 (Significant at the 0.01 level)](image-url)

Results also show that on the set of transfer questions analogous to the CAT instrument that the participants only had exposure to on the pretest, the experimental group also showed a significant improvement over the control group. For the control group, the pretest transfer questions mean score was 5.79, and moved to a mean of 6.63 on the posttest of the transfer questions. The experimental group had a mean score of 5.97 on the pretest of the transfer questions and the improved mean score after treatment was 8.90 on the posttest of the transfer questions. (See Figure 2)
Further post hoc analysis discovered that the slight improvement on the posttest of the CAT instrument by the control group who had no training occurred due to classroom instruction on data analysis between the pre and post testing. Part I of the CAT instrument focuses on data analysis, and the control group improved their mean scores of this section from 7.36 to 8.84 at the 0.05 significance level.

Discussion:

Reliability was found among student and faculty scores on the same set of tests. This shows us that students can be taught to score the CAT instrument. Of course, this study has not been replicated; however, plans have been made to do so in to future as a dissertation project. In this future project, another session will be added to implement individualized focused training. This session would incorporate more individualized training where the participant will become more calibrated to faculty scores on an individualized basis. Once a higher percentage of reliability has occurred, the participant could then move on to the actual grading of the instrument. Reliability among students proved to be strong, though improvement between faculty and students needs improvement.

There was clearly a significant difference in pre and post test scores between the control and experimental groups. (For total scores, see Figure 3) The experimental group, which received treatment, performed significantly higher on the posttest of the CAT instrument and the transfer questions. The slight improvement shown by the control group was analyzed and explained by the instruction that was received in the classroom by an instructor not part of this study. This improvement has been found, by the research done on the CAT instrument, would not have existed without the instruction.

Hypothesis were answered and proven to be correct in the study. Faculty and students had substantially strong reliability and students among themselves had high reliability. Concerning pre and posttests, differences did occur in the posttest scores of those that participated in the calibrated peer review sessions of evaluating the CAT, and those that do not participate in the calibrated peer review sessions of evaluating the CAT.
Limitations to this study did not hinder significant results. The test/retest effect did not seem to be an issue, though it was not dismissed. A differential loss of subjects did not occur as all participants remained part of the study until its competition. Though not any sample groups in a control group design would be identical, efforts were made to make the groups as homogeneous as possible. Participants were chosen from a pool of volunteers to match each group according to major, class standing, ACT, and GPA. The limitation concerning the definition of critical thinking was softened by the scoring guide rubric that was incorporated into the treatment sessions which clearly laid out the correct analysis process of each question. The future planned individualized session to be incorporated into the study in the future should alleviate the limitation that some participants may need more calibration sessions than others.

The new session (becoming session III) would consist of individual calibration to faculty scores. Participants will each be given a set of ten previously scored instruments in which they are responsible for re-scoring individually. After completion of scoring the assigned questions for all of the ten instruments, participant scores will be analyzed for reliability with faculty scores. If participants achieve at least eighty-five percent reliability with faculty scores, participants move on to actual scoring session (becoming session IV). If it is found that less then eighty-five percent reliability with faculty scores is achieved, participants must repeat the peer review process (Sessions I, II, & III) to further calibrate with faculty scores, before moving on to the final treatment session.

Finding a way to evaluate critical thinking in an effective way is an important part of assessment. If students can be taught to evaluate a more accurate and subjective measure of critical thinking and also gain skills in the process, then more research in this area is necessary because the benefits are endless.

![Figure 3 (Significant at the 0.01 level)](image-url)
References:


Interactive Sex Classes: Incorporating an RF Response Device System in a Human Sexuality Class

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ABSTRACT

Radio frequency (RF) response device systems allow students to respond interactively during PowerPoint lectures. The current technology allows students to purchase a small, credit-card sized RF response device (1 to 10 buttons for responses) with their textbook. During lecture, the instructor uses a RF receiver with software integrated with PowerPoint to poll the students, pose questions dynamically, test students' understanding of the topics, and to keep students attention throughout lecture. Numerous higher-education textbook publishers advertise these systems. These devices offer a unique opportunity for Human Sexuality Classes. This paper addresses concerns, issues, and recommendations for integrating RF response device systems into a Human Sexuality Classroom. Among the concerns are: (1) offering informed consent to students prior to using the response cards, (2) assuring confidentiality of data gathered through TurningPoint software integrated with PowerPoint, and (3) training students in anonymous responding in a large lecture hall setting. Some issues unique to a sexuality class are: (1) Asking questions: If everyone agrees, answers are not confidential; (2) Choosing robust findings: The potential for polls of sexual behavior or sexual attitudes to backfire in class, undermining past research findings; (3) Using multiple-item scales during lectures; (4) Gender differences: Dynamic presentations of differences or possible perpetuation of myths. The main recommendations are the utility of RF systems to increase attendance rates, increase participation, sustain attention, offer scientific feedback to students, and most importantly, to offer real-time data to students about how they compare to their peers. In human sexuality, simple questions of what is normative are pervasive. RF response device systems allow an excellent opportunity for enriching the class experience as well as helping students place their own sexuality in perspective to their peers in a Human Sexuality classroom.
A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN

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Abstract

The Dual System Vocational Training Program has been introduced by the Taishan Training Center Bureau of Employment and Vocational training Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan of Taiwan and the Deutsches Wirtschaftsbüro Taipei (German Trade Office Taipei) to Taiwan since 2003. This paper will evaluate the affection of this “Dual System Vocational Training Program” in De Lin Institute of Technology Hospitality Management Department and analyze the students’ job satisfaction under this program.

Keywords: Vocational Training Program, Dual System, Track System, Job Satisfaction, Job-orientation.

Introduction

Most the countries in the developed world, like the United State, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United Kingdom, have their vocational education and training institutions like Farm and Trade School, Japanese Special School, School of the Craftsman, Lycées Technique and School for Industry etc. (Christine Ward 1987; Frank Braun 1987; Leonard Cantor 1985; Lewis, A.M. 1981; M. Murray and J. Heywood 1986). Lots of publications have been issued to demonstrate (John McAleer 1987; Raggatt, p. 1988; Ruth Jonathan 1986) and compare (Marsden, D. & Ryan, P. 1991; Robert R. Rehder 1983; S. J. Prais 1987) the benefits of this kind of educational dual system. In Taiwan, the “Track System” which started in 1968 once held seventy percent of junior high graduation students, has a great contribution to Taiwan’s economy and society. The system offers a educational
choice for the students who are temporary not fit in the regular higher education system and of course offers a lot of trained labor force with industrial skills to meet the country’s need. Even nowadays, the “Track System” still contains fifty percent of junior high graduation students who are waiting for the job-oriented training.

Under the objective job-oriented training idea, Taishan Training Center Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan of Taiwan and the Deutsches Wirtschaftsbüro Taipei (German Trade Office Taipei) start a whole new vocational training program—“The Dual System Vocational Training Program” in 2003. The companies and schools that join this program will interview students together and allow students work for four days and study in school for two days. Students will get their diplomas issued from the school and German Trade Office Taipei after finishing this three years vocational training programs. Under this program, not only the students can get the good job training but also the companies can get the qualified employees after the students graduated.

In this paper, thirty students in the Dual System Vocational Training Program offered by the Hospitality Management Department of De Lin Institute of Technology, who also work for the same one of the top five hotels in Taiwan, were surveyed to evaluate the affection of this Dual System Vocational Training Program and analyze the students’ job satisfaction under this program.

Method and Results


In this paper, questionnaires used five-point Likert-type scales, which range from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree', were used to value the job satisfaction under this program. A pretest was conducted by interviewing some students to decide what those job satisfaction factors they care most are. Both extrinsic and intrinsic factors' are listed as followed:
Company policy and administration  Supervision
Interpersonal relations-supervision  Working conditions
Salary  Interpersonal relations-peers
Personal life  Status
Job security  Achievement
Recognition  Work itself
Responsibility  Advancement

Possibility of growth

The results of the survey showed that forty-two percent of the students agreed or strongly agreed that the work and the classes took them too much time and they hardly have time to rest. But still have fifty-three of the respondents felt the schedule is acceptable. Over half of all the students surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that they have good interpersonal relations with their supervision and the same percentage of students feel comfortable with the supervision. The survey also indicated that seventy-nine percent of the students get along with their peers who are their classmates at the same time very well. This is probably the best part for the students that in this Dual System Vocational Training Program they can share their work with their classmates.

The majority of the students in this program are strongly dissatisfied with their wages. Over sixty-eight percent of the students felt that their salaries are too low. It is probably the most important problem this program needs to solve. Thirty-three percent of the students are not comfortable with the status and forty-two of all the students surveyed agreed that they are not so interested in the work anymore.

Students seemed generally satisfied with the possibility of growth, over forty-seven percent of the students felt they learned a lot from work. Only sixteen percent of the students dissatisfied with the achievement of the work through only twenty-six percent of the students in this program are satisfied with the recognition of the work.

This survey also showed the result that the main reason for the students in this Dual System Vocational Training Program felt uncomfortable to the whole program is that the working schedule is too tight. Thirty-three percent of all the students surveyed dislike this program but the same percentage of students like it. None of the students are dissatisfied or strongly dissatisfied with the teacher’s teaching content though only forty-two percent of all the students agreed or strongly agreed that the teaching
content is very helpful to their work.

Overall, according to this survey, this program still got some important problems to solve. The company should treat the students more like the reserve officers instead of the less pay, tight working schedule casual laborers. The teaching contents from the school should make some adjustments to more work related.

Conclusion

Thirty students in the Dual System Vocational Training Program which offered by the Hospitality Management Department of De Lin Institute of Technology and supported by Taishan Training Center Bureau of Employment and Vocational training Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan of Taiwan and the Deutsches Wirtschaftsbüro Taipei (German Trade Office Taipei) were surveyed to analyze their job satisfaction under this program. The results showed that the students who will be the first graduates of this new program have good interpersonal relations with their supervision and peers and are generally satisfied with the possibility of growth but are dissatisfied with their wages and the tight working schedule. Beside those problems this program need to solve, the students are satisfied with the diplomas issued from the school and German Trade Office Taipei they are going to get. The companies will definitely appreciate the qualified and well trained employees after the students graduated.

Reference


Review, Vol. 9,


A Case Study of the Booker T. Senior Village

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Abstract

Booker T. is the oldest and largest African American community in the city of Monroe, LA. Today, sixty percent of Booker T’s population is comprised of elders, and this population is also growing throughout the city of Monroe. This fact has made the community a prime location for a senior village; hence the establishment of the Booker T. Senior Village. This facility offers assisted and independent living to multiple residents including a majority of low-income individuals. The purpose of this research is to examine how community outflow can impact the lives of its elder residents. This was accomplished by doing a program evaluation of the Booker T. Senior Village and all of its aspects of care: assisted living, independent living, and community involvement. I used a previously established model of a program evaluation that allowed me to take a qualitative approach. The study’s subjects were elderly residents, staff, and board members of the facility. The research consisted of a mix gender and multi racial sample. By doing a case study on this community, I will explore the need for these kinds of facilities in all communities, because too often elder residential and care services are created by corporations who are detached from the actual communities. This research will also look at how facilities that are connected to a local community will impact the quality of life for its elderly residents.
Title: Social Science Methods of Community Based Participatory Research Applied to Public Health Interventions

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Abstract

The purpose of this presentation will be to outline the principles of community-based participatory research (CBPR) as applied to public health research, while recognizing that there is a history of similar research in other social science areas (i.e. action research, participatory research, participatory action research (PAR)). The presentation will also explore ways in which social behaviors and circumstances impact the health of communities. In addition, examples of applications of the methods of CBPR to current research being conducted by Kellogg Community Health Scholars will be presented.

Action research, participatory research, PAR, and CBPR are different names for what are essentially very similar methodologies used in various fields. However, it is important to point out that not all research being conducted in communities is being conducted in a participatory fashion. CBPR provides a framework for a mutually beneficial partnership that has gained widespread recognition and support from the federal government for addressing racial and ethnic health disparities (O’Fallon & Deary, 2002; Higgins & Metzler, 2001). This methodological approach strives to engage the community at all levels of the research process, thereby instilling a sense of ownership in the research as well as providing results and solutions back to the community (Israel et al., 2001). The guiding principles of CBPR have been outlined at length in the public health literature (Israel et al., 1998; Israel et al., 2003). However, traditional public health research views the researcher as the “expert” who identifies public health issues and designs studies where community members are subjects with little or no input to the research process. The transition from this traditional approach to utilizing methods of CBPR has been slow. The recognition that social behaviors and circumstances often impact the health of communities has been one of the driving forces responsible for easing this transition. Without the participation of communities it is difficult, if not impossible, for researchers to truly understand the social dynamics that impact health decision-making.

In an attempt to train early career public health researchers to become more familiar with the principles and methods of CBPR, the W.K. Kellogg foundation sponsors a post-doctoral fellowship program: The W.K. Kellogg Community Health Scholars Program. This post-doctoral fellowship provides fellows with the opportunity to conduct research that utilizes the methods of CBPR at one of three institutions of public health. To illustrate the use of CBPR the authors of this abstract, current Kellogg Postdoctoral Fellows, will provide two detailed examples of their work in Baltimore, MD. The first project focuses on a faith-based breast cancer prevention intervention that aims to increase breast cancer screening and knowledge in African American women by training 8 lay health coordinators (LHCs) to plan and deliver Women’s Health Day events at their churches. In addition, by equipping LHCs with substantial health information, this project aims to create sustainable health ministries that fit into the existing social networks and structure of the participating churches. The second project focuses on environmental health issues in a low-income neighborhood. The objective of this work is to build capacity among residents to address environmental health issues as they arise in the community. A group of 20 young people, from the neighborhood, ages 18-24 conducted indoor and outdoor air monitoring, as well as a survey. The results of the research will be used to develop outreach and educational materials that will be distributed to the entire community.
Desiring Unity: History and the Fetish Object in Korea's MacArthur Debate

Abstract

A bronze statue of General Douglas MacArthur stands five meters tall in Incheon's Freedom Park, outside of Seoul. Until recently, it stood as a signifier for democratic victory as well as the construction of South Korea as a modern nation state following the end of the Korean War. Recent protests, however, revealed the deeply contested nature of this statue and its various representations of history. The controversy also exposed grave concerns about the political engagement of Korea with the United States, in the past and present, particularly with respect to emotional ambiguities surrounding North Korea and the repercussions of the Korean War. The debate, which heightened and intensified in the summer of 2005, marked an especially charged moment within Korean politics in the context of its emergence as a national presence in globalization movements. This paper seeks to explore these anxieties and frustrations of globalization through qualitative textual analysis of the MacArthur debate in Korean news media. It explores the significance of the statue as a fetish object and signifier for historical reification, addressing questions posed within a psychoanalytical framework as well as critical race and gender theory. Psychoanalytic conceptualizations of 'splitting' and trans-generational trauma, caught in the politics of memory and representation, thus call into question the very assumptions of national unity and collective consciousness.
Diabetes and Mexican Immigrants: Curanderismo, Biomedicine, and Diffusion Theory

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The general population has come to the understanding that the major patterns of disease are not acute, but rather chronic illnesses that require lifestyle changes (Crawford as cited in Cockerham, 2004, p.96). According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in 2002, diabetes was the sixth leading cause of death in the United States (Anderson & Smith, 2005). Latinos have a prevalence of diabetes 1.5 times higher than non-Latino groups (CDC, 2003). However, it should first be noted that categorically, ethnicities do not reflect the true cultural group autonomy. For example, Latinos, also known as Hispanics, are several groups with distinct characteristics (Marger, 247, ch.9). Nevertheless, when clustered together as a group, Latinos also rank Type II diabetes as the 5th leading cause of death, while their white counterparts rank it as their 8th leading cause of death (Anderson & Smith, 2005). While epidemiological figures speak to the tone of a health disparity among ethnicities, they alone cannot explain what leads to the discrepancy, and more importantly, how to prevent it in the future.

Mexicans account for about 29% of the United States population of immigrants, making it the country with the most immigrants in the United States (Wallace and Gutierrez, 2005). Immigration may lead to access to better health care, but it also introduces an unhealthy lifestyle (Smith, Bogen, Varela-Silva, Orden, Loucky, 2002). For many years, sociologists have attempted to explain how social factors drive individual choices and outcomes (Bourdieu 1984; & Weber, 1922 as cited in Cockerham, 2000). Now more than ever, it is imperative to understand the underlying causes for chronic illnesses such as Type II Diabetes, and work on a solution to decrease the disparities around the world. It is estimated by the Diabetes Federation that by the year 2025, 300 million people around the world will have been diagnosed with diabetes and most of these will be immigrants coming from third-world countries (2004).

Decades ago, Cobb and Rose (1973) suggested that Type II diabetes may be induced by stress (as cited in Scheder, 1988). Immigrants exposed to agricultural occupations tend to be of lower income than non-immigrants, a factor which has been attributed to a higher exposure of stress-related events (Dohrenwend, 1973 as cited in Scheder, 1988). These stress-related events may be largely due to the acculturation factor (Hovey & King, 1996 as cited in Finch, Frank, & Vega, 2004). Acculturation denies the
immigrant a protective culture to fall back on, leading to poorer health outcomes than their native counterparts (Scribner and Dwyer, 1989; Scribner, 1996 as cited in Finch et al, 2004). As Scribner et al. point out, along with an increase of stress, immigration may actually result in less contact with a health care provider and negative changes in their health behavior due to acculturation of language and socioeconomic status (as cited in Finch et al, 2004). This new socioeconomic status, which may come with a higher income, also leads to marginalization and detachment from social networks. Therefore, although it can be interpreted as a new socioeconomic status, it does not translate into a better status than the one they had when they lived in their country of origin. However, marginalization of a population is not easily portrayed through epidemiological studies, because the experiences are much more personal and traumatic (Scheder, 1988). Scheder points out that, for immigrants, marginality is accompanied by ostracism and a limited access to social networks for coping. Unique physiological characteristics of stress are indeed present in diabetics and lacking in non-diabetics (Surwit and Feinglos, 1987, 1988 as cited in Scheder, 1988). Finch & Vega (2003), add to this by finding that physical health is positively correlated with social support, in which acculturation will contribute in a negative way. So while immigrants may be pressured to adopt the medical model used in the United States, this may not be the best way to ensure them better health, because it also demands the adoption of values and personal characteristics unknown to them.

As Freund et al. point out, diseases have both psychosocial and biological components (2003, p.83). Furthermore, the part of the stress that may be related to the onset of diabetes is influenced by status in the workplace. In relation to coronary heart disease, those with the highest risk reported “low ability to influence how their tasks are done” (Karasek and Theorell, 1990 as cited in Freund et al., 2003). And while corporations are doing more towards helping workers develop healthier lifestyles, programs are not available to their entire workforce and have an individualistic approach. Immigrants working in low-level positions in corporations or as farm workers will be the last to see such programs implemented. The overemphasis on the individual is problematic when there are obvious trends of diseases among ethnic and socioeconomic groups (Cockerham, 2004, ch.3). This approach ignores lack of access to affordable health
care, or personal control over vacation time, as well as the marginalization brought on by the larger society (Freund et al., 2003).

**Curanderismo**

Curandereros vary in their gifts and abilities. In many Mexican indigenous communities there are curandereros, or those that heal through medicine, those that expulse evil spirits from the body, and those that use witchcraft (Mak, 1950). There are also sobadoras, or masseuses, and midwives known as parteras (De La Torre, & Estrada, 2001). This type of distinction of abilities is parallel to the type of specializations that exist in biomedicine (White, 2002). What is not parallel is the logical connection of the body and the mind that exists in the traditional medicine practice (Maduro, 1983). In the mind of a person that has an indigenous origin, or any a Mexican that has remnants of their once indigenous culture, there is a logical connection of emotions and bodily pain. For them, the psychosomatic experience is expected and the diagnosis and cure both lie in getting to the bottom of every life event of the person and the family (Mak, 1950; Maduro, 1983; & Caballero, 2005).

Curanderismo, in its general and intercultural form, has components of the Catholic religion, medicine, and magical forces as the bases for its form (Caballero, 2005). The Greek concepts of medicine like the humors and equilibrium persist in curanderismo as well; these ideas were most likely brought on by Spanish conquistadores. Medicine in this respect has corporal and emotional functions. While there are many versions of curandereros across Latin-American countries, those coming from Mexico are of more relevance in California.

To understand curanderismo in the Latino culture, it is also important to understand its historical roots. In the Aztec culture for example, the doctors have always played an important role, as they are referred to as sacred doctor, or tepati. The Spanish conquistadores did not view them in this revered light, and attributed their work to their alliance with evil (Davidow, 1999). The period of colonialism is also important in curanderismo because of the massive marginalization and persecution of those who practiced the medicine (Caballero, 2005). Curanderismo comes from thousands of years ago, but even after the colonialism period of the Spanish in Latin America, the indigenous people and their “bi-racial” predecessors
carry many of their beliefs as valid today (Maduro, 1983). Thanks to the strong religious influence of the Spaniards, curanderismo now has a blend of indigenous and Christian beliefs and practices of medicine (Davidow, 1999). However, it is still about finding the connection between the illness, the body, and the soul in order to find a cure. Whether a baby was exposed to things like *ojo*, or evil eye, and not being cured of *susto* (shock), is more important, as it may result in a long term proneness to illness (Caballero, 2005).

In Mexican communities in the United States it is no different, as traditional medicine here has been referred to as primitive. Classism and racism, while its marginalization comes as a form of social control (Klynman, 1984 as cited in Freund et al, 2003; & Foucault, 1973 as cited in White, 2002). This type of social control and authority is further intensifies in the biomedicine model by which American doctors have practiced for decades (Starr, 1982).

**Biomedicine and Healing**

In the roots of biomedicine and the allopathic perspective lies the discrimination of homeopathic medicine (Freund et al, 2003). The new technological identity of medicine further exacerbates the mind body disconnect and focuses on evidence in genetics, molecules, and pathogens--a premise that puts everyone at a potentially ill level (Clarke, Fisherman, Fosket, Mamot, & Shim, 2003).

Latinos living in the United Status view illness as something more than bodily pain that can be cured with medicine. However, the United States since the advent of biomedicine has dismissed the traditional medicine approach had as something folkloric and primitive (Maduro, 1983). Traditional medicine may offer information insight to offer to the frustrated doctors that have Latino patients who are not following their recommended diet or taking the proper medication to control their diabetes. Doctors and nurses may have little knowledge about how different cultural groups conceptualize pain and disease (Freund et al, 2003). Also, they may be oblivious to the type of alternative treatments the patient is already undergoing. In the United States, it is estimated that about 61.4% of Latinos use some type of complimentary alternative medicine (Barnes, Powell-Griner, McFann, & Nahin, 2002). This type of patient is likely to agree with the doctor, not because he or she is making an informed consent to the treatment, but because they may feel compelled to agree as an expression of passivity. However, this miscommunication can lead into an
underestimation of how much non-adherence actually occurs on behalf of the patient (DiMatteo and Friedman, 1982; 35-37 as cited in Freund, 2003). The patients may not want to offend the doctors, and a simple nod of the head in the doctor’s office can translate into an abandonment of a complex regimen at home.

Applications

In California one in every ten Latinos has been diagnosed with diabetes (CHS 2001, as cited in Jhawar et al, 2005). Speaking in terms of legislative and senatorial districts, we can estimates the Latinos in any particular district can range from a prevalence of 6% to an alarming 20%. It is no surprise that the senatorial districts with the highest numbers of those diagnosed include areas in southern California and the Central Valley, as these are also the regions with the highest concentration of Latinos immigrants (Jhawar et al, 2005). The high concentration also translates into a higher presence of indigenous groups, all of whom have little influence in policy decisions or medical practices regarding their health. The result of such little influence and such an increased acculturation stress shows in some of the worst diabetes complications in these areas, where kidney failure, blindness, and amputations are common results of non-adherence (Jhawar et al, 2005). It is widely known that effective management can reduce the severity of diabetes and lower the complication rates (Wallace & Villa, 2003).

Much of what has been discovered through medical advances about psychosocial factors involved in illness has been known in traditional medicine circles for some time. However, the problems persist, and the reality is that doctors either do not have the language skills or the time to use the same techniques as curanderos to get to the bottom of the psychosomatic and psychosocial symptoms (Mak, 1950). In contrast, a curandera may have a long talk over a cup of tea with the person before they even begin to talk about bodily ills (Maduro, 1983). It should also be noted that curanderos know, for the most part, their boundaries, and can recognize when the person is in need of medical care that can provide x-rays, blood samples, or surgery (Caballero, 2005). So cooperation with such healers, if approached in a culturally sensitive and non-condescending manner, could be easily obtained.
The advantage to having such concentrated groups of Latinos, indigenous populations in particular, in areas around the Central Valley and Southern California comes in education and early screening tracking methods. The tight knit social relationships in which people find them allows them to share language and medical traditions, which can serve as an advantage to the public health individuals intending to diffuse their message. It also helps establish a baseline for acculturation levels in other Latino populations around the state.

Diffusion theory can best be used to explain this phenomenon. As defined by Rogers (1995), diffusion is a “kind of social change…a process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system (as cited in Levy-Storms & Wallace, 2003).” The study found that farmers were most likely to listen to their neighbors about the benefits and adoption of the hybrid corn rather than the media. Therefore, we can say that a changing the medical practices can also be a cultural practice instilled in the individual social systems of immigrant Latinos, rather than a mainstream approach of public health education that teaches the medical model without embracing traditional medicine.

In a study conducted with older Samoan women, Levy-Storms & Wallace (2003), used the diffusion theory to incorporate the knowledge and advantages of mammography screening into the system of these tight knit women. This process included first identifying a common contact person among the group, a woman that everyone seemed to know and to some extent respect. This would provide the basis for the informal networks of information regarding health. There was also a component dealing with formal networks, such as doctors and nurses, who also gave the women information about mammography screening. In the end, the women who were better integrated into their society were able to attribute the action of getting the screening done to informal social networks, not medical advice. Perhaps the most fascinating part of this study is that it focused on networks derived from their church community. The church can present itself as a definite structured body in which people are generally integrated into. This idea of diffusion can have potential advantages when dealing with diabetes.

It needs to be noted that the use of traditional medicine is difficult to track among Latinos, as it involves a private interaction that often leaves no type of record unless the curanderos have a system for
tracking their patients. The lack of literature in this subject also alludes to the lack of understanding how these patients are using traditional medicine practices for management of many illnesses. There is a known lack of research about how many people actually use curanderos, but family members may also be replaced by the more formal entity to diagnose, cure, and prescribe (De La Torre & Estrada, 2001). Acculturation may further affect whether a person engages in traditional medicine practices or has attitudes toward health reminiscent of this medicine. The most integrated people, or the ones who are least acculturated, are the ones that will be the easiest to track in their progress. This applies to many Mexican indigenous people living in the Central Valley and southern California, as they still practice much of the medicine that acculturated Mexicans may only practice subconsciously. Nevertheless, the group mentality is inscribed in Latino heritage throughout (Cockerham, 2004), and it is through this way of thinking that medicine can be approached, in particular education and management methods about diabetes. For example, it is not practical to have a male Mexican man learn about cooking methods to improve nutrition, because he will most likely not be doing the cooking. The fact that he may be the only one that diabetes is explained to may lead to that man feeling isolated from his social network; he may prefer non-adherence to his regimen rather than isolation. Another type of intervention is necessary, one that is concerned with the experiences of the Latino and one that emphasizes the group culture that is prevalent among most Latinos (Maduro, 1983; Cockerham, 2004; & Caballero, 2005). A method of education for Latinos managing diabetes must include a familial and wider network approach. This is also the part where traditional medicine healers and leaders can intervene to translate the importance of an allopathic regime, which, in complement with an alternative regime, may save the patients life.

The medical model is what is now, and a complete overhaul of the system to accommodate the Latino immigrant, or any other immigrant with the same values, is not practical. However, engaging the layperson in the care of a diabetic can prove to be more beneficial than shutting them out.
References


Title: An examination of Fromm’s (1955) marketing character and materialistic attitudes and their relationship to psychological health.

Presentation format: poster session (please note that, in addition to the abstract below, a full paper is included for publication in the conference proceedings as agreed)

Topic area: Consumer / Health Psychology

Keywords: Fromm, marketing character, psychological health, anger, competition.

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Abstract

Fromm (1955) was particularly critical of western society and its basis on what he termed the ‘marketing character’, in which he asserts the self is experienced as a commodity whose value and meaning is externally determined and whose intrinsic psychological needs were not adequately addressed. The aim of the present study is to assess the marketing character (as measured by the SCOI) and Materialism in terms of Spielberger et al.’s (1995) notion of ‘psychological vital signs’: depression, anxiety and anger. The hypotheses that the SCOI would be significantly and positively correlated with Depression and Anxiety were not supported, nor the hypothesis that Materialism total scores would be significantly and positively correlated with Anxiety was not supported. However, the hypothesis that the SCOI would be significantly and positively correlated with Anger Expression was supported, as were the hypotheses that Materialism total scores would be significantly and positively correlated with Depression and Anger Expression, providing support for Fromm’s (1955) assertion that destructive behaviour might serve as a compensatory mechanism for unfulfilled or frustrated intrinsic human needs. The implications of these results are discussed within the framework of a proposed ‘Competition-Frustration-Anger-Aggression Syndrome’ (CFAAS).
An examination of Fromm’s (1955) marketing character and materialistic attitudes and their relationship to psychological health.

Introduction
While in recent decades there has been a growing concern about the effects that consumer-driven growth may be having on the environment (e.g., Commoner, 1972, Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 1990, Athanasiou, 1996, Suzuki, 1997), few researchers have addressed the relationship which the market driven society and the associated shift in values may have with the psychological well-being of its constituents. For example, the World Commission on Environment and Development - WCED - (1987) states that “many critical survival issues are related to uneven development, poverty, and population growth” and concludes that the solution to be found lies in “a new era of economic growth - growth that is forceful and at the same time socially and environmentally stable” (p xiii). However, the social concerns referred to are primarily economically based and revolve around “falling personal incomes” rather than purely psychological concerns (WCED, 1987).

An early exception to the above observation was Erich Fromm, who believed that personality and values were influenced by culture and economics (Feist, 1994). In his 1955 publication The Sane Society, Fromm was particularly critical of western society and its basis on what he termed the ‘marketing character’, in which he asserts the self is experienced as a commodity whose value and meaning is externally determined. According to Fromm (1947), the marketing society is based upon consensual validation, and may be summed up with the motto “I am as you desire me to be” (p. 73). Although Fromm neither operationalised his concept of the ‘marketing character’, nor conducted any empirical research of his own prior to formulating the theory, he observed that those countries that had comparatively high standards of living also had a high incidence of what he termed ‘destructive acts’ (which represent the combined incidence of suicide and homicide). Fromm (1955) attributed the cause of this apparent relationship to the inability of the market driven society to satisfactorily address what he termed were our psychologically based existential ‘human needs’.

Saunders and Munro (2000) detailed the development of an instrument (the SCOI: ‘Saunders Consumer Orientation Index’) designed to operationalise Fromm’s marketing character, and then proceeded to test its divergent, convergent, and discriminant validity in a series of five studies, one of which provided a ‘snapshot’ of the relationships between the SCOI and measures of psychological health which included depression, anxiety, and anger expression (i.e., Spielberger, Ritterband, Sydeman, Reheiser & Unger’s (1995) notion of ‘emotional vital signs’). However, given the broad focus of this paper with its primary aim being the validation of the SCOI, the relationships reported between materialistic values and attitudes and the chosen emotional signs were not dealt with as deeply as was possible given the data available to the researchers. The present paper aims to redress that with a detailed examination of the relationships between Fromm’s marketing character, emotional vital signs as mentioned above, and a measure of materialism (Richins and Dawson, 1992).
Richins and Dawson (1992) propose that once the moral and societal consequences of materialism are removed, three general premises remain. The first - *Acquisition centrality* - implies that the acquisition and possession of material goods and services forms the central goal in an individual’s lifestyle. The second - *Acquisition as the pursuit of happiness* - suggests that the reason that the possession and acquisition of goods and services are central to the person is that they are believed to provide a substantial contribution to life satisfaction. If persons within a market-driven society are differentiated by what they possess, rather than who they are, then it is most likely that they consider both their own and other’s value (or worth) as something that is (externally) determined by both the number and quality of possessions accumulated. This is what is meant by the third theme, *possession-defined success*. Note that while any attempt to construct a measure of Fromm’s (1955) marketing character orientation would necessarily include the notion of materialism, it would also necessarily include themes considered irrelevant to Richins and Dawson (1992) when they designed their materialism instrument, such as conformity and authoritarianism. The above was confirmed by Saunders and Munro (2000), as well as mid-range correlations between the SCOI and the materialism instrument as expected.

In brief, if a market-driven society does not fulfil our ‘human needs’ as proposed by Fromm (1955 & 1981), then one would expect that acceptance of consumerist values and behaviours would not be associated with psychological health. It is interesting that in part 3 (“Social and Political Issues”) of the (1971) publication “In the Name of Life: Essays in Honor of Erich Fromm”, contributors such as Frank (a Professor of Psychiatry) and Asimov (a Professor of Biochemistry) adroitly sidestep Fromm’s concerns for the psychological well-being of individuals in market-driven society, and instead emphasise the degradation of the natural environment. The present study aims to examine in more depth Fromm’s psychological concerns from a contemporary perspective of emotional well-being.

According to Spielberger et al (1995), emotions “have a significant impact on health and personal effectiveness” and that “the emotional vital signs which are most critical to an individual’s well-being are anxiety, anger and depression” (p52). Note that some support for Spielberger et al’s (1995) ‘emotional vital signs’ is provided by Beck (1990) who claims that anxiety and depression are the most prevalent mental disorders, and who recommends the administration of the BDI along with the BAI. If a market driven society is characterised by volatile, changing values (i.e., where an individual’s value is subject to constant fluctuation, the source of which resides mostly outside of his control) and based on competition (eg, Vechio, Hearn & Southey, 1996) rather than uniqueness (i.e., vertical individualism and authoritarianism, see Saunders and Munro, 2001) and individual importance rather than communal goals, then such a society could logically be expected to induce feelings of helplessness and hopelessness in those individuals who embrace marketing values but find that they are unable to achieve their goals. Such individuals would be likely to experience depression (Seligman, 1975 & 1990).

If Fromm’s (1955) marketing character does in fact represent a move away from psychological health (and if the SCOI does in fact measure Fromm’s (1955) operationally deficient definition of said character) and what Fromm (1955) terms our ‘human needs’, then it could be reasonably hypothesised that the SCOI (and materialism per se) would be positively correlated with anxiety. In the consumer
domain, such anxiety might also result from social determinations of self-esteem (Saunders, 2001) that induce feelings of low self-worth and inferiority in the person making the comparisons.

Given that Saunders and Munro (2001) provided evidence supporting Fromm’s notion that the marketing character is characterised by an acceptance of inequality and competition, then it is reasonable to hypothesise that competition inevitably engenders frustration (i.e., in all but the ‘winner’ in any particular scenario), and frustration in turn may lead to anger (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1939), which, in turn, may lead to aggression (eg, Berkowitz, 1962). Now, while frustration may not always lead to aggression, it is very likely to at least lead to the preceding stage of anger. Hence, it is hypothesised that Anger Expression (or, in more general terms, hostility) will be positively correlated with scores on the SCOI and Materialism.

### Method

**Participants**
The respondents in this study were 302 (76 male and 226 female) undergraduate students (67 from Management and 235 from Psychology with a mean age of 23 yrs, and a range of 17-56 yrs) from the University of Newcastle, NSW, Australia.

**Instruments**

**Saunders Consumer Orientation Index** (Saunders & Munro, 2000): 35 Likert-style items designed to measure Fromm’s (1955) marketing character in Australia. Cronbach’s Coefficient alpha was been found to range between .81 and .86, while test-retest reliability was found to be .935 (Saunders & Munro, 2000).

**Richins and Dawson (1992) Materialism scale**: This comprises 18 items, using a five-point likert scale response format. These 18 items are divided between three themes: ‘Acquisition centrality’, ‘Acquisition as the pursuit of happiness’, and ‘Possession-defined success’. Cronbach’s Coefficient alpha has been found to range between .80 and .88 for the entire scale, and .71-.75; .73-.83; and .74-.78 for centrality, happiness, and success subscales respectively, while test-retest reliability is quoted as .87 for the combined scale, and $r = .82$, .86, and .82 respectively for the subscales.

**Anger Expression (AX) Scale** (Spielberger, 1986): this scale was constructed to assess how people generally feel or react when they feel angry. The AX scale is comprised of 24 items, which may be subdivided into three subscales: Anger-Out (AX/Out) - the tendency to express anger physically and /or verbally toward other people or objects in the environment; Anger-In (AX/In) - the tendency to experience but suppress angry feelings; and Anger-Control (AX/Con) - the tendency to control the experience and expression of anger. Total anger expression scores are arrived at by way of manipulating the above subscale scores (Spielberger, 1986). Each item is measured on a four point Likert scale ranging from “almost never” to “almost always”. The internal consistency (ie, Cronbach coefficient alphas) of the AX/In and AX/Out subscales have been reported to range between .73 to .84 (Spielberger, Ritterband, Sydeman, Reheiser, and Unger, 1995).
Beck Depression Inventory (BDI): consists of 21 items and was designed to assess attitudes and symptoms that are specific to depression and consistent with those described in psychiatric literature (Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock and Erbaugh (1961). Each item consists of four self-evaluative statements. Subjects are required to pick out the statement from each item which best describes the way that they have been feeling during the past week. Past studies have reported a coefficient alpha as high as .91 (Zauszniewski, 1995), while the construct validity has been assured through comparisons with other rating scale of depression (Beck, Steer & Garbin, 1988).

Beck Anxiety Index (Beck et al, 1988): measures the severity of subjective anxiety and consists of 21 descriptive statements of anxiety symptoms presented in a four point scale format ranging from “Not at all” to “Severely, I could barely stand it”. Internal reliabilities (Cronbach coefficient alpha) of between .92 to .94 have been reported (Beck 1988, cited in Beck & Steer, 1990), and one-week test-retest reliability has been reported at .75 (Beck, Rush, Shaw & Emery, 1979, cited in Beck & Steer, 1990).

Procedure
The 302 participants from Newcastle University completed all of the above questionnaires in their own time, and did so voluntarily.

Results
The results were calculated using Minitab Version 11. In Table 1 are the Pearson correlations between the SCOI, Materialism, and Social desirability (SD) and the measures of psychological health; i.e., Depression (BDI), Anxiety (BAI), and Anger Expression (AX-EX):

Table 1.
Correlation Matrix: SCOI, Materialism, BDI, BAI and AX/EX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SCOI</th>
<th>MAT</th>
<th>BDI</th>
<th>BAI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAT</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDI</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAI</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX-EX</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels of significance: all correlations of .20 and above are significant at p<.001

Keeping in mind the somewhat conservative criteria discussed above for deciding when to reject or accept null hypotheses (i.e., r>= .20; p<.05), the SCOI was only significantly correlated with one of the three indicators of emotional well-being adopted in the present study: Anger Expression; while Materialism was correlated with both Depression and Anger Expression.

The significance of the difference in the correlations between AX/EX and the SCOI and Materialism respectively was assessed using Hotelling’s (1931, cited in Howell,
1982) solution for dependent correlations and it was found that the correlation between AX/EX and Materialism was significantly greater than that between AX/EX and the SCOI \( (t_{299} = 2.326; p<.01) \). The same approach was adopted for assessing the difference in correlations between the BDI and Materialism, and AX/EX and Materialism. The correlation between AX/EX and Materialism \( (r = .33) \) was significantly greater than that between the BDI and Materialism \( (r = .21; t_{299} = 2.12; p<.05) \).

Given that both the SCOI and Materialism indexes correlated significantly with Anger Expression, further correlations between the former consumerism scales and the subscales of the AX-EX inventory were calculated (see Table 2):

### Table 2.
Correlations between SCOI, Materialism, age, gender and AX-EX subscales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AX/OUT</th>
<th>AX/IN</th>
<th>AX/CON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SCOI</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.245</td>
<td>-.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAT</td>
<td>.220</td>
<td>.285</td>
<td>-.199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success</td>
<td>.228</td>
<td>.312</td>
<td>-.203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>-.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>.126</td>
<td>.198</td>
<td>-.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>-.084</td>
<td>-.105</td>
<td>.089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>-.077</td>
<td>-.110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels of significance: all correlations of .20 and above are significant at \( p<.001 \)

In Table 2, the SCOI is significantly correlated with the Anger-in (AX/IN) subscale of the Anger Expression instrument, while the Materialism instrument is significantly correlated with both the Anger-out (AX/OUT) and Anger-in subscales, while the Anger-control (AX/CON) very nearly reaches the arbitrary \( r = .20 \) criterion for rejecting null hypotheses, as does the correlation between Anger-in and the Happiness subscale. Of the three Materialism subscales, only the Success subscale correlates significantly with each of the Anger Expression subscales. Note that neither age nor gender were significantly correlated with any of the AX-EX subscales.

In Table 3 are the correlations between the Materialism subscales (ie, Success, Centrality, and Happiness) and the three psychological vital signs: the BDI, BAI, and AX-EX:

### Table 3.
Correlations between Materialism subscales and BDI, BAI and AX-EX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BDI</th>
<th>BAI</th>
<th>AX-EX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Success</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td>0.237</td>
<td>0.348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels of significance: all correlations of .20 and above are significant at \( p<.001 \)
In Table 3 it can be seen that the (possession defined) Happiness subscale failed to correlate significantly with any of the psychological vital signs. The significance of the difference in the correlations between AX/EX and the Success and Centrality subscales respectively was assessed using Hotelling’s (1931) solution for dependent correlations and it was found that the correlation between AX/EX and Success was not significantly greater than that between AX/EX and the Centrality subscale (t_{299} = 1.77; p<.10). However, in view of the intercorrelations between the subscales of the Materialism scale, a series of simple multiple linear regressions were performed to further assess the relationship between the former and Anger Expression and its subscales (see Table 4):

Table 4.
Simple multiple regression analyses between AX-EX (and subscales) criterion and Materialism subscale predictors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>t ratio</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R-squar(adj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>.232</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.721</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/Out</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/In</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>.304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/Con</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>-2.25</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>-1.53</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.644</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possession-defined Success subscale of the Materialism index is the only significant predictor of unique variance in Anger Expression and each of its subscales.

In Table 1, the BDI, BAI and AX-EX all correlate significantly with each other. Hence a series of simple multiple regressions were carried out to further evaluate the relationship between these chosen indicators of psychological health and the SCOI and Materialism and its subscales (see Table 5 below). The rationale for this is that, in terms of Maslow’s (1970) notion of neurotic needs, if individuals’ basic needs in a market driven society are not being satisfied (which might be evident in their scores on the BDI, BAI and AX-EX), then they might attempt to satisfy their needs in a non-productive manner by acquiring conspicuous material possessions (i.e., materialism), or by adopting Fromm’s (1955) marketing character.

Table 5.
Simple multiple regression analyses between SCOI, Mat (and subscales) criterion and BDI, BAI and AX-EX (& subscales) predictors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>criterion</th>
<th>predictors</th>
<th>t-ratio</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R-sq(adj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SCOI</td>
<td>BDI</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAI</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AX-EX</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BDI</td>
<td>-.83</td>
<td>.405</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>AX/Con</td>
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<td>10.5%</td>
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<td>.67</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>.000</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Central</td>
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<tr>
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<td>BAI</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.87</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.74</td>
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<td>.89</td>
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<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
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<td>.017</td>
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<td>BDI</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>BAI</td>
<td>-.34</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>AX-EX</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>.03</td>
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<td>Happiness</td>
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<td>.26</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>-.35</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>AX/Out</td>
<td>1.51</td>
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<td>3.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AX/In</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AX/Con</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 5, Anger Expression total scores (AX-EX) are the only significant predictor of unique variance in any of the criterion variables (i.e., SCOI, Mat, Success, Central and Happiness), while the three predictors accounted for the most variance in the
Success criterion. Note also that in Table 5 above the three subscales of the AX-EX scale have also been regressed against each of the criterion variables. When this is done, only the AX/In (i.e., anger directed in) subscale is a significant predictor of criterion variance in each case. The AX/Out variable is a significant predictor of unique criterion variance only for Materialism and its Success subscale. With this in mind, correlations were performed between the AX-EX subscales and Depression (see Table 6):

Table 6.
Pearson correlations between AX-EX subscales and the BDI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BDI</th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>AX/OUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>-0.261</td>
<td>0.192</td>
<td>-0.544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/OUT</td>
<td>0.192</td>
<td>0.523</td>
<td>0.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/IN</td>
<td>0.523</td>
<td>0.192</td>
<td>0.109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels of significance: all correlations of .20 and above are significant at p<.001

Depression is significantly correlated with the AX/In subscale of the AX-EX instrument.

**Discussion**

The hypotheses that the SCOI would be significantly and positively correlated with Depression – as measured by the BDI – and Anxiety – as measured by the BAI – were not supported. The hypothesis that the SCOI would be significantly and positively correlated with Anger Expression was supported (r = .23; p<.001). The hypotheses that Materialism total scores would be significantly and positively correlated with Depression and Anger Expression were also supported (r = .21; p<.001 and r = .33; p<.001 respectively). The hypothesis that Materialism total scores would be significantly and positively correlated with Anxiety was not supported.

Considering that the BDI, BAI and AX-EX were all significantly inter-correlated, these three chosen indicators of psychological health were regressed against the SCOI and subsequently against the Materialism index and its subscales, with the result that Anger Expression was the only significant predictor of unique variance in the aforementioned criterion scores. The rationale behind this is that one could ask ‘do emotional states distort perceptions of need satisfaction’, or ‘does need satisfaction determine emotional states’? For example, with regard to the present results, do the emotional states of Depression and Anger Expression result from adopting materialistic values and behaviours, or do they promote their adoption? The latter approach is consistent with Maslow’s (1970) notion regarding the adoption of neurotic defences or compensatory mechanisms. Regardless, the present results do not allow an inference to be made regarding the direction of the abovementioned causal relationships.

**Anger Expression as one of Fromm’s ‘escape mechanisms’**
In Saunders and Munro (2000), evidence was found to support Fromm’s (1955) theory that Conformity and Authoritarianism may be considered ‘escape mechanisms’ and thus significant positive correlates of the marketing character, given that the aforementioned variables correlated with a proposed measure of the marketing character: the SCOI. Anger Expression, as measured by the AX/EX (Spielberger et al, 1985), was chosen as a logical operationalisation of Fromm’s (1955) third ‘escape mechanism’: destructiveness. The results presented above offer support for this, with a correlation of $r = .23$ based on a sample size of $N = 302$. Further, when the three chosen indicators of psychological health – i.e., the BDI, BAI and AX-EX - were regressed against the SCOI in the present study, Anger-expression was the only significant predictor of variance in SCOI scores, providing further evidence in support of Fromm’s (1955) assertion that destructive behaviour might serve as one of three compensatory mechanisms noted above for unfulfilled (i.e., frustrated) intrinsic human needs.

The possession defined Happiness subscale of the Materialism index failed to correlate significantly with any of the psychological vital signs, while acquisition Centrality correlated significantly with Anger Expression only. Considering that the Centrality subscale is concerned with the general importance of acquisition and possession of perceived by individuals when acquiring those said goods. That is, as hypothesised in the introduction to the present study, competition is likely to engender frustration and then anger. However, it is odd that possession defined Happiness failed to correlate with Depression, as one could logically expect that for those people whose happiness is dependent upon material goods, then a lack of them should result in at least some feelings of helpless and hopelessness. Indeed, one would expect that, by and large, this expectation would be relatively independent of an individual’s financial position, because for most people they simply cannot ever have enough money to have everything they want (as opposed to need).

‘Basic anxiety’?
Fromm (1955) asserts that contemporary market-driven societies represent an attempt to solve the ‘human dilemma’ and escape ‘the burden of freedom’ (Fromm, 1947). This ‘escape’, according to Fromm (1955), is most likely be accompanied by conformist, authoritarian, and ‘destructive’ tendencies. While previous and studies have provided evidence for each of these escape mechanisms (assuming, again, that the operational definitions employed are accurate), it should be remembered that the burden of freedom referred to above is also asserted to produce ‘basic’ anxiety (Ewen, 1988). Now, while the term ‘basic anxiety’ has Freudian origins (Freud, 1936), and accepting that there have been conceptual advances in the forty years since Fromm (1955) used the term, essentially, current psychometric definitions of anxiety (eg, Spielberger, 1972) are little different. That is, ‘basic’ anxiety refers to “an unpleasant emotional state or condition that is comparable to the conceptions of fear and objective anxiety as originally formulated by Darwin (1872/1965) and Freud (1936)” (Spielberger et al, 1995).

The only remaining theoretical difference may be that ‘basic anxiety’, as used by Fromm (1947), has a predominantly cultural/socio-historical basis, as opposed to the more generic definition quoted above. Hence, a significant question remains: does ‘Frommian escape’ into a marketing society affect individual anxiety? The present results suggest that it does not, to any significant degree, accepting the conservative
criteria for rejecting and accepting null hypotheses that has been adopted.\(^1\) Therefore, while one might logically expect that individuals characterised by Fromm’s marketing character living in contemporary market-driven societies would experience less anxiety, one can only conclude by saying that acceptance of consumerist and marketing values and behaviours (again, as measured by the abovenamed instruments) has no appreciable affect on anxiety (‘basic’ or otherwise).

**The possession defined Success subscale of the Materialism index**

Although the total scores on the Materialism index failed to correlate significantly with Anxiety, the possession defined Success subscale of the Materialism index correlated significantly with Depression, Anxiety, and Anger Expression and each of its subscales. When each of the ‘emotional vital signs’ were multiply regressed against the possession defined Success subscale, only Anger Expression and the Anger-in and out subscales were significant predictors of unique variance in the possession-defined Success subscale. Further, of the three Materialism subscales, the possession-defined Success subscale was the only predictor of unique variance in each of the three AX-EX subscales. This is interesting, because for success to be determined by what one possesses implies in turn that comparisons be made with other peoples’ possessions (i.e., social comparison theory). This argument is supported by the items in the said subscale: eg, “I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes”, “I don’t pay much attention to the material objects that other people own” (reverse scored), and “I like to own things that impress people”. In Saunders and Munro (2001), a significant positive correlation (i.e., \(r = .40\)) was found between the SCOI and the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism, and also between the SCOI and Vertical Individualism (\(r = .38\)). The vertical dimension of individualism emphasises competition, and hence, one would expect then that both possession defined Success (and anger expression) would also correlate significantly with Vertical Individualism. These hypotheses will be further evaluated in a separate paper.

**Social Comparison theory**

In a market-driven culture, conspicuous material possessions and associated patterns of consumption are generally particularly important criteria of social comparison when defining the self and determining relative status. Social comparison theorists usually suggest that individuals often choose with whom they compare (Buunk, Collins, Taylor & Van Yperen, 1990). For example, in any given comparison domain, an individual may (consciously or otherwise) make a downward comparison in which they evaluate themselves with a worse-off other. Such a comparison is likely to preserve that individuals’ self-esteem. Alternately, individuals may also engage in upward comparison with a ‘better-off’ other, and this usually results in feelings of inferiority and decreased self-worth (Richins, 1996). However, Richins (1991) proposes that the majority of social comparisons in consumerist cultures are with idealised media images. Hence, this argument asserts that not only can people in a consumer-driven culture not always control with whom they compare, but also that the comparison is more likely to be an upward one: “For consumers viewing media

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\(^1\) To logically and reasonably argue that the very small positive correlations obtained between SCOI, Materialism, and Anxiety in the present study are not due to random factors, one would need to survey thousands of respondents, and, even then, the effect that these correlations represent – i.e., the amount of variance accounted for if, for example, anxiety were regressed on the SCOI - would be rather minimal.
images of the ‘good life’, this means acquiring more possessions in an attempt to approximate the ideal more closely” (Richins, 1996: p117).

In context of the present thesis, if the comparison domain of social status and identity derived from conspicuous possessions is important to the individual (as measured here by the SCOI and materialism indexes), the deficit resulting from the comparison between idealised images and self may lead to negative self-feelings (Smith, Diener & Garonzik, 1990) which in turn may motivate the individual to preserve or restore self-esteem (Higgins, 1987). There are three obvious avenues available. Firstly, an individual may attempt to preserve self-esteem by refusing to engage in comparisons with idealised media images. That is, comparisons within the consumer domain are to be avoided. However, this may not be easy while living within a consumerist culture. Alternately, negative self-feelings arising from such comparisons might be avoided by reducing the importance of the criterion on which these comparisons are made. Secondly, if an individual believes that increased effort will indeed move them closer to the goal, she may attempt to reduce the comparison discrepancy by acquiring those possessions etc required to more closely approximate the ideal presented by the comparator (Richins, 1996). This solution would represent an increase in materialistic values and behaviours.

When discussing the possible direction of causality in the relationship between measures of consumerism and psychological health above, the following question was raised: ‘do the emotional states of depression and anger-expression result from adopting materialistic values and behaviours, or do they promote their adoption?’ If the above comments by Richins (1996) are accurate, then emotional states of depression and anger-expression resulting from consumer-driven comparisons may influence individuals to preserve self-esteem by further adopting materialistic behaviours and values. That is, the higher a person scores on the SCOI or Materialism indexes, the more likely they are to make social comparisons in the consumer domain and the more likely they are to feel (in light of the present results) depressed and angry. In turn, they may attempt to reduce these negative emotional states by acquiring the material possessions etc relevant to the specific consumer domain in question (eg, car, clothes, house etc). This explanation suggests that the relationship between consumerism and emotional ‘vital signs’ may work in both directions rather than in one direction only.

Alternately, if an individual in a consumerist culture is depressed due to reasons other than those resulting from social comparisons, then acquiring the means to improve one’s self-esteem and social status in future consumer-based comparisons may represent a compensatory behaviour carried out with the (perhaps unconscious) aim of coping with and attempting to reduce unpleasant emotional states (eg, “I was unhappy so I went shopping to cheer myself up”). For a consumer in a consumerist society, such an approach may provide relief, if only temporary.

**Attribution theory**

Another possible explanation for the positive correlations between possession-defined Success and Depression and Anger Expression (and its subscales) respectively can be

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2 This approach is suggestive of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy, in which one objective is to counter and challenge negative biases in thinking and decision making.
found in attribution theory, and this also represents the third avenue referred to above for dealing with social comparisons which damage subjective evaluations of self-worth. Attributions represent subjective cognitive-based attempts to explain the causes of events, and are often biased to preserve individuals’ self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In determining the cause of an event, a person usually makes a decision as to whether the particular outcome was due to either internal factors (such as personality characteristics), or to external factors (which are often classified as ‘uncontrollable’) and also the degree to which these factors are either stable or unstable (Weiner, 1985). Further, Weiner (1986) suggests that how individuals explain their perceived successes and failures may affect their emotional reactions to those events. Hence, attribution theory might be viewed as the process of rationalisation following social comparisons.

As discussed above, possession-defined Success is an overtly competitive-based concept inviting comparison with others, and the likelihood of any individual evaluating her possession-defined Success in a positive fashion must depend upon the number of competitors such a decision is based upon. This is because, in a market-driven society, there will always be some one who possesses more. In western society, the one common denominator is, arguably, possession-defined Success. Indeed, it is probably the one criterion or currency by which western people are able to judge the success of others who compete in different arenas, whether it be sport, politics, or something else. Because of this, the majority of people will probably adopt a much broader focus and a much larger sampling frame when comparing their relative success in acquiring possessions with others. Thus, attributions based on possession-defined Success would most likely be based on explaining relative failure more so than success.

Working from this premise, individuals who place the blame for their failure to acquire more conspicuous possessions than others on external circumstances (eg, economic factors, changing market trends in consumption of conspicuous goods due to product lifestyles and associated niche marketing etc) are likely to feel frustrated and perhaps direct anger ‘out’ (i.e., AX/out) towards other people and things. Alternately, those individuals who base their attributions on internal factors such as laziness or ineffectiveness may feel depressed (Seligman, 1975; Beck, Rush, Shaw & Emery, 1979; Weiner, 1986) or hold their anger in (i.e., AX/in). The present results support this theory, and given that the correlation between possession-defined Success and Anger Expression is higher than that between the former variable and Depression, it would appear that there may also be support for Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) proposition that individuals tend to protect their self-esteem by attributing blame for failure - and hence directing their anger - at others.

Alternately, if an individual’s sense of worth and prestige depend largely upon conspicuous possessions, then the volatility of the market place in western society might induce feelings of helplessness and hopelessness (which underlie depression) in those persons as they continually strive to maintain status in the face of changing market trends. That is, individuals who attribute their failures to uncontrollable and unstable external factors such as those provided by a constantly changing market

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3 Just as, in terms of evaluating, say, success in a particular sport such as swimming, there will always be at least one athlete who is faster.
place may feel helpless and hopeless and experience exogenous depression. In summation then, the direction in which anger experienced is channelled may depend upon whether an individual’s attributions are based on internal or external factors, and also the degree to which the individual feels that he can control those factors.

**Conditioning, social learning and frustration theories**
The above cognitive-based explanations are also consistent with conditioning and social learning theories respectively. Buss (1971) reported that when aggressive behaviour is rewarded with material goods or social approval, the aggressor was more likely to behave similarly in the future. Now, while overt physical aggression may not be commonly rewarded outside of certain sporting arenas, competition within a marketing society certainly is, and these rewards take the form of both material possessions and esteem-boosting attention such as may be provided by media coverage. Hence, as there must be a loser (or losers) in any market-driven competition, then for those people there has been interference with goal-directed behaviour: i.e., frustration, which, according to Dollard et al (1939), is a primary determinant of aggression. Therefore, the fact that the competition engendered by a market driven society is rewarded would logically increase the likelihood of engaging in competitive behaviours in the future, and, hence, set in motion the concomitant mechanism which may lead to aggression (i.e., competition leads to frustration; which in turn produced anger, which may lead to aggression: Berkowitz, 1978). Further, in terms of social learning theory, individuals need not be directly rewarded for competing themselves, they need only observe others being rewarded for competing (Bandura, 1973). Hence, a combination of social learning and frustration theories may explain the relationship found between Materialism and Anger Expression. Further, it is important to note at this point that the manner and direction in which individuals may respond to anger – i.e., either outward to other people and objects, or inward towards oneself - is dependant upon an individual’s previous conditioning paradigms and social learning experiences (eg, Berkowitz, 1978). In the present study, anger directed in (AX/In) was a significant predictor of unique variance in both Materialism and subscale scores.

Other research into frustration based theories provides further avenues of speculation that are worthy of consideration at this point. Baron (1977) argued that while mild frustrations that are interpreted as occurring for a good reason are not likely to lead to aggression, strong frustrations that are interpreted as due to arbitrary factors are likely to lead to aggressive behaviour. While a market-driven society extols possession-defined success, in recent years (especially in Australia where the current study was run), such societies have also been characterised by relatively high unemployment. For most individuals, it would not be too difficult to argue that the causes of unemployment are shrouded in the vagaries of complex economic processes and associated market-movements and adjustments (such as the 1987 stockmarket crash), and hence their unemployment (or employment in areas perceived to be less than appropriate given individual skills and experience) could be viewed as being due to arbitrary forces which act little differently to those of chance or, simply, ‘bad luck’. Therefore, those individuals who equate success with acquiring possessions and adopt the above line of thinking may experience frustration, and possibly anger and aggression. As the ‘arbitrary’ forces which inhibit goal-directed behaviour may be

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4 Although not high by world standards, it is high in terms of Australia’s employment history.
difficult to identify, a frustrated person may look for an innocent ‘scapegoat’ upon
which his aggression can be vented (Berkowitz, 1962). This approach may explain
why violence in modern society often appears ‘senseless’. However, while discussing
frustration-based theories of aggression, it is important to note, though, that
“aggression is not always the dominant response to frustration” (Berkowitz, 1962:
p138). Indeed, an individual who behaves aggressively after being frustrated may do
this because his anger is great, and/or he has learned to associate aggressive behaviour
as a response to anger (Berkowitz, 1962).

Implications for health
Aside from the more obvious implications which may arise from what could be
referred to as the ‘Competition-Frustration-Anger-Aggression Syndrome’ (CFAAS;
i.e., a modification of the frustration-aggression theory as suggested by the above
discussion) such as overtly and physically hurting other persons (or, perhaps, oneself),
Johnson (1984) found that systolic and diastolic blood pressure levels in both males
and females are highly correlated with AX/in scores. This is supported by the present
results wherein there were no significant correlations between gender and any of the
AX subscales. Also, the aforementioned correlations between AX/in and blood
pressure remained significant (and positive) even when the effects of height, weight,
salt intake, racial differences and family histories of hypertension were partialled out.
Thus, Spielberger et al (1995) conclude that very high scores on the AX/in subscale
“may place an individual at risk for coronary artery disease and heart attacks” (p. 50).
In an earlier study, Hokanson and Burgess (1962) found that adult subjects who were
allowed to express aggression either physically or verbally experienced lower heart
rate and systolic blood pressure than control subjects who were not permitted to do so.
Although the correlations between the SCOI, Materialism (and its subscales) and the
anger-in subscale are only in the r = .24 -.31 range, they are still worthy of attention
and further consideration when one considers that in NSW Australia (where the
participants were recruited from), coronary heart disease accounts for one in four of
all deaths (Report of the Chief Health Officer, 1997). Thus, coronary heart disease has
a profound social and economic impact upon modern society, and therefore all
possible correlates of this condition are worthy of attention, despite the fact that our
market economy is based upon economic competition (i.e., economic rationalisation)
and consumption of material goods. The mid-range correlation between the Suicide
index and Anger-in reported by Saunders (2000) is also worthy of mention in this
context. In summation, then, Depression, Anger-in and Suicide Potential appear to
form a triad of psychological interactions which appear related to and potentially
affected by the volatility inherent to a market-driven society.

References

Vintage.

Prentice-Hall.


Title: The relationships between the Vertical and Horizontal dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism, Materialism and Anger Expression

Presentation format: poster session (please note that, in addition to the abstract below, a full paper is included for publication in the conference proceedings as agreed)

Topic area: Consumer / Health Psychology

Keywords: materialism, CFAAS, anger, competition, individualism.

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Abstract

The aim of the present study was to further evaluate the competition-frustration-anger-aggression (CFAAS) model as formulated in the accompanying conference paper, ‘An examination of Fromm’s (1955) marketing character and materialistic attitudes and their relationship to psychological health’ (Saunders, 2006). This model, if supported, would represent an addition to the model proposed by Berkowitz (1978) in that it ascribes a possible specific cause for frustration; i.e., competition, which, it has been argued, is a fundamental prerequisite of a market-driven society. The hypothesis that the possession-defined Success subscale of the Materialism index was based on competition (Saunders, 2000; 2006) and hence would be positively correlated with Vertical Individualism was supported. The hypothesis that Anger Expression would be positively correlated with Vertical Individualism (VI) was also supported. While some support was found for competition being a potentially significant source of frustration in the proposed CFAAS model, those same results also suggest that there may be other sources of frustration that may not be directly related to competition.
The relationships between the Vertical and Horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism, Materialism and Anger expression

Introduction
Berkowitz (1978) proposed that frustration is a precursor to anger, and in turn anger may lead to aggression. The aim of the present study was to further evaluate the competition-frustration-anger-aggression (CFAAS) model as formulated in the accompanying conference paper, ‘An examination of Fromm’s (1955) marketing character and materialistic attitudes and their relationship to psychological health’ (Saunders, 2006). This model, if supported, would represent an addition to the model proposed by Berkowitz (1978) in that it ascribes a possible specific cause for frustration; i.e., competition, which, it has been argued, is a fundamental prerequisite of a market-driven society.

Richins and Dawson (1992) propose that once the moral and societal consequences of materialism are removed, three general premises remain. The first - Acquisition centrality - implies that the acquisition and possession of material goods and services forms the central goal in an individual’s lifestyle. The second - Acquisition as the pursuit of happiness - suggests that the reason that the possession and acquisition of goods and services are central to the person is that they are believed to provide a substantial contribution to life satisfaction. If persons within a market-driven society are differentiated by what they possess, rather than who they are, then it is most likely that they consider both their own and other’s value (or worth) as something that is (externally) determined by both the number and quality of possessions accumulated. This is what is meant by the third theme, possession-defined success.

In Saunders and Munro (2000) and Saunders (2006), it was noted that Fromm’s marketing character (representing a rather more general definition of materialistic values and attitudes than the definition of materialism above) represents an almost neutral position in relation to human needs and psychological well-being. Indeed, although a significant correlation was found between the SCoI (Saunders Consumer Orientation Index, a psychometric measure of Fromm’s marketing character) and the emotional vital sign Anger Expression, a stronger association was found between Richins and Dawson’s (1992) Materialism index and that particular vital sign. Further, in Saunders and Munro (2001) it was noted that it was the Vertical dimension of individualism/collectivism, with its emphasis on authoritarianism and competition – as opposed to Individualism and Collectivism per se and their grounding in service to self and immediate family versus the community – which was the most important predictor of the marketing character (i.e., scores on the SCoI).

With the above observations in mind, a new question is raised: if Materialism has the strongest relationship with Anger Expression (when compared with the SCoI), and if, as discussed in Saunders (2006), Anger Expression should logically be associated with Vertical Individualism (i.e., competition), then it is also logical to expect that Materialism - and particularly its possession defined Success subscale - would have a stronger relationship with Vertical Individualism than does the SCoI. Therefore, it is hypothesised that Materialism and its competition-orientated ‘possession defined Success’ subscale particularly will have stronger positive correlations with Vertical Individualism (VI) than did the SCoI. This is because the Materialism scale is
designed to measure the relative importance which individuals place on acquiring conspicuous material possessions, and hence would be expected to be more sensitive to competition than the SCOI, which measures several related aspects associated with acceptance of a market-driven lifestyle.

Further, it is hypothesised that while the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism (Vertical) may be positively correlated with Anger-expression, the correlation between Anger Expression and Vertical Individualism (VI) will be higher, as the latter stresses competition, rather than just authoritarianism and acceptance of inequality, and hence could be expected to be more likely to induce feelings of frustration which in turn may lead to the expression and experience of anger.

**Method**

**Participants**
The respondents in this study were 160 (28 male and 132 female) undergraduate psychology students (mean age 22.6 yrs, range 17-53 yrs) from the University of Newcastle, NSW, and, 193 (112 male and 81 female) randomly selected persons from a 1998 Newcastle region telephone directory (mean age 48.8 yrs, range 18-91 yrs). Hence, in total, there were 353 participants (140 male and 213 female) with an average age of 36.9 years.

**Instruments**

**Vertical and Horizontal dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism** (Vhindcol: Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand, 1995; also cited in Triandis, 1995): 32 Likert-style items differentiating between the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism. The items can be subdivided in terms of Individualism and Collectivism (ie, 16 items each); the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism (‘Vertical’ and ‘Horizontal’; 16 items each), and also between Vertical Individualism (VI), Vertical Collectivism (VC), Horizontal Individualism (HI) and Horizontal Collectivism (HC), (eight items each). Hence, the subscales are additive.

**Richins and Dawson (1992) Materialism scale**: This comprises 18 items, using a five-point likert scale response format. These 18 items are divided between three themes: ‘Acquisition centrality’, ‘Acquisition as the pursuit of happiness’, and ‘Possession-defined success’. Cronbach’s Coefficient alpha has been found to range between .80 and .88 for the entire scale, and .71-.75; .73-.83; and .74-.78 for centrality, happiness, and success subscales respectively, while test-retest reliability is quoted as .87 for the combined scale, and r = .82, .86, and .82 respectively for the subscales.

**Anger Expression (AX) Scale** (Spielberger, 1986): this scale was constructed to assess how people generally feel or react when they feel angry. The AX scale is comprised of 24 items, which may be subdivided into three subscales: Anger-Out (AX/Out) - the tendency to express anger physically and/or verbally toward other people or objects in the environment; Anger-In (AX/In) - the tendency to experience but suppress angry feelings; and Anger-Control (AX/Con) - the tendency to control the experience and expression of anger. Total anger expression scores are arrived at

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1 Note that the Singelis et al ref is based on the work originally published in Triandis (1995).
by way of manipulating the above subscale scores (Spielberger, 1986). Each item is measured on a four point Likert scale ranging from “almost never” to “almost always”. The internal consistency (ie, Cronbach coefficient alphas) of the AX/In and AX/Out subscales have been reported to range between .73 to .84 (Spielberger, Ritterband, Sydeman, Reheiser, and Unger, 1995).

**Education:** 1 = higher degree; 2 = postgraduate diploma; 3 = bachelor degree; 4 = undergraduate diploma; 5 = associate diploma; 6 = skilled vocational; 7 = basic vocational; 8 = completed highest level of high school (i.e., Higher School Certificate); 9 = did not complete highest level of school.

**Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS)** (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985): is designed to measure global life satisfaction across all age groups, and does not tap related constructs such as positive affect or loneliness (Diener et al, 1985). This scale is reported to have a two month test-retest correlation coefficient of .82, and a coefficient alpha of .87 (Diener et al, 1985). The SWLS consists of five statements, to which participants may agree or disagree with by indicating their response on a seven point Likert scale. Further, scores on the SWLS were found to correlate moderately to highly with other measures of subjective well-being (Diener, et al, 1985).

**Procedure**

The 160 participants from Newcastle University completed all of the above questionnaires in their own time, and did so voluntarily to gain course credit. The 193 randomly selected participants who responded to the mail-out also completed the questionnaires voluntarily and in their own time. Note that the surveys posted to these latter participants also contained other questionnaires that were not related to this study or this researcher. Further, these respondents were also asked to indicate their satisfaction with life and highest level of education completed.

**Results**

The results were calculated using Minitab Version 11. In Table 1 are the correlations between Materialism, Anger Expression (AX-EX), and the eight possible dimensions of the VHINDCOL instrument:

Table 1. Correlations between Materialism, AX-EX, and VHINDCOL (N=353).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AX/EX</th>
<th>/Out</th>
<th>/In</th>
<th>/Con</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VC</th>
<th>HI</th>
<th>HC</th>
<th>Vert</th>
<th>Horiz’t</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Col</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/AX/Out</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/AX/In</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/AX/Con</td>
<td>-.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mat   | .37   | .29  | .19 | -.29 | .38 | -.11| .05 | -.19| .19  | -.11 | .31 | -.16 |
| Success | .29   | .19  | .22 | -.20 | .47 | .05 | .06 | -.11| .35  | -.04 | .38 | -.03 |
| Central | .30   | .28  | .05 | -.27 | .19 | -.28| .04 | -.23| -.06 | -.14 | .16 | -.29 |
| Hap’s  | .31   | .22  | .19 | -.23 | .28 | -.01| .01 | -.11| .19  | -.07 | .21 | -.06 |

All correlations of .20 and greater are significant at p<.001
In Table 1, Vertical Individualism (VI) is significantly and positively correlated with AX/EX, AX/Out, AX/In, and Materialism scores (including possession-defined Success and Happiness subscales). Scores on the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism (Vertical) did not correlate significantly with either AX/EX or Materialism. The correlation between Materialism scores and VI ($r = .38$) is significantly greater than that between Materialism and Vertical scores (ie, $r = .19$; $t(350) = 5.47$, $p < .001$ using Hotelling’s (1931, cited in Howell, 1982) solution for testing differences between dependent correlations). Further, the correlation between the possession-defined Success subscale of the Materialism index is significantly higher than that between the Materialism total scores and Vertical individualism ($r = .38$; $t(350) = 3.14$; $p < .01$). The correlation between Anger Expression and VI ($r = .29$) was significantly greater than that between Anger Expression and Vertical ($r = .13$; $t(350) = 4.47$; $p < .001$: again, using Hotelling’s solution).

In Saunders and Munro (2001), the SCOI had a correlation of $r = .40$ with the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism, and $r = .38$ with Vertical Individualism (VI). This latter relationship is identical to that between Materialism and VI in the above table, while the correlation between the SCOI and the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism is significantly greater than that between Materialism and Vertical ($z = 2.45$, $p < .05$; calculated using Fisher’s transformation for independent correlations). Further, there was no significant difference in the correlations between possession-defined Success and Vertical Individualism ($r = .47$) and the SCOI and VI ($r = .38$).

A series of simple multiple linear regressions were again carried out to further evaluate the relationship between and the dimensions of the VHINDCOL instrument, Materialism and its sub-scales, and Anger Expression (see Table 2):

**Table 2.**
Simple Multiple Linear Regression analyses between AX-EX criterion and VHINDCOL subscales and Materialism (and subscales) predictors (N=353)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>t ratio</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R-squar(adj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HI</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>.881</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HC</td>
<td>-4.19</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HI</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.393</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HC</td>
<td>-3.84</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mat</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HI</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.994</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.324</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HC</td>
<td>-3.89</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.621</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When VI and Vertical are regressed against AX/EX, although both of the predictor variables are able to predict a significant amount of unique variance in the criterion, increases in Vertical scores actually predict decreases in AX/EX scores. This may be due to the fact that once the competitive (i.e., VI) component of Vertical scores is removed, only collectivistic items remain, and collectivism has a significant negative correlation with AX/EX. Further, both VI and Materialism are able to predict a significant amount of unique variance in Anger Expression scores, but when VI, HI, VC, HC and the three Materialism subscales are regressed against Anger-expression, the Happiness and Centrality were significant predictors of criterion variance, but not Success. To further assess the relationship between Materialism and Vertical Individualism (VI), the three Materialism subscales were regressed against Vertical Individualism (i.e., competition: see Table 3):

Table 3.
Simple Multiple Linear Regression analysis between VI criterion and Materialism subscales predictors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>t ratio</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R-squar(adj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>success</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>centrality</td>
<td>-1.50</td>
<td>.135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>happiness</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The possession-defined Success subscale of Materialism is the only predictor of unique variance in Vertical Individualism (VI, i.e., competition).

Note that in Table 2 above, the Centrality and Happiness subscales of the Materialism index are significant predictors of unique variance in Anger Expression scores, while possession-defined Success fails to predict unique variance in the criterion. With these results in mind, and considering that possession-defined Success has been hypothesised as being based on competition, Vertical Individualism and the three Materialism subscales were regressed against AX/EX (see Table 4):

Table 4. Simple Multiple Linear Regression analysis between AX-EX criterion and VI and subscales of Materialism (N=353)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>t ratio</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R-squar(adj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>success</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.546</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>central</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>happiness</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When regressed against AX-EX with VI, the possession-defined Success subscale (of the Materialism index) failed to predict a significant degree of unique variance in AX/EX scores, although the Centrality and Happiness subscales did.

In Table 5 below, the three Materialism subscales are regressed against Anger Expression:

Table 5. Simple Multiple Linear Regression analyses between AX-EX criterion and subscales of Materialism (N=353)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>t ratio</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R-squar(adj)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>success</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>central</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>happiness</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three Materialism subscales were able to predict a significant degree of unique variance in AX/EX scores.

In Table 6, age (N=353), gender (N=353), highest level of education completed (N=193), and Life Satisfaction (N=193) have been correlated with the other variables:

Table 6.
Correlations between Materialism, Individualism/Collectivism, and Anger Expression and age, gender, Education, and Life Satisfaction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Life sat’n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Success</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Centrality</td>
<td>-.49</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Happiness</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/EX</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/Out</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/In</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX/Con</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HC</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>-.28</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual’T</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All correlations of .20 and greater are significant at p<.001

Life Satisfaction is significantly and negatively correlated with Materialism scores and each of the related subscales (i.e., possession-defined Success, acquisition Centrality, possession-defined Happiness). Education did not correlate significantly with any of the aforementioned variables. However, each of those variables did decrease significantly with increasing age, while scores on acquisition Centrality were significantly higher for females.

Gender and education did not have significant relationships with Anger Expression and its subscales. However, AX/EX (i.e., total) and AX/In scores were significantly and negatively correlated with both Life Satisfaction and age, while AX/Con was also significantly and negatively correlated with age.

Scores on Collectivism increased with age and decreased with increasing levels of Education completed, while scores on Individualism, VI, and HI were not correlated significantly with age, gender, Education, or Life Satisfaction. Horizontal collectivism (HC) was significantly and positively correlated with Life Satisfaction.

**Discussion**

The hypotheses that Anger Expression would be positively correlated with Vertical Individualism (VI), and further, that this correlation would be higher than that
between the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism (Vertical) and Anger Expression, were supported. Indeed, the correlation between Anger Expression and Vertical Individualism was the highest of the correlations between AX/EX scores and any dimension of individualism and collectivism. When VI, HI, VC, and HC were regressed against Anger Expression scores, only VI and HC were significant predictors of unique criterion variance. Further, when VI and Vertical were regressed against AX/EX scores, although Vertical was still able to predict significant unique variance in criterion scores, a resulting $t$ of -2.69 suggests that the unique variance predicted in AX/EX scores was due to the influence of collectivistic items. That is, once the 8 VI items are removed from the 16 Vertical items, only VC items are left, and the latter have a slight (i.e., not significant) negative correlation with Anger Expression.

The hypothesis that Materialism and its competition-orientated possession defined Success subscale particularly will have stronger positive correlations with Vertical Individualism (VI) than did the SCOI was not supported. Materialism had the same correlation with VI as did the SCOI in Saunders and Munro (2001), and, although the correlation between the possession-defined Success subscale (of the Materialism index) and VI was greater than that between the latter and the SCOI (i.e., $r = .47$), the difference was not significant. However, the positive correlation between the SCOI and the vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism (Vertical) was significantly greater than that between Materialism and Vertical. As the Vertical dimension of individualism and collectivism stresses authoritarianism as well as competition (Triandis, 1995), this provides further support for previous findings that the SCOI is a better measure of authoritarian traits than is the Materialism index.

It has been suggested that the possession-defined Success subscale of the Materialism index was based on competition (Saunders, 2000; Saunders, 2006), and this hypothesis received support from the present results. When each of the three Materialism subscales were regressed against Vertical Individualism (VI) – which represents competition – only the Success subscale was a significant predictor of unique variance in the criterion.

According to Herskovits (1965, p. 38), “One of the most widely spread traits of human beings, manifest under the most diverse types of social order, is the desire for prestige”, which led Bloom (1995) to the conclusion that “We assume that humans desire food, clothing, and shelter, but we forget that people crave for something far more vital: status and prestige. They yearn to move up the pecking order” (p. 252). The six items in the possession-defined Success subscale of the Richins and Dawson (1992) Materialism instrument certainly reflect this assumed preoccupation with prestige and one’s perceived place in the social pecking order: ‘I admire people who own expensive homes, cars and clothes’ (note the emphasis on ‘expensive’); ‘Some of the most important achievements in my life include acquiring material possessions’; ‘I don’t place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success’ (this is reverse scored); ‘The things I own say a lot about how well I’m doing in life’; ‘I like to own things that impress people’; and ‘I don’t pay much attention to the material objects that other people own’ (again, reverse scored). This position is further supported by the social constructionist approach of Gergen (1985) – and tested by Dittmar (1992) and Dittmar and Pepper (1994) – which holds that exposure to material goods appears to exert a specific and significant influence on both self and
other perception. Further, the influence that salient material objects had on perceptions were independent of class, suggesting that the effect may indeed represent an innate need to establish one’s place in the cultural pecking order.

Perhaps it is not surprising then that the possession-defined Success subscale had both the highest positive correlation with Vertical Individualism (VI) – which represents competition – and a significant positive correlation with Anger Expression: the more emphasis individuals place on material possessions as being representative of their place in the social pecking order, the more competitive they are likely to be, and, also, more likely to experience feelings of anger. This is due to the fact that acquiring possessions to maintain social position must be a continual process, as other similarly minded individuals (i.e., those with whom the former wish to compare themselves with) are also doing the same thing. Hence, the process is ongoing, competitive, and, arguably, a source of frustration, which would account for the association with the experience of angry feelings. Further, when the Materialism subscales and VI were regressed against Anger Expression, the Success subscale no longer accounted for unique variance in the criterion.

While Vertical Individualism (VI) was significantly and positively correlated with Anger Expression, Vertical Collectivism (VC) was significantly and negatively correlated with Anger Expression. (Note that both Materialism and Anger Expression had their strongest positive correlations with Vertical Individualism, and their strongest negative correlations with Vertical Collectivism). Hence, a willingness to serve the ingroup and doing one’s duty (i.e., VC) has the opposite relationship to Anger Expression than does serving one-self (VI). The present results appear supportive of the CFAAS model outlined above, i.e., it is reasonable to surmise that competition with the aim of achieving individual goals (as opposed to benefiting the community) inevitably engenders frustration (i.e., in all but the ‘winner’ in any particular scenario), and frustration in turn may lead to anger (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1939). In this thesis, anger has been operationalised as Anger Expression, which, in turn, may lead to aggression (eg, Berkowitz, 1978, 1988). It is important to note, though, that while some support has been found in the present results for competition being a potentially significant source of frustration in the above model, those same results also suggest that there may be other sources of frustration (such acquisition Centrality and possession defined Happiness) which may not be directly related to competition.

In terms of competition, it could be argued that man no longer has any real competitor (in terms of other animals) but himself. If humans do indeed have an innate need to compete, then, by and large, the absence of other worthy natural animal competitors may have resulted in mankind turning inward upon itself. That is, at this stage in history, perhaps humans now compete more with each other than ever before, and this need to compete is being channelled (and perhaps exaggerated) by an individualistic market-defined culture. Indeed, even Fromm (1986) suggests that it was the advent of agriculture which, by producing a surplus of food (and, later, possessions), fostered feelings of competitiveness and, subsequently, aggression, as individuals and nations sought to “rob, steal and exploit” the produce of others (Fromm, 1986, p. 48). However, it has also been argued that modern society is responsible for far less blood shed (i.e., homicide/murder) than most ‘traditional’ societies (Bloom, 1995). Nonetheless, one must still consider, for example, the increase in the incidence in
depression in countries such as the USA (Seligman, 1990), compared with traditional societies such as the Kaluli tribe of New Guinea, where depression as westerners define it does not appear to exist at all (Scheiffelin, 1984).

To summarise the above thoughts:

“Superorganisms, ideas, and the pecking order - the triad of human evil - are not recent inventions “programmed” into us by Western society, consumerism, capitalism, television violence, blood-and-guts films, or rock and roll. They are built into our physiology. They have been with us since the dawn of the human race” (Bloom, 1995, p. 330).

How, then, can we find a solution to such an innate need to compete and its associated tendency to violence? According to Bloom (1995) “We must invent a way in which memes and their superorganismic carriers - nations and subcultures - can compete without carnage” (p. 328). Perhaps an answer can be found in vertical collectivism; ie, competition for the betterment of the group (i.e., the superorganism). Although Horizontal Collectivism (HC) had a negative association with both Anger Expression and Materialism and a significant positive correlation with Life Satisfaction, if competition is indeed a part of our genetic and evolutionary heritage, then it is the relationship between Vertical collectivism (VC) and Anger-expression (and, to a lesser extent, Materialism), that may hold the answer to Bloom’s ‘Luciferian Paradox’. The reason for this is quite simple - while competition between individuals in an individualistic cultural setting may lead to anger and subsequent violence, competition between nations in a global collectivistic context would be unlikely to lead to violence due to the fact that it is rather difficult for an individual in one culture to commit violence upon an individual in another country. Of course, there could be some practical exceptions to this rule - such as violence towards, say, tourists or foreign aid workers - but, in a global sense, given our innate drive to compete, a push towards vertical collectivism may represent the most practical solution to Bloom’s ‘Luciferian Paradox’. Note that this suggestion makes no claim to completely removing violence. Rather, it seeks to alleviate what may be one of the most salient contributors to anger.

The idea of using Vertical Collectivism to compete without causing anger is conceptually similar to current management principles concerning managing conflict in the workplace. Robbins, Bergman and Stagg (1997) suggest that conflict can be controlled by managers by setting superordinate or collective goals for employees to work towards. That is, rather than compete at the individual level or between departments within an organisation, all employees and departments work towards

2 Fromm (1986; p49) appears to agree in this instance, with his assertion that “a number of primitive tribes have social systems in which friendliness and cooperation are predominant and aggression at a minimum”. Cooperation is consistent with VC. Note that Fromm does not claim that aggression is nonexistent, and also, in this case, Fromm does cite limited supportive evidence.

3 Bloom’s (1995) “Lucifer Principle” proposes that violence “is a fundamental tool Nature has used to refine her creations” (330).
collective goals. Perhaps the same approach could be applied to setting environmentally friendly targets in both the business and general community? Further, if Bloom (1995) is correct that pecking orders are to be found in human social interactions as well as other animals, then one might hypothesise that in some situations there could be a significant positive correlation between competition (i.e., VI) and depression. The basis for this argument lies in the modification of the frustration – anger – aggression model that includes competition as a basis for frustration (i.e., the CFAAS, as discussed above). If one accepts that ‘winning’ in a market-based society is rather difficult given that, firstly, in any win/lose scenario, there is only one winner, and, given that the criteria by which a winner is judged in such a society is constantly changing because the market is fluid, then ‘losers’ – which includes the majority of materialistic people\(^4\) - may feel that their position in the pecking order has been compromised (note that a significant correlation between Materialism and Depression was reported by Saunders and Munro, 2000). Of course this premise assumes that individuals who score high on Materialism would subjectively define the pecking order and their position in it by virtue of their conspicuous material possessions. On the other hand, persons who score relatively low on Materialism could be expected to define their position in the pecking order using other criteria.

Finally, respondents’ level of education was significantly with Collectivism and Vertical Collectivism (VC), perhaps suggesting that while individuals seem to have no difficulty determining their own needs, serving the needs of the larger collective group requires that the necessary values such as altruism, honesty and generosity must be “taught, preached and enforced” (Funkhouser, 1989, p. 20), and are in stark contrast to consumerist values which champion individuality and envy through marketing, and, as discussed above, a great deal more ‘losers’ than ‘winners’.

References


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\(^4\) The author’s assertion that a market driven society must inevitably produce more losers than winners is supported by Jaques Attali, the founding president of the European Bank.


Factors related to College Freshmen Retention

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Abstract: Retention is the best indicator that an institution is meeting its goal of student satisfaction and success. The freshmen year represents a stressful transition for college students. Each student that leaves before degree completion costs the college or university thousands of dollars in unrealized tuition, fees, and alumni contributions.

This study is important for the benefit of the dropout because the student who has dropped out often earns much less over a lifetime of work (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1989). If the factors responsible for freshmen dropouts can be identified, then intervention programs can be designed to increase retention rates.

This study will take place at Tennessee Technological University (TTU), a public university with Bachelor’s, Master’s, and Ph.D. programs in Cookeville, TN. With an undergraduate enrollment of 1,478 freshmen students, 413 of which are classified as dropped out.

Introduction

The federal student right-to-know and campus security act of 1991 represents an unprecedented attempt by the federal government to require institutions of higher education to publish data on the “quality” of their educational programs. This law also requires institutions to “disclose information about completion or graduation rates.” The law is designed to provide consumers—presumably students, parents, and college counselors—with information that would help them in making choices about postsecondary education (Astin, 1997). The information will also be useful in helping students make decisions about where to attend college and select the “right” college or university for themselves. This will result in low rate of departure (Berger and Braxton, 1998). But surprisingly almost one-half of students (50%) entering two-year colleges and more than one-fourth (28.5%) of students entering four-year collegiate institutions depart these institutions at the end of their first year (Tinto, 1993). The rate of first-year departure from highly selective colleges and universities is even more enigmatic, as such institutions experience an average first-year departure rate of 8.0% (Tinto, 1993). Witherspoon (1999) used the environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) (Jenkins, 1973) to identify college students who were at risk for dropping out of college. Their results indicated that 65% of the drop outs never completed the first year of college. The EDS scores showed that the drop outs received very little status for attending school, were less involved in the learning process, were experiencing more difficulties with debt, and were less involved in hobbies and organizations. In addition, the drop outs had less interaction, less social support from parents, spouse, relatives, friends, and faculty. In the UK, the dropout rate has risen from about 13-16% in the late 1970s and early 1980s to 19-25% in the late 1990s (Johnes and McNabb, 2004). Johnes and McNabb found that peer groups and the quality of the match between a university and the individual student are important determinants of student retention. According to a formula developed by the Noel-Levitz group, based upon Mountain Empire Community College’s current first-to-second-year dropout rate, the total net revenue gained by retaining one first-year student to graduation amounts to $4,025. And the college would realize a total dollar value savings of $94,588 by reducing the first-to-second year dropout rate by 10% (Sandel and Sydow, 1997).
Student retention has become a challenging problem for the academic community; therefore an effective program for student retention must be implemented in order to increase the retention of qualified students (Lau, 2003). Research consistently indicates that college students who drop out usually do so by the time they finish the first year (Noel, Levitz, and Saluri, 1985). So college retention is a significant problem for the benefit of freshmen retention.

**Review of literature:**

Retention of students at colleges and universities has long been a concern for educators. Published work on student retention has focused on several themes. Examining the relationship between precollege characteristics of freshman students (e.g. high school GPA, SAT scores) and their success at a college or university (Anonymous, 1997). Examining the causes of student attrition, with recommendations to colleges and universities for interventions to reduce the rate at which students leave school before graduating (Astin, 1993; Tinto, 1993); Describing and evaluating specific campus programs that were designed and implemented to improve retention of students in general (Boudreau and Kromrey, 1994; Glass and Garrett, 1995; Reyes, 1997), and for specific group of students (Dodd et al., 1995; Johnson, 1996; Pearson and Christensen, 1996) and Exploring the relationship between innovative or improved teaching techniques and student retention (Dougherty et al., 1995; Moore and Miller, 1996). Longitudinal studies, in which individual students are followed through time, have often been used to identify risk factors associated with leaving before graduation (Murtaugh, Burns, and Schuster). Various techniques including simple cross-tabulation (Avakian, 1982) two sample comparisons (Naretto, 1995) logistic regression and its variants (Dey and Astin, 1993) structural equation modeling (Cabrera et al., 1993) and Markov processes (Heiberger, 1993) have been used to analyze the data. Murtaugh, Burns, and Schuster (1999) used survival analysis to model student retention at Oregon State University (OSU) between 1991 to 1996. Information was obtained for 8867 students who enrolled as first time freshmen in the Fall Quarters of 1991 through 1995, inclusive. The model included students' pre-college characteristics (example high school GPA, SAT score), involvement in campus programs (example Freshmen Orientation Course, Educational Opportunities Program), and relevant demographic characteristics (example Ethnicity/Race, Sex). The application of survival analysis to the OSU data indicates important, independent associations of student retention with age, residency, and high school, and first-quarter academic performance, college at first enrollment, ethnicity/race, and enrollment in the Freshmen Orientation Course. The more surprising results of the above research are the superior predictive value of high school GPA over SAT score; the decrease in retention with increasing age at enrollment; and the difference between the univariate and multiple variable views of the association between ethnicity/race and retention. These results should be useful in developing programs to increase student retention, focusing recruitment efforts on the most promising students, and identifying at risk students.

Astin (1997) performed national longitudinal study, on retention of 52,898 students, attending 365 baccalaureate colleges and universities. The data was used to generate formulas for estimating any institutions expected retention rate based on its students high school grades, admission test scores, and racial and gender composition. The purpose of this paper was to provide individual baccalaureate-granting institutions or systems of such institutions with the capacity to evaluate their own retention rates. The formulas for
deriving an expected retention rate for an institution were developed through a series of multiple regression analyses. Four formulae were derived using four different sets of input characteristics. Formula 1 was used by employing only the student’s average grade in high school. Formula 2 was used by institutions that had both high school grades and college admission test scores available for their students. Formula 3 is available for those institutions that also have gender data on their students. Formula 4 is available for those institutions that have gender as well as racial/ethnic data. This information can be of considerable value in institutional self-analysis and policy making. Hossler (1984) and Stampen and Cabrera (1986, 1988) have argued that academic and social integration may be particularly high among recipients or work-study programs because it exposes the recipient to faculty, to academic staff, and to institutional practices and policies. The results of this study inform policymakers about the role of finances in the persistence process. Financial aid appears to do what it was intended to accomplish, that is, to facilitate both the academic and social participation of students in college, two factors that have been found to impact the students’ decision to remain in college or to drop out. St. John et al. (2000) examined the influence of state grants and other forms of financial aid on within-year persistence by full time in-state undergraduates enrolled in public higher education in Indiana during the 1997-98 academic years. This study used the workable persistence model (St. John, 1992; Somers, 1992) to assess the effects of financial aid on student persistence within the state postsecondary system. Logistic regressions were used to assess the effects of student aid on student within-year persistence. Sixty percent of full-time in-state undergraduate students had applied for student aid; 55% of them had received some type of aid. About 9% of the students attended two-year institutions, 45.4% were enrolled in research universities, and 45.8% were enrolled in other four year colleges. Attending two-year College was positively associated with probability to persist when aid packages were included, but it was not significant in the previous step. This suggests that the lower costs of attending two-year colleges had a positive influence on persistence after controlling for other factors. This study has three important conclusions. First, this study reinforces the conclusion that state-provided need-based financial aid programs are important in keeping public colleges affordable for state residents. Secondly, the analysis of state data systems can also provide insight into whether there is adequate aid to equalize the opportunity for persistence by diverse groups in the state, even if it is not possible to make direct attributions about the role of state aid in ensuring equal opportunity. Third, it is increasingly evident that systematic and routine assessments of the impact of student aid can provide states with useful information about college affordability. Munro (1981) used path analysis to test the Tinto’s model of college drop out using a sample drawn from the National Longitudinal Study of the high school class of 1972. Factors related to the integration of the student into the college’s academic setting appeared to be far more important to subsequent drop out decisions than were factors related to integration into the social setting. The obtained model supported that SES, ethnicity, and sex on persistence in higher education are mainly indirect. High school academic performance was a better predictor of college academic performance than was measured aptitude. These results were consistent with the previous findings (Munro, 1979; Peng et al. 1977). So in this study academic integration had a strong effect on persistence, whereas social integration had no significant effect. This lends support to the
findings of Terenzini and Pascarella (1978), in which academic integration variables accounted for nearly twice as much variation in dropout behavior as did social integration variables.

Feldman (1993), in her study identified predictors of attrition so that students at risk can be identified early even before they begin to drop out and college personnel can intervene and hopefully increase students’ chances for program completion. The perspective taken in this study was that, at the community college there may be certain preexisting factors that characterize students who are more likely to drop out. The current study found that four factors were significant predictors of attrition. The strongest predictor was high school GPA, the greater the odds for dropping out. Each one point increase in high school GPA was associated in the decrease in drop out rate by a factor of 0.46.

Woosley (2003), examined whether college students’ initial experiences, specifically experiences during the first few weeks of college, could be linked to degree completion. This study focused on a cohort of first time freshman students at one predominantly residential Midwest public university. A survey was administered to all the freshmen during the third week of their first semester on campus. The response rate to the survey was 67%. The dependent variable in this study was whether a student earned a Bachelor’s degree at the institution within five years (coded as 1) or no degree (coded as 0). Three categories of independent variables were included:

1. Demographic variables (high school percentile rank, gender, non-traditional status, first generation status, and family support).
2. Educational commitment (Bachelor’s degree, associate degree or uncertainty).
3. Initial college experiences (currently employed, not employed, initial social adjustment, and initial academic adjustment).

The purpose of the study was to investigate the effects of initial social and academic experiences on degree attainment. Because the dependent variable was dichotomous, a logistic regression model was used to test the hypothesis. The results showed that degree completion was significantly correlated with both initial social adjustment and initial academic adjustment. A logistic regression was used to test the effect of numerous variables on degree completion. High school percentile rank, first generation status, and family support were statistically significant predictors of degree completion. Of the three variables of initial college experience, initial social adjustment was the only variable significantly associated with degree completion. Upcraft and Gardner (1989) suggested that the development of friendships is an important factor affecting freshmen students. The results of this study support that idea. Therefore, freshmen programs that focus on relationships, friendships, and social activities early in the semester may play an important role for student persistence.

Folger (2004) discusses the research regarding the success of The Freshman Empowerment Program following its initial implementation. The Freshman Empowerment Program (FEP) was designed to support at-risk freshmen as they move from high school to college. Peer and adult co-leader teams facilitated these groups. Student participants were first-semester; first-generation college freshmen enrolled as full-time students during the fall semester. University housing personnel administered the College Student Inventory (Stratel, 1988) during the second week of classes and results identified those first-generation freshmen residing in the residence halls. A random sample of 200 students was taken from a list of those expressing interest in the FEP. 53 of
them were randomly selected and placed in FEP groups. The control group was drawn from the 147 students remaining from the original random sample of 200. The six groups involving 53 students met weekly for 90 minutes at each session. Topics discussed were student-directed and included information on academics, college resources, adjustment, relationships, and other issues of concern to the students. The results indicated that the first semester, second semester, and the cumulative GPA were significantly higher for those students involved in the FEP groups. An additional outcome for the FEP group participants was their high rate (79%) of retention as compared to 39% for the control group.

Retention is the best indicator that an institution is meeting its goal of student satisfaction and success (Levitz, Noel, and Richter, 1999). In 1981, Noel and Levitz established a national database at ACT on retention and graduation rates. These data which provide benchmarks, against which individual institutions can measure their own rates, are broken down by type of institution (public or private) and by highest degree offered, as well as by academic selectivity as measured by the average ACT or SAT scores of their entering freshman class. This database has been maintained and updated annually by ACT. The results indicate that there is a linear relationship between academic ability and retention. Institutions that report the highest average ACT and SAT scores have an average first- to- second- year dropout rate of less than 9 percent, with open-door institutions having first- to- second- year dropout rate that is more than five times higher, or 46 percent. Secondly, dropout rates are lower among private institutions than they are for public institutions. The highest standard deviations were observed in the open-door public and private associate- degree-granting institutions. Institutions can control their dropout rates to a great extent based on the energy and effort that is put into getting students started right on the path into and through the first year of college. The reason to focus on the first year is perhaps because the first- to- second- year attrition rate is the most important determiner of an institution’s graduation rate. The authors have observed that attrition rates are halved each subsequent year after year. They also suggest that freshmen need a prevention plan. Intrusive, proactive strategies must be used to reach freshmen before the students have an opportunity to experience feelings of failure, disappointment, and confusion. Levitz and Hovland (1998) have listed five categories of issues facing students that ultimately have an impact on the decision to dropout: personal, social, academic, life issues, and institutional issues. The authors have also suggested a step- by- step approach to retention results. The retention improvement efforts can proceed on two planes: an immediate individualized approach that can be quickly implemented and a longer- term effort that will lead to substantive, long-lasting changes in institutional culture.

An immediate individualized approach: Colleges and universities report increased retention success from working with students who did not appear to be at risk because their traditional cognitive performance (high school grades and test scores) was adequate, while the retention management system (RMS) uncovered attitudinal and motivational issues that may have led to dropout- prone behavior if left unchecked.

Longer- term approach: The best retention programs have the following characteristics:

1. Highly structured
2. Extended, intensive contact with students
3. Interlocks with other programs and services
4. A strategy of engagement
5. Qualified staff
6. A critical role for faculty members
7. A focus on the affective as well as cognitive needs of students
8. Establish a retention task force, even if the campus already has a retention program coordinator
9. Carefully select the person to head the retention task force
10. Make sure the task force spend a minimum amount of time studying the issue despite the natural tendency to want to explore every potential alternative
11. Establish a readiness to accept change across the campus by promoting a widespread understanding of what retention is and what it is not
12. Go for big gains
13. Celebrate successes

In addition, the authors also suggest of prioritizing a retention improvement agenda. In conclusion, the authors’ research shows that by reducing the number of freshmen dropouts by a single student, a four-year institution will, on average, “save” $15,000 to $25,000 in gross revenue over four to five years. According to them, investing in retention programming is good business. Few, if any, other institutional investments will yield such a high return. Lastly the authors emphasize that more than the budgetary impact, increase in student satisfaction is important because the current students will talk with prospective students in their families, schools, workplaces, and home towns. Therefore student success and institutional success are truly inseparable.

DeBerard, Spielmens and Julka (2004) examined the potential psychosocial predictors of freshmen academic achievement and retention. College students were assessed on various dimensions such as demographics, prior academic record, smoking, drinking, health-related quality of life, social support, coping during the first week of their freshmen year, and at the beginning of the next academic year. The goal of this research was to create a multidimensional risk model that would optimize prediction of both academic achievement and attrition. Their study also investigated health related quality of life and smoking and binge-drinking as potential predictors of freshman academic achievement and attrition. The purpose of this study was to investigate these possible risk factors for low academic achievement and attrition in a sample of freshman college students from a private west coast comprehensive university. The following research questions were assessed: (1) What are the demographic, academic, health, social, and coping characteristics of entering freshmen and how are these variables interrelated?; (2) What is the academic achievement and rate of attrition for this freshman cohort and are these two variables related?; (3) What are the correlations between the proposed risk factors with academic achievement and attrition?; and (4) What percent of variance in academic achievement and attrition can be predicted by regression equations using risk factors as predictors? The participants included 204 undergraduate students solicited from introductory psychology and sociology classes at a private west coast university. A packet of questionnaires was administered to participants during the last 30 minutes of a class period. Average class size was 30 students and surveys were completed during the first week of classes of fall semester. A cover sheet informed students the purpose of the study and their data would be kept confidential. Social support was assessed with the multidimensional perceived social support scale (MPSSS) (Dahlem, Zimet, Walker,
The MPSSS is a 12-item scale employing a 7-point Likert-type format (1 = very strongly disagree; 7 = very strongly agree). Only the total score was utilized in the present analyses. The Ways of Coping Checklist Revised (WOC) is a 66-item self-assessment inventory designed to assess cognitions and behaviors people use in dealing with stressful events or situations (Folkman and Lazarus, 1988). Although the WOC provides for eight subscales, only two of the scales were used within the present study. The health status risk factors such as smoking and drinking were assessed using a single-item question with multiple-choice responses. General physical and mental health was assessed via the 36-item Short-Form Health Survey (SF-36). The SF-36 items were aggregated into mental health (MCS) and physical health (PCS) component summary scales (Ware, 1994). A standardized method for calculating the MCS and PCS scales is available (Ware, 1994) and these procedures were utilized in the present study. Students' total SAT scores, their overall high school GPA's, cumulative GPA, and their reenrollment status were obtained from the universities' administrative offices. The results include descriptive statistics for predictors and criterion variables, criterion variable descriptive statistics and intercorrelations, predictor-criterion Pearson and point-biserial correlations, and regression of predictors on academic achievement and retention. A total of 10 predictors' variables were assessed. There was a statistically significant correlation between cumulative GPA and retention but the 10 predictors were differentially correlated with each of these outcomes. The results indicated substantial correlations between the 10 predictors and cumulative first year GPA while only a single predictor was moderately correlated with retention. A multiple linear regression equation predicting cumulative GPA using the 10 predictors accounted for 56% of the variance in academic achievement while a logistic equation predicting retention rates was not statistically significant. This study demonstrated an ability to predict a very large amount of variance in freshmen year cumulative academic achievement based on a brief and comprehensive assessment of students during their first week of classes. The authors believe that this model has some potential to be used as a tool to proactively identify students at high risk for poor academic performance during their freshman year. It also provides some direction regarding proactive intervention strategies for maladaptive behaviors predictive of poor academic performance (e.g. smoking, binge-drinking, social support, coping). But the important finding was that the only statistically significant correlate of retention was low high school GPA. So their hypotheses that several health and psychosocial variables (e.g. smoking, drinking, health-related quality of life, social support, and maladaptive coping strategies) are related to retention were not supported. However total level of social support was a significant predictor of academic achievement, which confirmed their hypotheses and supports the previous literature relating to social support and college academic achievement. The limitation of this study was the type of sample used. The students were enrolled in a rather selective private northwest university, so it is unclear how well the results would generalize to the US college population as a whole. An additional study with public college students would be required to infer the external validity of the model for this population. In conclusion, this study demonstrated the utility of model to predict academic achievement but not college student retention.

Mee-Lee and Bush (2003) studied the current mentoring practices carried out at the Hong Kong Baptist University. The study focuses upon students’ perspectives of an ‘effective’
In Hong Kong, mentoring is a new concept in the university setting. Different kinds of interventions are taken to counteract such problems and mentoring programs are one such intervention. Mentoring is being used in the United Kingdom and also in Hong Kong as a motivation to improve the work of students in secondary schools and universities and a popular retention strategy for undergraduate education. There is a formal mentoring program at the Hong Kong Baptist University that is a part of the University Life Program conducted for all freshmen. The mentoring sessions are more than mere academic advising as the mentor is not only an academic advisor but also acts as a source person to students in areas of university life outside academic matters. In formal mentoring programs, mentees are assigned to a mentor. The broad aim of research was to establish the nature and effectiveness of student mentoring at the Hong Kong Baptist University.

The specific objectives were to assess:
1. The current mentoring practices carried out at the Hong Kong Baptist University.
2. The beliefs and motives held by mentors and mentees.
3. The gender preferences of those involved.
4. The desirable characteristics of mentors as perceived by both mentors and mentees.
5. What were some of the problems encountered by mentors in the university setting?
6. What implications these findings have for the development of the mentoring program.

Data collection involved three main phases:
1. In the first phase, the author surveyed 50% of all 1350 freshmen from five faculties by stage sampling (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p.88).
2. In the second stage, a survey for the mentors was conducted by sending questionnaires to all staff serving as mentors in the university.
3. The third stage was an in-depth interview conducted with five mentors in the science and communication faculties.

The reason for choosing these two faculties for further qualitative investigation was due to the significance found in the quantitative results relating to the desirable characteristics of mentors as perceived by the mentees between these two faculties. The sample was further stratified by interviewing two associate professors and three assistant professors, three of the locals and two expatriates, from each of the above faculties to provide data from different academic ranks and different cultural backgrounds. The results of the research indicated that both the mentors and mentees were satisfied with the length of mentoring sessions (one hour per session) and the number of mentoring sessions received (seven times a year). Most students preferred group to individual mentoring. The results revealed that women faculty is under-represented at the Hong Kong Baptist University. If given a choice, the mentees would select mentors of the same sex. This indicates that same-sex mentoring is usually preferred to cross-sex mentoring (Darling, 1986; Gaskill, 1991; Shea, 1992). Lack of training was one of the main hindrances for good mentoring. One mentor expressed his opinion that the university should have seminars and training sessions for those faculty members who have to mentor students. The mentors felt that recognition, release time, and tangible rewards
should be given for good mentoring. Based on the findings, the following suggestions were given by the mentors to improve mentoring practice at the Hong Kong Baptist University:

1. For the mentoring to be successful and acknowledged, senior management should believe in mentoring and give full support by giving mentors ample time to carry out their mentoring sessions.
2. Mentoring should be included as part of the formal curriculum. It should be scheduled in the timetable and mentoring sessions should be counted as student contact hours.
3. An extensive orientation program emphasizing the expectations, responsibilities of mentor, duration and frequency of contacts, and training mentoring skills should be conducted for mentors.
4. A good reporting system which includes notes from the mentoring sessions and feedback from students and mentors would help the mentors to gain recognition, as well as promoting review and improvement of the program itself.

Duggan (2004) studied the influence of social capital factors on the first-year persistence of beginning first and second generation four-year college students. First-generation students were those students whose parents had never attended college. Second-generation students had at least one parent who attended college. A case was made for considering email to be a form of social capital. This study examines the impact of one type of social capital, email, on the first year persistence of first and second generation college students attending four-year institutions. First generation students are less likely to graduate from college than are other students. If these students persist and graduate, they and their children will reap the same economic and social benefits enjoyed by students whose parents have graduated from college. According to a recent report from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), first-generation students made up 47% of the new students enrolling in higher education institutions in the 1995-96 school years (Kojaku, Nunez, and Malizio, 1998). This rate was up from the 43% reported for the 1989-90 school year (Nunez and Cuccaro-Alamin, 1998). The parents of first generation college students may be unable to advise their children about college processes because they have never attended college, have no experience about the processes that they could share with their children, and have a different set of social capital. On the other hand, the parents of second generation college students are able to advise their children about college processes because they have attended college, have experience about the processes and have a social capital in the form of knowledge and experience that they could share with their children. Jordan and Plank (1998) found that academically prepared students’ lack of social capital in the forms of parental involvement in school activities and in parental encouragement for taking the SATs was related to their not entering higher education. E-mail is a comparatively new mode of communication that offers college students new opportunities for social and academic integration within their college communities. E-mail is also a form of social capital that exhibits both bonding and bridging aspects. Putnam (2000) described the telephone as having negligible impact on social capital because people use telephone to contact their existing friends rather than for developing new networks. On the other hand, e-mail can be used as bridging social capital. E-mail can be used to develop on-campus social networks with other students, faculty, and administrators. In addition, students can use
email to develop connections off campus that can be useful socially, academically, or for their future careers. E-mail can also help the students to keep contact with their high school friends and family members. In this study, email is being treated as both bonding and bridging social capital. Since email can affect social and academic integration within the campus community, it can also affect student persistence. Owen, Pollard, Kilpatrick, and Rumley (1998, p1) found that email discussion groups can serve as learning communities. Gatz (1998) found that about 8% of email messages were used for academic integration activities and about 14% for social integration. She concluded that keeping in contact with parents and high school friends through email does indeed play a role in helping students adjust to college life by providing a link to friends and family who are important to them. Trice (2002, p.332), in a study of email communication between 48 freshmen and their parents, found that “the development of email has increased communication between students and parents enormously”. Jones (2002) conducted a survey on internet and email use by 2054 undergraduates from 27 two-year and four-year public and private colleges and universities. Jones found that students use email to communicate with both faculty and peers. Forty-six percent students felt that email permitted them to communicate with professors and discuss questions that they would not have raised in class, 58% of students used email to discuss grades with faculty, 65% reported an absence for class by email, and 62% used email to communicate with friends and family. The data for this study were a subset created from the full BPS data set (NCES). This study included only those students who enrolled as first time, beginning students in four-year institutions. In order to compare first-generation and non-first-generation students, cross-tabulations were conducted using first-generation status as the independent variable and first-year persistence as the dependent variable. Cross-tabulations are a method for exploring differences between groups. The Chi-square statistical test was used to determine if there are statistically significant differences between groups. Persistence was a dichotomous variable coded as “1” if the student is enrolled in the second year of college and “0” for a student no longer enrolled. Binary logistic regression was conducted using WESVAR 4.0 with persistence as the dependent variable. In this study, a sequential approach to logistic regression was utilized. Two separate sequential logistic regression analyses were conducted. The first regression included all students and the second regression included only the first-generation students. The effects of the independent variables are reported using beta coefficients, standard errors, t-statistics, statistical significance, and the odds ratio. The results showed that both first- and second-generation students who did not have e-mail were less likely to persist than those who did. First-generation students with e-mail had the same persistence rate as second-generation students with e-mail. Having an e-mail account (also a measure of bridging and bonding social capital) had a statistically significant positive affect on persistence. First-generation students who did not use e-mail had probabilities of persisting that were 11% lower than those of students who used e-mail. Students in the full sample model who did not use e-mail had probabilities of persisting that were 14% less than those using e-mail. The results from this study show that e-mail has a statistically significant positive influence on persistence. E-mail acts as bonding social capital to the past and as bridging social capital to the future (college and beyond), may enable first-generation students to move forward into the college community without cutting their pre-college social ties. First-generation students were less likely to have an
e-mail account. This fact had a negative influence on their persistence. Institutions may want to stress the use of e-mail to keep students in touch with their family and friends. Also they should insist the faculty and staff to use e-mail as a tool to communicate with students. This will help the students to become academically and socially integrated. Increased levels of integration should lead to higher persistence levels.

**Summary:**

Researchers have been studying student retention in colleges using several characteristics such as high school GPA, SAT score, demographic characteristics or involvement in campus programs. Munro (1981) found that high school academic performance was a better predictor of college academic performance than social integration. Astin (1997) used several characteristics as high school grades, college admissions test score, gender, race/ethnicity to generate formulas, so that the institutions could use them to calculate expected retention rate. Levitz, Noel, and Richter (1999) found that there is a linear relationship between academic ability and retention. Private institutions have more retention rate than public institutions. St. John at al. (2000) has studied the effects of financial aid on student persistence. Woosley (2003) found that degree completion was significantly correlated with initial social and academic adjustment. Other important predictors of degree completion were high school percentile, first generation status and family support. DeBerard, Spielmens, and Julka (2004) have investigated characteristics like demographic, prior academic record and health related quality of life (smoking, binge-drinking) as potential predictors of freshman academic achievement and attrition. Duggan (2004) studied the impact of e-mail (social capital) on the first year persistence of first and second generation college students. He found that e-mail helped these students to develop new contacts and maintain old contacts with their family members and high school friends. Having an e-mail account had a statistically significant positive effect on persistence.

Feldman (1993) has suggested that if the predictors responsible for student attrition can be identified early, the institution can intervene and increase student retention. Levitz, Noel, and Richter (1999) have suggested two approaches for retention improvement, Individualized approach and Long term approach. Mee-Lee and Bush (2003) studied mentoring as one of the interventions to prevent student attrition. Folger (2004) found that cumulative GPA was higher for the first generation college freshmen who were involved in Freshman Empowerment Program (FEP).

Thus the review of literature focuses on two major aspects, the characteristics related to retention and the interventions that can be used to enhance retention of college freshmen. The major characteristics responsible for retention seem to be high school GPA, SAT scores, age, race/ethnicity, gender, financial aid, family support, and social involvement. The major interventions suggested for retention are FEP, mentoring, individualized contact with students, establishing a retention task force, and establishing campus wide awareness to enhance retention.

**Problem Statement**

This study will answer the following questions: Do college freshmen who attend Tennessee Technological University, have difficulty in persisting in college? To what extent do factors such as high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, parents’ level
of education, family support, amount of time spent to study and socialize relate to freshmen dropouts as compared to those who are still in college?

**Significance of the Study**

This study is significant for the benefit of freshmen retention. Retention is the best indicator that an institution is meeting its goal of student satisfaction and success (Levitz, Noel, Richter, 1999). The freshmen year represents a stressful transition for college students (Lu, 1994). It is estimated that 40% of college students will leave higher education without getting a degree (Porter, 1990) with 75% of such students leaving within their first two years of college (Tinto, 1987). Each student that leaves before degree completion costs the college or university thousands of dollars in unrealized tuition, fees, and alumni contributions.

This study is also important for the benefit of the dropout because the student who has dropped out often earns much less over a lifetime of work (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1989). If the factors responsible for freshmen dropouts can be identified, then intervention programs can be designed to increase retention rates (Clark and Halpern, 1993). Mortenson (2000) found that the lifetime income of male college graduates would be $1,160,000 more than that of high school graduates. Female college graduates will earn $600,000 more than female high school graduates. As I was reviewing the literature, I have come across many quantitative studies and a few qualitative studies about retention of college freshmen. This makes me think that more research is necessary to determine the factors responsible for freshmen dropouts. The results of this study can also be used to test Astin’s theory of involvement and Tinto’s theory of student departure. That is why this study is important.

**Hypotheses**

This study will examine the following hypotheses:

1. There will be a difference in the level of academic success between dropout college freshmen and those who have persisted in college.
2. There will be a difference in the relationship of factors such as high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, parents’ level of education, family support, and amount of time spent to study and socialize and retention of college freshmen as compared to those who have dropped out.

**Limitations**

This study is descriptive study which has three limitations:

1. The independent variables cannot be manipulated.
2. Subjects cannot be randomly, or otherwise, assigned to treatment groups.
3. Causes are often multiple and complex rather than single and simple.

This descriptive research will be causal-comparative which has certain limitations:

1. The independent variable has already been completed, so the researcher has no control over it.
2. Sometimes the variable either cannot be manipulated or should not be manipulated.
3. One of the most serious dangers of descriptive research that uses ex post facto and causal-comparative procedures is the post hoc fallacy, the conclusion that, because two factors go together, one must be the cause and the other the effect.
This study will take place at Tennessee Technological University (TTU), a public university with Bachelor’s, Master’s, and Ph.D. programs in Cookeville, TN. This study is descriptive in nature and no variables will be manipulated.

With an undergraduate enrollment of 1,478 freshmen students, 413 of which are classified as dropped out (TTU office of Institutional Research, 2005), it will be necessary to obtain a high response rate from the students who have dropped out in order for this study to be valid. For that reason, all the college freshmen that are classified as dropped out will have to be included in the study. Another limitation is that I may not be able to contact all the college freshmen who have dropped out. Also, the freshmen who are classified as dropouts by TTU office may have enrolled in some other institutions. So, it would be necessary for me to exclude these students in this study as they cannot be classified as dropouts.

Definitions
- **Retention**: Retention is defined as continuous enrollment in fall and spring semesters.
- **Graduation**: Graduation is defined as official notification of degree completion by the university officials.
- **Grade Point Average (GPA)**: Grade point average is calculated at the end of each semester by dividing the total number of points earned at TTU by the total number of credit hours.
- **Dropout college freshmen**: Dropout college freshmen are those who have officially or unofficially withdrawn from all classes in the same or the following semester.
- **Socializing**: Socializing is defined as, attending campus activities, joining different clubs and organizations or partying.
- **Academic success**: Academic success is defined as getting good grades, and positive learning experience.

Methods

**Procedures**

This study will be administered via a telephonic survey. College freshmen who are enrolled as fulltime students and have been identified as having officially or unofficially withdrawn from all classes in the same or the following semester will be chosen for telephonic survey. They will be asked to respond to eleven questions about their reasons for deciding not to complete the semester or return to college. Simultaneously a similar six question survey will be given to the college freshmen who have persisted in college. The persisted college freshmen will be chosen by equal sampling of fulltime enrolled freshmen from various colleges at TTU. Simultaneously, the data regarding high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, and parents’ level of education will be obtained from the records office of TTU. Once the survey is complete, all the data will be entered into an excel spreadsheet where the variables will be broken down by codes that correspond with respondents’ answers. Then using descriptive statistics, computing simple correlation, multiple regressions, and stepwise logistic regression, the data will be analyzed to predict retention and dropout.

Sample/ Population
Participants will be TTU college freshmen, full-time students and those that are identified as having either officially or unofficially withdrawn from all classes. The college freshmen dropout list will be obtained using the list of officially and unofficially withdrawn freshmen from all classes. All those on the list will be included in the study. The persisted college freshmen will be chosen by equal sampling of fulltime enrolled freshmen from various colleges at TTU.

**Design**

This will be a descriptive causal-comparative research study. If data are collected for the single purpose of describing a specific group (fulltime college freshmen) with no intention of going beyond that group, then the study is considered to be descriptive. Descriptive research seeks to find answers to questions through the analysis of variable relationships. For example what factors seem to be associated with retention or dropout of college freshmen? Causal-comparative research scrutinizes the relationship among variables in studies in which the independent variable has already occurred, thus making the study descriptive rather than experimental in nature. Sometimes the variable either cannot be manipulated or should not be manipulated. Still, the relationship of the independent variable on one or more dependent variables is measured and implications of possible causation are used to draw conclusions about the results. This research study will consist of surveying college freshmen dropouts and equal sampling of persisting freshmen from various colleges at TTU. This survey will address questions related to quality of academic advising, student-faculty interaction, quality of instructors, career options thought, personal experience at TTU, and reasons to leave the college. Other information such as the data regarding high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, and parents’ level of education will be obtained from the records office of TTU.

**Materials**

There is no specific material used for this study.

**Data Collection**

All data for this study will be collected and obtained through surveys: telephone surveys for the freshmen who have dropped out and surveys administered to persisting freshmen who have been chosen by equal sampling from various colleges at TTU. Simultaneously, the data regarding high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, and parents’ level of education will be obtained from the records office of TTU. Once the survey is complete, all the data will be entered into an excel spread sheet where the variables will be coded. The persisted students will be represented by the number 1 and the dropped out students by the number 0. The spread sheet will also have the following headings/ groups for each participant: high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, and parents’ level of education.

**Measurement and Instrumentation**

The data for this study will be collected through telephone survey (Refer Appendix) for the freshmen who have dropped out and surveys administered to persisting freshmen who have been chosen by equal sampling from various colleges at TTU. Simultaneously, the data regarding high school GPA, ACT scores, type of high school (public/private), age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income, financial aid, and parents’ level of education will be obtained from the records office of TTU.
First, a pilot test will be done with a small group of students to determine the relativity of the questions, the time it takes to complete, and the ease of the survey. Also a panel of experts will be used to judge how effective the questions are and to obtain their suggestions regarding the survey questions. This survey’s validity will be established using the above two methods. Reliability will be strengthened by increasing the number of items surveyed and by asking some questions more than once, but worded differently. The answers will then be compared for consistency.

**Data Analysis/Statistical Procedures**

The results of the survey and the data gathered from the records office of TTU will be analyzed using:

1. **Simple descriptive statistics:** The descriptive analysis will be carried out using the variables such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, GPA, SAT scores, family income, and type of high school (public or private).

2. **Computing simple correlations:** Pearson correlation analysis will predict if there are any significant relationships between the different independent variables under study. Also, this correlation will predict the variables responsible for retention/dropout.

3. **Stepwise multiple regression technique:** Multiple regressions involve two or more independent variables. In other words, it involves just one Y variable (retention) but two, three, or more X variables (high school GPA, SAT scores, family income, financial aid, age, race, gender, etc.). The stepwise multiple regressions will be used to examine the relationship between the predictor variables like high school GPA, SAT scores, family income, financial aid, etc. and the single criterion variable retention. Each predictor variable will be entered into the regression equation in a stepwise fashion if it will account for a significant proportion of variance in the criterion variable at the alpha less than .05 or .01 significance level.

4. **Stepwise logistic regression:** The dichotomous logistic regression will be used for any highly correlated variables. The dependent variable will be dichotomous (binary) in nature. A subset of the independent variables will be included for control purposes, with the label control (or covariate). One subset will consist of student demographics (age, gender, ethnicity), another subset will consist of family demographics (family support, parent level of education, etc.). During logistic regression, significant variables which will be predictors of retention or dropout will be identified. Even when the results suggest strongly that the regression has achieved its predictive or explanatory objective (retention/dropout), the analysis is correlational in nature. All data will then be correlated to predict retention and dropout among college freshmen.
Reference


APPENDIX

**Telephone survey**

Students identified as having either officially or unofficially withdrawn from all classes in the 2005 fall semester will be chosen for telephonic survey. They will be asked to respond to eleven questions about their reasons for deciding not to complete the term. The interview will begin in the following manner:

Hello, my name is Girija Shinde and I am calling from TTU. We are conducting a short survey of students who began classes at TTU this fall but have since withdrawn or stopped attending. May I speak with ____________?

May I ask you a few questions about your experience at TTU? Thank you.

1. Can you please tell me about your main reasons for not re-enrolling at TTU?
   
   a. Did not enjoy classes
   b. Classes too difficult
   c. Not prepared academically
   d. Did not enjoy campus
   e. Did not offer courses of my interest
   f. Financial problems
   g. Illness of self or family member
   h. Other (specify) __

2. About how many times did you meet with your academic advisor while you were at TTU?
   
   a. ______ (1\textsuperscript{st} semester)
   b. ______ (2\textsuperscript{nd} semester)

3. Overall, how would you evaluate the quality of academic advising you have received at TTU?
   
   a. Excellent
   b. Good
   c. Fair
   d. Poor

4. How would you characterize the quality of relationship with faculty members using the scale from 1 to 7, 1 being unavailable, unhelpful, and unsympathetic and 7 being available, helpful, and sympathetic?
   
   a. 7
   b. 6
   c. 5
   d. 4
   e. 3
   f. 2
   g. 1
5. While at TTU, with how many faculty members have you developed a close relationship (such that you feel you could ask them for a letter of recommendation)?
   a. None
   b. One
   c. Two
   d. Three or more

6. Did you receive prompt feedback from faculty on your academic performance (written or oral)?
   a. Very often
   b. Often
   c. Sometimes
   d. Never

7. Did you have any really good instructors while you were at TTU that influenced your choice of career?
   a. Yes _____
   b. No

8. Were you able to discuss alternative career options with your advisor?
   a. Definitely no
   b. Probably no
   c. Probably yes
   d. Definitely yes

9. Did your career plans become clearer while you were at TTU?
   a. Definitely no
   b. Probably no
   c. Probably yes
   d. Definitely yes

10. Do you have support from your family to attend college?
    a. Yes
    b. No

11. About how many hours did you spend in a typical 7-day week doing each of the following?

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<th># of hours per week</th>
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That concludes my questions. Thank you for participating, and if TTU can be of any service to you in future, don’t hesitate to call.
Patriarchy as defined in feminist literature is a socially constructed system of male privilege and domination predicated against women. As a result of these continual injustices, imbalances and inequities women have had to find ways to revolt and to resist. Spirituality, for many women, has been that vehicle. Spirituality has traditionally been a coping mechanism for women as they have struggled to resist, navigate and challenge acts of male aggression both physically and sexually. This discussion will examine the role and the use of spirituality as a meaning making system of resistance, strength, and power for women as they struggle to make sense of the senseless.
1. **Title of the submission:**

1). A process analysis: Parental Notification (PN) Requirements for Publicly Funded Contraception for Minors in U.S.A. and Marriage Medical Examination (MME) policy in China — Comparison of instrument rationality pursuit and value rationality pursuit

2). African refugees and asylum seekers experience with their life situation and well-being after their resettlement in Salt Lake City — Marxism and System analysis

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A process analysis: Parental Notification (PN) Requirements for publicly funded contraception for minors in the U.S.A. and Marriage Medical Examination (MME) policy in China: comparison of instrument rationality pursuit and value rationality pursuit

ABSTRACT

This paper will analyze the Parental Notification (PN) policy in the U.S.A. and the Marriage Medical Examination (MME) policy in China. The goal of this comparison is not simply to compare the content and the language of the two policies, but instead I aim to find the similarities and differences in the public service orientations of the two countries and what factors influence their social policy decision making. Furthermore, the context of policy decision making will be analyzed.

African refugees and asylum seekers experience with their life situation and well-being after their resettlement in Salt Lake City: Marxism and System analysis

ABSTRACT

The international movement of refugees is a social issue in the world. The resettlement system is thought of as a solution to the refugee problem and aims to restore the normal life for refugees. Refugees and asylum seekers are at a high risk for mental health problems resulting from their experiences of resettlement in the host country because they face a lot of challenges upon arrival in the new society. I explore the well being of African refugees and asylum seekers after their resettlement. My research focus is the experience of forced migration, difficulties in refugees’ resettlement, which involves their economic (material life), physical, social (identity reconstruction, acculturation) life and their strategies in adaptation. The research questions are “What is the African refugees’ experience of resettlement in Salt Lake City?” and “What aspects of resettlement affect their current well-being?” Through personal interviews I will illustrate that the life experiences of the refugees and asylum seekers determines their attitude toward their perception. The access to social and economic resources of the refugees and asylum seekers affects their well being. Policy recommendation will be presented.
1. Title of the submission:

1). African refugees and asylum seekers experience with their life situation and well-being after their resettlement in Salt Lake City
   — Marxism and system analysis

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African refugees and asylum seekers experience with their life situation and well-being after their resettlement in Salt Lake City
— Marxism and system analysis

ABSTRACT

The international movement of refugees is a social issue in the world. The resettlement system is thought of as a solution to the refugee problem and aims to restore the normal life for refugees. Refugees and asylum seekers are at a high risk for mental health resulting from their experience of resettlement in the host country because they have to face a lot of challenges upon arrival in a new society. I explore the well-being of African refugees and asylum seekers after their resettlement. My research focus is the experience of forced migration, difficulties in refugees’ resettlement, which involves their economic (material life), physical, social (identity reconstruction, acculturation) life and their strategies in adaptation. The research questions are “What is the African refugees’ experience of resettlement in Salt Lake City?” and “What aspects of resettlement affect their current well-being?”

I set out from the idea that refugees are real, active people; the situation of their mental health reflects their real life process. Historical materialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and the systems theory will be used to examine my data collected by qualitative research methods from refugees and professionals in the Asian Association of Utah (AAU) refugee resettlement program. These two perspectives will be seen as basically interconnected in my study.

In conclusion, life experience of the refugees and asylum seekers determines their attitude toward their perception. The access to social and economic resources affects their well being. Policy recommendation will be presented.

Finally, as a learning process, I would like to present some deficiencies in my study as a reference for my future qualitative study as well as other students or researchers who are interested in qualitative research and refugee issues.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Topic Area</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahn</td>
<td>Kyung Ju</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>From Seoul to Syracuse: The Educational Project of Transnational Korean Families</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilich</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Shouldering the Weight of the World: Global Demands on the Smallest of the SIDS and the Resilient Solvency of Subsistence Traditionalism in the Marshall Islands</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>To Develop as a Nation is to Speak as a Developed Nation: Constructing Idioms of Transparency and Development in the Political Oratory of Imerina, Madagascar</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahm</td>
<td>Sheena</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Desiring Unity: History and the Fetish Object in Korea's MacArthur Debate</td>
<td>1771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivy</td>
<td>Lennette</td>
<td>Area Studies - African American</td>
<td>Speaking African American English and the Expected Impact on the Development of Writing Skills</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilocerkowyc</td>
<td>Jaro</td>
<td>Area Studies - Europe</td>
<td>Ukrainian-Polish Relations: The Student Perspective</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fontes</td>
<td>Érica</td>
<td>Area Studies - Latin America</td>
<td>New Visibility, Epic Theater and Textual Openness in Six Plays of the Centro do Teatro do Oprimido in Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>Area Studies - Southeast Asia</td>
<td>China Tian-Xia (Under the Heaven): Politicization of Chinese Popular Culture in Zhang Yimou's film, &quot;Hero&quot;</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Yu-mei</td>
<td>Area Studies - Southeast Asia</td>
<td>Foreseeing the Cross-strait Relations from the Cultural Difference &amp; Adult Education</td>
<td>945</td>
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<td>Jaymes</td>
<td>Jeana</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>The Unreported Felony Within Domestic Violence: The Missing Piece in Public Communication Campaigns</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
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<td>They’re not Shy, They’re Just a Little Impaired: Rethinking Communication Apprehension and the PRCA-24 from a Cognitive-behavioral Perspective of Social Anxiety</td>
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<td>Sherilyn</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>&quot;We Had NO Choice but to Carry On!&quot;: Examining the Rhetoric of Family Resiliency Voiced by Hurricane Katrina Survivors</td>
<td>991</td>
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<td>Couples = Affective and Cognitive Expressive Communication Behaviors Associated with Marital Satisfaction</td>
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<td>In Cyberspace with Five Masters on Deaf-Hearing Marriages</td>
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<td>Marital Satisfaction and Conflict Styles in Deaf-Hearing Couples: A Comparison</td>
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<td>Production, Representations, and Consumption of Chinese Blockbusters for Global Markets: A Case Study of Hero</td>
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<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>Intimate Relationships of Feminist Women Therapists</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bazyka</td>
<td>Dimitry</td>
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<td>Population of Chernobyl Exclusion Zone as the Model for Health Consequences of Technogenic and Natural Catastrophes</td>
<td>1588</td>
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<td>Last Name</td>
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<td>Topic Area</td>
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<td>Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawaiʻi Sample</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
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<td>Farmer</td>
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<td>Preliminary Analysis of the Automation of Downward Spiral, a Drug Abuse Treatment Program</td>
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<td>Genre Analysis of Legal Provisions</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
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<td>Graybeal</td>
<td>Pam</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Area</td>
<td>The Changing Climate of Climate Change Discourses: U.S. News Media Reporting on Climate Change</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
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<td>Karen</td>
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<td>Comparative Analysis of the Shopping Styles of Young Men</td>
<td>529</td>
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<td>American Social Scientists and the Courts: Analysis of Subpoenas Demanding Disclosure of Confidential Research Data</td>
<td>820</td>
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<td>Bringing the Appellate Courtroom into the Courtroom: Undergraduate Moot Court in American Colleges</td>
<td>878</td>
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<td>Exploring the Connection between African American Cultural Norms and Health Promotion: A Revised Consideration of African American Families</td>
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<td>Rhetorical Invalidation of the 1918 Spanish Influenza Epidemic</td>
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<td>Preliminary Analysis of the Automation of Downward Spiral, a Drug Abuse Treatment Program</td>
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<td><em>Painted Prayers</em>: Indian Women and Sacred Spaces</td>
<td>1171</td>
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<td>Caste Discrimination in Micro Finance Institutions-Experiences from Self Help Groups in India</td>
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<td>A Transformative Model for Education - Systemic, Integral Education:</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Amby</td>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Sex Education and College Students: What they want to Know; Introduction of The Best Sex Book Ever</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Amitrano</td>
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<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities:</td>
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<td>Teaching to the Test &amp; Grading on a Curve: Alternatives</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bao</td>
<td>Huihong</td>
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<td>Home-schooling Children’s Social-Emotional Learning - A Case Study</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bohne</td>
<td>Erin</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>Erin</td>
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<td>Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring</td>
<td>1440</td>
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<td>Erin</td>
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<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
<td>1449</td>
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<td>Camahalan</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>Promoting Critical Thinking and Collaborative Learning among Graduate Students through Online Discussion Forum</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chambers</td>
<td>Mary Beth</td>
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<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
<td>1449</td>
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<td>The study of the basic exercising abilities of the students in the tennis elective curriculum</td>
<td>1729</td>
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<td>Glenda</td>
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<td>Stress Management and Self-Care for Adult Learners</td>
<td>265</td>
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<td>Dahm</td>
<td>Molly</td>
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<td>Are Teachers Prepared to Accommodate Diversity in the Classroom? - A Mandate for Colleges of Education</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ennis</td>
<td>Theresa</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Assessing and Enhancing Critical Thinking Skills with Student Calibrated Peer Review</td>
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<td>Patricia</td>
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<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
<td>1661</td>
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<td>Integration of the Learning Process: Teaching Pedagogy that Addresses the Strengths of Both Left- and Right-Brain Learners</td>
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<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
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<td>Ismail</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Highlighting Diversity in Resegregated Classrooms</td>
<td>532</td>
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<td>Ho</td>
<td>Jui-Lin</td>
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<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
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<td>1762</td>
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<td>The study of the basic exercising abilities of the students in the tennis elective curriculum</td>
<td>1729</td>
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<td>Jaymes</td>
<td>Jeana</td>
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<td>Contemporary Challenge in American Business Schools: Educating ESL Students to Communicate in the Business World</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
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<td>Candace</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Candace</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring</td>
<td>1440</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
<td>1449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Lara</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>Eunyoung</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>College Aspiration and Educational Opportunity of Immigrants: How Cultural and Social Capital Affect College Choice</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kim</td>
<td>Eunyoung</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A Virtual Metamorphosis: Higher Education Policy Implications of the Western Governors University</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Cheng Man Diana</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A Study of Macau’s Primary and Secondary School Systems through Statistical Figures</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leu</td>
<td>Chien-Wei</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique to the Mechatronics Instruction</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>The Study of Taiwanese College Students’ English Reading Comprehension Strategies</td>
<td>931</td>
</tr>
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<td>Yeou-Yih</td>
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<td>The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique to the Mechatronics Instruction</td>
<td>965</td>
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<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nix</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Are Teachers Prepared to Accommodate Diversity in the Classroom? - A Mandate for Colleges of Education</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
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<td>Rastella</td>
<td>Jacqueline</td>
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<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
<td>1661</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>A Proposal for the Creation of a Student Assistance Program for Colleges</td>
<td>1281</td>
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<td>Brian</td>
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<td>Japanese University Students’ English Study Methods: Learning to Learn More Than Course Content</td>
<td>1367</td>
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<td>Brian</td>
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<td>When Being Bilingual is Not Enough: Investigating the “Other Duties” Performed by Judicial Interpreters in Japan</td>
<td>1405</td>
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<td>Girija</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Factors related to College Freshmen Retention</td>
<td>1816</td>
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<td>Peterann</td>
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<td>Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring</td>
<td>1440</td>
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<td>Are Teachers Prepared to Accommodate Diversity in the Classroom? - A Mandate for Colleges of Education</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
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<td>Stevens</td>
<td>Tracy</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique to the Mechatronics Instruction</td>
<td>965</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>When Being Bilingual is Not Enough: Investigating the “Other Duties” Performed by Judicial Interpreters in Japan</td>
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<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
<td>1661</td>
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<td>Woodward</td>
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<td>The Perceived Importance of Student Computer Usage in Higher Education: Faculty and Student Response to CSU Technology Surveys</td>
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<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
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<td>Yuen</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>A Study of Macau’s Primary and Secondary School Systems through Statistical Figures</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
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<td>Egelman</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Ethnic Studies</td>
<td>The Emerging Black Middle Class: Fact or Fiction</td>
<td>378</td>
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<td>Ghani</td>
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<td>Adaptation and Human Security to Extreme Flood Events in the Ganges - Brahmaputra and Meghna (GBM) River Basins - A Case Study in Bangladesh</td>
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<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>658</td>
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<td>Key Success Factors for Doing Business with China: Small U.S. Company’s Perspectives</td>
<td>660</td>
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<td>Intelligence Failures and 9/11</td>
<td>403</td>
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<td>660</td>
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<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Assessing the Threat of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Terrorism</td>
<td>508</td>
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<td>Jin</td>
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<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
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<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chavez</td>
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<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>Connecting Southern Californians with Nature</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chavez</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
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<td>Law Enforcement Officers in the USDA Forest Service</td>
<td>256</td>
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<td>How Midwestern (U.S.A.) Latinos View Strong Marriages: A Standpoint Theory Approach</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
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<td>Race and Sentencing Outcomes in Michigan-1996-2001</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
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<td>Martinovic</td>
<td>Marietta</td>
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<td>Offenders’ Personal and Social Characteristics as Determinants of</td>
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<td>360</td>
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<td>360</td>
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<td>Law Enforcement Officers in the USDA Forest Service</td>
<td>256</td>
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<td>Allen</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Follow the Leader: A Stackelberg Model of State Policy Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtley</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Madam President: An Analysis of the TV Show &quot;Commander in Chief&quot;</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levantrosser</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>The American War on Terrorism: A Critique</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
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<td>Molchanov</td>
<td>Mikhail</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Russia’s Partnership with China: Regionalism, Energy, and Security</td>
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<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Stability, Democracy, and Reform: Determining the Stakes of the Lord's Resistance Army Conflict</td>
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<td>Cordero</td>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Towards Cultural Competency with a Latino Community: A Cross-cultural Teaching Model</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Allison</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai‘i Sample</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia</td>
<td>Maria</td>
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<td>Gender Issues and The HIV/AIDS Epidemic: The Kuwaiti Women Experience</td>
<td>1311</td>
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<td>Hadi</td>
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<td>Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai‘i Sample</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mohamed Abd El-Sattar</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>The Effects of Sex Preference for Children Upon Fertility in Egypt, 2000</td>
<td>1722</td>
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<td>Ozea</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Preservation and Green Urbanism</td>
<td>Buddhism and the Eco-Crisis: A Theoretical Buddhist Environmental Ethic and Its Translation into Practice</td>
<td>1153</td>
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<td>Redefining the Politics of Love: Attitudes Towards Interracial Dating in the 21st Century</td>
<td>1151</td>
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<tr>
<td>Batcho</td>
<td>Krystine</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>What Comes to Mind in Nostalgic Reminiscence?</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brouillette</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Gender Identity and its Influence on the Perception of Gendered Behavior</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>The Threat of Immediate, Potentially Biased, Evaluation by Whites Doesn’t Create Stereotype Threat Performance Drops in Minority Own-Group Contexts but Non-evaluative Out-Group Co-Actors Do</td>
<td>1454</td>
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<td>The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chiang</td>
<td>Chau-Pu</td>
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<td>The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States</td>
<td>263</td>
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<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
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<td>Factors Affecting the Acceptance of Public Displays of Affection</td>
<td>333</td>
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<td>Shukran</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>EVOLUTION OF PSYCHE AND NEW FUNDAMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY</td>
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<td>331</td>
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<td>Factors Affecting the Acceptance of Public Displays of Affection</td>
<td>333</td>
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<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Development of the Japanese Version of Hartmann’s Boundary Questionnaire</td>
<td>555</td>
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<td>Hong</td>
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<td>Redefining the Politics of Love: Attitudes Towards Interracial Dating in the 21st Century</td>
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<td>263</td>
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<td>Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China</td>
<td>1723</td>
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<td>Christopher</td>
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<td>Communicating Trust, Warmth, and Empathic Understanding: Advancing the Role of the Therapeutic Alliance in the Treatment of Social Anxiety Disorder</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jones</td>
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<td>Interactive Sex Classes: Incorporating an RF Response Device System in a Human Sexuality Class</td>
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<td>Dissociation Seen in the Drawings of Youths in Japan</td>
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<td>A Community Support Project for Child-Rearing in Japan: In Case of Kindergartens</td>
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<td>The Threat of Immediate, Potentially Biased, Evaluation by Whites Doesn’t Create Stereotype Threat Performance Drops in Minority Own-Group Contexts but Non-evaluative Out-Group Co-Actors Do</td>
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<td>Teachers’ Burnout, Stressor, Efficacy and Coping Behavior</td>
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<td>Redefining the Politics of Love: Attitudes Towards Interracial Dating in the 21st Century</td>
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<td>The relationships between the Vertical and Horizontal dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism, Materialism and Anger Expression</td>
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<td>An examination of Fromm’s (1955) marketing character and materialistic attitudes and their relationship to psychological health.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>233</td>
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<td>Keiichiro</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Process and Acquiring of the Meaning of Self-Disclosure in Encounter Group</td>
<td>1468</td>
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<td>Taylor</td>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>The Impact of Low Socioeconomic Status on Health: Epidemiological Considerations, Biobehavioral Mechanisms, and Implications for the Nation’s Growing Latino Population</td>
<td>1491</td>
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<td>Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China</td>
<td>1723</td>
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<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
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<td>333</td>
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<td>Jones</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>Law Enforcement Spending and Crime Rates - Thoughts on Past and Future Research</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
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<td>Barr</td>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Creating Public-Private Partnerships to Promote Permanency and Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) in Child Welfare</td>
<td>985</td>
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<td>Barranti</td>
<td>Chrystal C. Ramirez</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>&quot;Entre la Pena y la Gloria&quot; (Between Sorrow and Glory): Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for Practice and Policy</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>Barrett</td>
<td>Mark</td>
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<td>The Relationship Between HIV Non-Barrier Protection and Stages of Change for Condom Use</td>
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<td>1430</td>
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<td>Study Abroad in Guatemala: Merging Social Work Education, Service-Learning, Language and Cultural Immersion</td>
<td>213</td>
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<td>Parents’ Use of Drug Prevention Strategies with their Children: Influence of Personal, Familial and Environmental Factors</td>
<td>247</td>
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<td>Parents Achieving with Collaborative Teams (PACT): A Model Program for High Conflict Families.</td>
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<td>Creating Public-Private Partnerships to Promote Permanency and Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) in Child Welfare</td>
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<td>Exploring Students’ Political Competence and Intelligence to Promote Advocacy for Children and Families</td>
<td>989</td>
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<td>Social Work in a Sustainable World</td>
<td>1004</td>
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<td>A Sexual Health Curriculum for Latino Males who have Sex with Males in a Drug Recovery Program</td>
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<td>E-Mentoring Undergraduate Social Work Students: A Pragmatic Approach to Support Prospective Professionals</td>
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<td>MSW Student Attitudes Regarding the Role of Spirituality in End-of-Life Care</td>
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<td>Scenario of Street Children in Nepal</td>
<td>1438</td>
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<td>Ann Irene</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Revisiting Embodiment in Contemporary Social Theory: Cosmetic Surgery - 'Reflexive Self-control' or 'Intimate Troubles'</td>
<td>147</td>
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<td>Glasser</td>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Body Type Preferences: Ethnic, Racial and Sex Differences in Online Daters’ Body Type Preferences for Potential Dates</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
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<td>Grineski</td>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Social Vulnerability, Environmental Injustice and Childhood Asthma</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chin</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>The Transformation of Democratic Values -- The Taiwan Case</td>
<td>597</td>
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<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>Michael</td>
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<td>The Effects of Hegemonic Ascent and Decline on the Portrayal of Heroism: Superman 1938-2005</td>
<td>604</td>
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<td>Jones</td>
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<td>The Effects of Wealth on Homeownership Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos in the United States</td>
<td>727</td>
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<td>Jones</td>
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<td>Beyond Recognition: Searching for Meaning within Multiracial Categorization</td>
<td>754</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pacheco</td>
<td>Tania</td>
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<td>Diabetes and Mexican Immigrants: Curanderismo, Biomedicine, and Diffusion Theory</td>
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<td>Powell</td>
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<td>Ambivalence Versus Aggression: The Application of the Death Penalty in California and Texas</td>
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<td>Tyler</td>
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<td>A Comparison of Risk Factors for Sexual Victimization among Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Heterosexual Homeless Young Adults</td>
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<td>Ali</td>
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<td>Towards New Horizons for Studying Local Disparities in Demosphere in Rural Areas</td>
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<td>Bonnie</td>
<td>Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods</td>
<td>Booker T: A Neighborhood in Transition</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
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<td>McDaniel</td>
<td>Sevanna</td>
<td>Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods</td>
<td>A Case Study of the Booker T. Senior Village</td>
<td>1768</td>
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<td>Last Name</td>
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<td>Cooperation and Conflict between Firms, Communities, New Social Movements and the Role of Government: V. Cerro De San Pedro Case</td>
<td>1531</td>
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<td>Urban and Regional Planning</td>
<td>467</td>
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<td>Informal Home Based Working Women in Turkey</td>
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<td>Teaching to the Test &amp; Grading on a Curve: Alternatives</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bao</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>Home-schooling Children’s Social-Emotional Learning - A Case Study</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
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<td>Creating Public-Private Partnerships to Promote Permanency and Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) in Child Welfare</td>
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<td>&quot;Entre la Pena y la Gloria&quot; (Between Sorrow and Glory): Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for Practice and Policy</td>
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<td>The Relationship Between HIV Non-Barrier Protection and Stages of Change for Condom Use</td>
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<td>Redefining the Politics of Love: Attitudes Towards Interracial Dating in the 21st Century</td>
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<td>Psychology</td>
<td>What Comes to Mind in Nostalgic Reminiscence?</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
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<td>Dimitry</td>
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<td>Population of Chernobyl Exclusion Zone as the Model for Health Consequences of Technogenic and Natural Catastrophes</td>
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<td>Jaro</td>
<td>Area Studies - Europe</td>
<td>Ukrainian-Polish Relations: The Student Perspective</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
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<td>Erin</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohne</td>
<td>Erin</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring</td>
<td>1440</td>
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<td>Erin</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
<td>1449</td>
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<td>Branson</td>
<td>Donna</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branson</td>
<td>Donna</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Key Success Factors for Doing Business with China: Small U.S. Company’s Perspectives</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>Brierly</td>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Follow the Leader: A Stackelberg Model of State Policy Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks</td>
<td>Ann Irene</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Revisiting Embodiment in Contemporary Social Theory: Cosmetic Surgery - 'Reflexive Self-control' or 'Intimate Troubles'</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brouillette</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgos</td>
<td>Claudia</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>The Effects of Life Events on Telemarketing Fraud Vulnerability among Older Adults</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadena</td>
<td>Lourdes</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Study Abroad in Guatemala: Merging Social Work Education, Service-Learning, Language and Cultural Immersion</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camahalan</td>
<td>Faye Marsha</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Promoting Critical Thinking and Collaborative Learning among Graduate Students through Online Discussion Forum</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Gender Identity and its Influence on the Perception of Gendered Behavior</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>The Threat of Immediate, Potentially Biased, Evaluation by Whites Doesn’t Create Stereotype Threat Performance Drops in Minority Own-Group Contexts but Non-evaluative Out-Group Co-Actors Do</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castro</td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Mothers’ Use of Drug Prevention Strategies with their Children: Influence of Personal, Familial and Environmental Factors</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambers</td>
<td>Mary Beth</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
<td>1449</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chavez</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>Connecting Southern Californians with Nature</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chavez</td>
<td>Deborah</td>
<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>Law Enforcement Officers in the USDA Forest Service</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen</td>
<td>Gueiru</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chiang</td>
<td>Chau-Pu</td>
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<td>The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chiu</td>
<td>Feng-Chieh</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The study of the basic exercising abilities of the students in the tennis elective curriculum</td>
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<td>Parents Achieving with Collaborative Teams (PACT): A Model Program for High Conflict Families.</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>Stress Management and Self-Care for Adult Learners</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
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<td>Comer</td>
<td>James</td>
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<td>Preliminary Analysis of the Automation of Downward Spiral, a Drug Abuse Treatment Program</td>
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<td>Cordero</td>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Towards Cultural Competency with a Latino Community: A Cross-cultural Teaching Model</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curl</td>
<td>Layton Seth</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>Curl</td>
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<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Preliminary Analysis of the Automation of Downward Spiral, a Drug Abuse Treatment Program</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czuchry</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>EVOLUTION OF PSYCHE AND NEW FUNDAMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY</td>
<td>1743</td>
</tr>
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<td>Dadayev</td>
<td>Shukran</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Are Teachers Prepared to Accommodate Diversity in the Classroom? - A Mandate for Colleges of Education</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahm</td>
<td>Molly</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Relationship Between HIV Non-Barrier Protection and Stages of Change for Condom Use</td>
<td>1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devaney</td>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>How Midwestern (U.S.A.) Latinos View Strong Marriages: A Standpoint Theory Approach</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DuPree</td>
<td>W. Jared</td>
<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>A Survey of Foster Parents’ Satisfaction Toward Nevada’s System of Child Welfare</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>Renee</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawaii’s Sample</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egelman</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Ethnic Studies</td>
<td>Assessing and Enhancing Critical Thinking Skills with Student Calibrated Peer Review</td>
<td>1746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ennis</td>
<td>Theresa</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>How Midwestern (U.S.A.) Latinos View Strong Marriages: A Standpoint Theory Approach</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estrada</td>
<td>Jose Uriel</td>
<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>Intelligence Failures and 9/11</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fang</td>
<td>Chih-hui</td>
<td>Women’s Studies</td>
<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farhamy</td>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Key Success Factors for Doing Business with China: Small U.S. Company’s Perspectives</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
<td>1661</td>
</tr>
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<td>Farr</td>
<td>Cheryl</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Integration through Equal Opportunities in a Scandinavian State: The South Asian Immigrant Experience</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fernandez</td>
<td>Mariajose</td>
<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>Managing Growth with the K-12 Public School System: from the Point of View of the Immediate Housing Market and Overall Long-term Sustainability</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>Gim</td>
<td>Tae-Hyoung &quot;Tommy&quot;</td>
<td>Urban and Regional Planning</td>
<td>Physical Patterns of Urban Sprawl and Levels of Air Pollution in the Atlanta Metropolitan Region</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladman</td>
<td>Tehmina</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladman</td>
<td>Tehmina</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Factors Affecting the Acceptance of Public Displays of Affection</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasser</td>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Body Type Preferences: Ethnic, Racial and Sex Differences in Online Daters’ Body Type Preferences for Potential Dates</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenn</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Integration of the Learning Process: Teaching Pedagogy that Addresses the Strengths of Both Left- and Right-Brain Learners</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gocheco</td>
<td>Paulina</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>Genre Analysis of Legal Provisions</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graybeal</td>
<td>Pam</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>The Changing Climate of Climate Change Discourses: U.S. News Media Reporting on Climate Change</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregoire</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Theories of Motivation in Addiction Treatment: Testing the Relationship of the Transtheoretical Model of Change and Self-Determination Theory</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimm</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Assessing the Threat of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Terrorism</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grineski</td>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Social Vulnerability, Environmental Injustice and Childhood Asthma</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groden</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
<td>1661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guthrie</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>Comparative Analysis of the Shopping Styles of Young Men</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakim</td>
<td>Ismail</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Highlighting Diversity in Resegrated Classrooms</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haratani</td>
<td>Naoki</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Development of the Japanese Version of Hartmann’s Boundary Questionnaire</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatchett</td>
<td>Bonnie</td>
<td>Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods</td>
<td>Booker T: A Neighborhood in Transition</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkins</td>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>Other Areas of Social Science</td>
<td>Race and Sentencing Outcomes in Michigan-1996-2001</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>Jui-Lin</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong</td>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Redefining the Politics of Love: Attitudes Towards Interracial Dating in the 21st Century</td>
<td>1151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsiao</td>
<td>Hanliang</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Allison</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai'i Sample</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Chin</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>The Transformation of Democratic Values -- The Taiwan Case</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang</td>
<td>Yuh-Der</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The study of the basic exercising abilities of the students in the tennis elective curriculum</td>
<td>1729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutchison</td>
<td>Bobby</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>The Impact of Alcoholic Parents on Adult Children: A Comparative Study of College Students in Taiwan and the United States</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iamsupasit</td>
<td>Sompoch</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>The Relationship Between HIV Non-Barrier Protection and Stages of Change for Condom Use</td>
<td>1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>Michael</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Shouldering the Weight of the World: Global Demands on the Smallest of the SIDS and the Resilient Solvency of Subsistence Traditionalism in the Marshall Islands</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivy</td>
<td>Lennette</td>
<td>Area Studies - African American</td>
<td>Speaking African American English and the Expected Impact on the Development of Writing Skills</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>To Develop as a Nation is to Speak as a Developed Nation: Constructing Idioms of Transparency and Development in the Political Oratory of Imerina, Madagascar</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>The Effect of Hegemonic Ascent and Decline on the Portrayal of Heroism: Superman 1938-2005</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaymes</td>
<td>Jeana</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>The Unreported Felony Within Domestic Violence: The Missing Piece in Public Communication Campaigns</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaymes</td>
<td>Jeana</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Contemporary Challenge in American Business Schools: Educating ESL Students to Communicate in the Business World</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiang</td>
<td>Yuanzi</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
<td>Byoungho</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
<td>Byoungho</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Key Success Factors for Doing Business with China: Small U.S. Company’s Perspectives</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>Christopher</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>They’re not Shy, They’re Just a Little Impaired: Rethinking Communication Apprehension and the PRCA-24 from a Cognitive-behavioral Perspective of Social Anxiety</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>Christopher</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Communicating Trust, Warmth, and Empathic Understanding: Advancing the Role of the Therapeutic Alliance in the Treatment of Social Anxiety Disorder</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>Antwan</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>The Effects of Wealth on Homeownership Propensity and Ethnic Spatial Distribution for Latinos in the United States</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Beyond Recognition: Searching for Meaning within Multiracial Categorization</td>
<td>754</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jones</td>
<td>Lance</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Interactive Sex Classes: Incorporating an RF Response Device System in a Human Sexuality Class</td>
<td>1761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>Law Enforcement Spending and Crime Rates - Thoughts on Past and Future Research</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
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<td>Candace</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
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<td>Candace</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring</td>
<td>1440</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Candace</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
<td>1449</td>
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<tr>
<td>Julia</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Gender Issues and The HIV/AIDS Epidemic: The Kuwaiti Women Experience</td>
<td>1311</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kang</td>
<td>Ji Hye</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang</td>
<td>Ji Hye</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Key Success Factors for Doing Business with China: Small U.S. Company’s Perspectives</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>Joseph</td>
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<td>Couples = Affective and Cognitive Expressive Communication Behaviors Associated with Marital Satisfaction</td>
<td>1681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaye</td>
<td>Lara</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazmer</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>The Economies of the Former USSR and Eastern Europe: Outlook and Upcoming Issues</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Theories of Motivation in Addiction Treatment: Testing the Relationship of the Transtheoretical Model of Change and Self-Determination Theory</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kim</td>
<td>Eunyoung</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>College Aspiration and Educational Opportunity of Immigrants: How Cultural and Social Capital Affect College Choice</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>Eunyoung</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A Virtual Metamorphosis: Higher Education Policy Implications of the Western Governors University</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>Area Studies - Southeast Asia</td>
<td>China Tian-Xia (Under the Heaven): Politicization of Chinese Popular Culture in Zhang Yimou's film, &quot;Hero&quot;</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>Young-Suk</td>
<td>Urban and Regional Planning</td>
<td>Physical Patterns of Urban Sprawl and Levels of Air Pollution in the Atlanta Metropolitan Region</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtley</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>Madam President: An Analysis of the TV Show &quot;Commander in Chief&quot;</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knerr</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>American Social Scientists and the Courts: Analysis of Subpoenas Demanding Disclosure of Confidential Research Data</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knerr</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>Bringing the Appellate Courtroom into the Courtroom: Undergraduate Moot Court in American Colleges</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurato</td>
<td>Yoshiya</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Dissociation Seen in the Drawings of Youths in Japan</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurato</td>
<td>Yukiko</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Community Support Project for Child-Rearing in Japan: In Case of Kindergartens</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>Kenneth</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>&quot;Entre la Pena y la Gloria&quot; (Between Sorrow and Glory): Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for Practice and Policy</td>
<td>1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lara</td>
<td>Norma</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>&quot;Entre la Pena y la Gloria&quot; (Between Sorrow and Glory): Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for Practice and Policy</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau</td>
<td>Cheng Man Diana</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A Study of Macau’s Primary and Secondary School Systems through Statistical Figures</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau</td>
<td>Milton Chi-hong</td>
<td>Urban and Regional Planning</td>
<td>Strategic Urban Management and Collaborative Planning: Application in China</td>
<td>1662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le-Doux</td>
<td>Cora</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Study Abroad in Guatemala: Merging Social Work Education, Service-Learning, Language and Cultural Immersion</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leu</td>
<td>Chien-Wei</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique to the Mechatronics Instruction</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levantrosser</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>The American War on Terrorism: A Critique</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Ping</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Yuqing</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Lu-Fang</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Study of Taiwanese College Students’ English Reading Comprehension Strategies</td>
<td>931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Yeou-Yih</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique to the Mechatronics Instruction</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Yu-mei</td>
<td>Area Studies - Southeast Asia</td>
<td>Foreseeing the Cross-strait Relations from the Cultural Difference &amp; Adult Education</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
<td>Yu-Ying</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ship-Peng</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Application of the Virtual Reality Technique to the Mechatronics Instruction</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loganovsky</td>
<td>Konstantin</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>Population of Chernobyl Exclusion Zone as the Model for Health Consequences of Technogenic and Natural Catastrophes</td>
<td>1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lopez</td>
<td>Guillermo Gonzalez</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>“Entre la Pena y la Gloria” (Between Sorrow and Glory): Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farmworkers in California and Implications for Practice and Policy</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Kuang-I</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahler</td>
<td>Ronnie</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>E-Mentoring Undergraduate Social Work Students: A Pragmatic Approach to Support Prospective Professionals</td>
<td>977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marais</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Creating Public-Private Partnerships to Promote Permanency and Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) in Child Welfare</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marais</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Exploring Students’ Political Competence and Intelligence to Promote Advocacy for Children and Families</td>
<td>989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrow</td>
<td>Sherilyn</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>“We Had NO Choice but to Carry On !”: Examining the Rhetoric of Family Resiliency Voiced by Hurricane Katrina Survivors</td>
<td>991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrow</td>
<td>Sherilyn</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Couples = Affective and Cognitive Expressive Communication Behaviors Associated with Marital Satisfaction</td>
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<td>Offenders’ Personal and Social Characteristics as Determinants of Punitiveness on Home Detention</td>
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<td>Factors Affecting the Acceptance of Public Displays of Affection</td>
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<td>Teachers’ Burnout, Stressor, Efficacy and Coping Behavior</td>
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<td>China Tian-Xia (Under the Heaven): Politicization of Chinese Popular</td>
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<td>658</td>
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<td>Desiring Unity: History and the Fetish Object in Korea’s MacArthur Debate</td>
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<td>Factors Affecting the Acceptance of Public Displays of Affection</td>
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<td>Charles</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Are Teachers Prepared to Accommodate Diversity in the Classroom? - A Mandate for Colleges of Education</td>
<td>335</td>
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<td>Preliminary Analysis of the Automation of Downward Spiral, a Drug Abuse Treatment Program</td>
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<td>How Midwestern (U.S.A.) Latinos View Strong Marriages: A Standpoint Theory Approach</td>
<td>360</td>
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<td>Redefining the Politics of Love: Attitudes Towards Interracial Dating in the 21st Century</td>
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<td>Buddhism and the Eco-Crisis: A Theoretical Buddhist Environmental Ethic and its Translation into Practice</td>
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<td>‘Painted Prayers’: Indian Women and Sacred Spaces</td>
<td>1171</td>
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<td>Carla</td>
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<td>The Experiences of Women Partners of Transmen: New Voices, New</td>
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<td>(How) Fatness was Framed: Constructions and Representations Across</td>
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<td>A Discussion of Financial Security in Later Life: A National Initiative and Model for eXtension to Gain Insights on Designing an Evaluation System to Measure Participant Behavior Change</td>
<td>1247</td>
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<td>E. Sudha</td>
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<td>Caste Discrimination in Micro Finance Institutions-Experiences from Self Help Groups in India</td>
<td>1264</td>
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<td>Jacqueline</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Innovations in Treatment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities: Raising Expectations and Lowering Boundaries</td>
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<td>Comparative Analysis of the Shopping Styles of Young Men</td>
<td>529</td>
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<td>The Economic Impact of the Abolition of the Multi-Fiber Agreement on Select Textile and Apparel Producing Countries</td>
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<td>Social Science Methods of Community Based Participatory Research Applied to Public Health Interventions</td>
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<td>529</td>
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<td>E-Mentoring Undergraduate Social Work Students: A Pragmatic Approach to Support Prospective Professionals</td>
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<td>A Proposal for the Creation of a Student Assistance Program for Colleges</td>
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<td>Ridha</td>
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<td>Gender Issues and The HIV/AIDS Epidemic: The Kuwaiti Women Experience</td>
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<td>MSW Student Attitudes Regarding the Role of Spirituality in End-of-Life Care</td>
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<td>Tomeka</td>
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<td>I'm just a Student; Does my Opinion Really Count Anyway: An Analysis of Communications Training Programs for Medical Students</td>
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<td>Brian</td>
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<td>Brian</td>
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<td>Do Re Alchemy: Dynamic Lesson Planning in Music</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>Advising, Outreach, Learning: Instant Mentoring</td>
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<td>Children, Adolescents, and The Velveteen Rabbit: Using Bibliotherapy for Counseling and Group Work</td>
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<td>The Malaysian Aging Population: Dreams and Dilemmas</td>
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<td>Are Teachers Prepared to Accommodate Diversity in the Classroom? - A Mandate for Colleges of Education</td>
<td>335</td>
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<td>How Midwestern (U.S.A.) Latinos View Strong Marriages: A Standpoint Theory Approach</td>
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<td>The Threat of Immediate, Potentially Biased, Evaluation by Whites Doesn’t Create Stereotype Threat Performance Drops in Minority Own-Group Contexts but Non-evaluative Out-Group Co-Actors Do</td>
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<td>American Social Scientists and the Courts: Analysis of Subpoenas Demanding Disclosure of Confidential Research Data</td>
<td>820</td>
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<td>Bringing the Appellate Courtroom into the Courtroom: Undergraduate Moot Court in American Colleges</td>
<td>878</td>
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<td>Tracy</td>
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<td>Hope and Educational Achievement in Predominately Asian American Middle School Students</td>
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<td>Economic Restructuring, State Policy and Spatial Transformation: A Study of Office Development in Hong Kong</td>
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<td>Strategic Urban Management and Collaborative Planning: Application in China</td>
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<td>The Impact of Low Socioeconomic Status on Health: Epidemiological Considerations, Biobehavioral Mechanisms, and Implications for the Nation’s Growing Latino Population</td>
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<td>1451</td>
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<td>Production, Representations, and Consumption of Chinese Blockbusters for Global Markets: A Case Study of Hero</td>
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<td>A Comparison of Risk Factors for Sexual Victimization among Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Heterosexual Homeless Young Adults</td>
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<td>Law Enforcement Officers in the USDA Forest Service</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Tongeren</td>
<td>Daryl</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>A Study of Religion and Terror Management Theory: Primed to be Good</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vargas-Hernández</td>
<td>José</td>
<td>Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods</td>
<td>Cooperation and Conflict between Firms, Communities, New Social Movements and the Role of Government: V. Cerro De San Pedro Case</td>
<td>1531</td>
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<td>Sergiy</td>
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<td>Population of Chernobyl Exclusion Zone as the Model for Health Consequences of Technogenic and Natural Catastrophes</td>
<td>1588</td>
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<td>Hanjie</td>
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<td>A Technique Package for Desertification Controlling and Poverty Releasing in Arid and Semi-arid Northwestern China</td>
<td>1592</td>
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<td>Stability, Democracy, and Reform: Determining the Stakes of the Lord's Resistance Army Conflict</td>
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<td>333</td>
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<td>331</td>
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<td>Magnus</td>
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<td>Urban and Regional Planning</td>
<td>Strategic Urban Management and Collaborative Planning: Application in China</td>
<td>1662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodward</td>
<td>Patty</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The Perceived Importance of Student Computer Usage in Higher Education: Faculty and Student Response to CSU Technology Surveys</td>
<td>1678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Topic Area</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>Xin</td>
<td>Xin</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>A process analysis: Parental Notification (PN) Requirements for Publicly Funded Contraception for Minors in U.S.A. and Marriage Medical Examination (MME) policy in China – Comparison of instrument rationality pursuit and value rationality pursuit</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xin</td>
<td>Xin</td>
<td>Cross-Disciplinary Areas</td>
<td>African refugees and asylum seekers experience with their life situation and well-being after their resettlement in Salt Lake City – Marxism and system analysis</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yelsma</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Couples = Affective and Cognitive Expressive Communication Behaviors Associated with Marital Satisfaction</td>
<td>1681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younus</td>
<td>M. A. F.</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Adaptation and Human Security to Extreme Flood Events in the Ganges - Brahmaputra and Meghna (GBM) River Basins - A Case Study in Bangladesh</td>
<td>1702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu</td>
<td>Hong</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Innovative Instructions for Enhancing College Students’ Understanding in Doing Business with China</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu</td>
<td>Yisheng</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A STUDY OF STUDENTS’ JOB SATISFACTION UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN TAIWAN</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuen</td>
<td>Pong Kau</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>A Study of Macau’s Primary and Secondary School Systems through Statistical Figures</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuen</td>
<td>Sylvia</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Children of Incarcerated Women, A Hawai‘i Sample</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaky</td>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>Women’s Studies</td>
<td>Women’s Utilization of Maternity Care Services in Egypt</td>
<td>1703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zedan</td>
<td>Mohamed Abd El-Sattar</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>The Effects of Sex Preference for Children Upon Fertility in Egypt, 2000</td>
<td>1722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang</td>
<td>Jianguo</td>
<td>Sustainable Development</td>
<td>A Technique Package for Desertification Controlling and Poverty Releasing in Arid and Semi-arid Northwestern China</td>
<td>1592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang</td>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Impact Factors of Work-Family Conflict in China</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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We would like to thank all those who attended the 2006 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. We look forward to seeing you at the 6th Annual Conference to be held in 2007. Please check the website this fall for dates and further details.

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